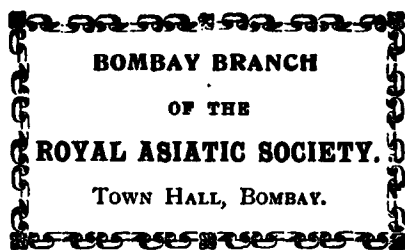




00108721



FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE
RELATING TO THE
ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

ON THE
GOLD COAST.

108721

(In continuation of C. 1139 of 1875.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
February 9, 1875.



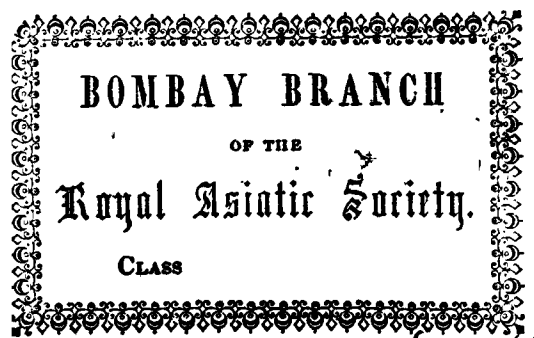
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Further Correspondence relating to the Abolition of Slavery on the Gold Coast.

No. 1.

Governor Strahan to the Earl of Carnarvon.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord,

Government House, Cape Coast, January 3, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship copy of a document which I have received purporting to be a petition of certain Kings and Chiefs of the Protectorate.

2. The names which appear upon it, besides those of twelve Cape Coast Chiefs, are those of the Kings of Mankessim, Abrah, Eccomfie, Inkosokoom, and Gomoah, two Chiefs of Salt Pond, and twenty-three other Chiefs, mostly of small dependencies of Mankessim and Abrah. I may remark that the districts represented by the Kings are in immediate contiguity with each other, and comprise a part of that limited area of territory bearing the specific name of Fanti country which, as your Lordship is aware, constitutes only a very small portion of the Protectorate. The assertion of representative character as being "for all Kings and Chiefs of the Protectorate" is an assumption which simply has no warrant or foundation whatever.

3. Being aware how unreliable are written communications purporting to emanate from the uneducated class of the population, there being no security that the views of the parties professedly represented are correctly given, nor even, indeed, that the names on such documents have been placed there with the authority or knowledge of their owners, I considered it desirable before making any answer to the petition to send for as many of the persons whose names appeared on it as I could possibly collect, for the purpose of ascertaining from themselves the real nature and object of the representations they might be desirous of making. Accordingly the five Fanti Kings already named (who it appeared happened to be in Cape Coast in consequence of a law suit in which they had been for some time engaged) gave their attendance, as well as several of the Cape Coast and other Chiefs.

4. The result of the conversations which I had through the interpreters, first, with each of the Kings and their respective Chiefs separately, and then with all of them together, confirmed the surmises which I had originally formed as to the character of this petition, the statements which I received from them being in essential particulars entirely at variance with what they are made to say in the document.

5. Your Lordship will observe that the petition sets out with the assertion that I informed the Kings and Chiefs at the meeting which took place at Cape Coast on the 3rd November, that "while no more slaves were to be purchased or pawns taken, yet no slave could leave his master or mistress without cause shown and proof of cruelty or maltreatment." It is then stated that subsequently to the meeting slaves have been set at liberty simply because they were no longer desirous of serving their masters, contrary, it is said, to what the petitioners were told and made to understand at the meeting. The supposed hardship and mischievous results anticipated from the general emancipation of slaves and pawns without compensation to their owners are then stated and enforced by a variety of arguments which are not likely to find sympathy in the mind of any English reader, and on which I need make no comment.

6. In order that the form of my questions should avoid suggesting the answers which should be returned, I confined myself at first to requesting each of the Kings who met me on this occasion to state verbally the purport of whatever representations he had desired to make to me by means of the petition in which I informed him his name appeared. The tenor of all the replies was the same, and was that these Kings, having been detained in

Cape Coast in attendance on the lawsuit before alluded to, had not been able to return to their country since the meeting of the 3rd November; that, while thus residing in Cape Coast, they had been informed that various of their people had left their villages and gone to different parts of the country; that they themselves had done nothing to cause this, but it had taken place in many instances, as they were informed, by reason of persons who had gone into the country misstating the effect of the Queen's Message as if it had conveyed an order that servants were now obliged to leave their masters, and that they, the Chiefs, had not thus understood the Message.

7. I also found that, on the subject of pawns, a misconception on the part of certain of the Chiefs had arisen from an error mentioned, into which it appeared the Magistrate at Saltpond had fallen, notwithstanding his instructions, viz., in supposing that he ought not to take cognizance of claims of debt where pawns had been given in security. The misconception of the Chiefs was easily removed, and it was explained to them that the local magistrate had made a mistake which would be corrected by additional instructions; and this accordingly has been done.

8. Having regard to the terms of the Petition, I was anxious to ascertain, as thoroughly as possible, whether there had been any such misapprehension on the part of any of the Kings and Chiefs of the announcement made at the meeting of the 3rd November, as these terms indicated. Accordingly, I asked them whether I had said anything on that occasion leading them to suppose that the liberty of any servant to leave his master was conditional, on cruelty or maltreatment of the servant. The replies were, that they, the speakers, quite understood what had been said at that meeting; that no conditions to the freedom of the servants were stated, and that the topics of cruelty or maltreatment were not mentioned. The King of Gomoah, who is a native of much intelligence, added in his reply, that I had informed the Kings and Chiefs that if, by kind treatment, they could induce their servants to remain with them, they were at liberty to do so, but that, if the servants wished to go, they should be at liberty to go, and could not be prevented.

9. I then caused to be interpreted that part of my statement of the 3rd November, in which I had informed the Kings and Chiefs that the Queen did not desire to force those who had been domestic slaves to leave their former masters, whilst, on the other hand, none could be compelled to continue living with their masters or to return to them, who did not wish to do so. This was followed by an interpretation being made of the notes which had been taken of what had been said by the Kings and Chiefs at the meeting, in answer to my statement, as well as my own reply to them. It was stated by all who were present that the passages interpreted were the identical words which they had previously heard at the meeting, and which they had themselves made use of in their answer.

10. In the course of this meeting various matters were discussed, collateral to, rather than directly connected with, the emancipation of slaves and pawns, with the details of which I need not trouble your Lordship. Towards the conclusion, the King of Gomoah, speaking for himself and for all who were present, expressed their satisfaction at having learned from me that the reports as to their servants being obliged to leave them had proceeded from no authority, and that the servants were (as they had originally understood) free to remain with them if they chose; and likewise at having had pointed out to them their proper mode of proceeding against the actual debtors for recovery of outstanding debts. On my asking whether there were other matters on which any one was desirous of making representations, no further subject was brought forward, and all expressed themselves satisfied with what had taken place.

11. It is worthy of observation that the subject of compensation, which is, as it were, the keynote of the Petition, was not once alluded to by any of the speakers, nor were any of the argumentative topics of which it is so largely made up. After having assured myself that the effect and purport of the scheme of emancipation was thoroughly understood by all who were present, and having given explanations upon the questions which had arisen, I reminded the Kings and Chiefs of the obligations they owed to the Queen, and informed them that laws had now been enacted giving effect to Her Majesty's wishes on the subject of slavery, to which it was their duty to give obedience, whilst any attempt at infraction would be rigorously punished. I concluded by informing them that what I had stated at this interview was to be taken as my answer to the Petition.

12. I believe the present Petition to have emanated, so far as concerns its main features and scope, from a few of the educated slave-holders of Cape Coast, advantage having been taken of the accidental presence of the five Kings in the town for a different purpose to obtain the use of their names and to attempt to engage them in raising an agitation on the subject of compensation, in which the promoters, even if they should have

no expectation of being successful, would yet hope to derive profit from the contributions on account of promised services which they would levy from the ignorant Chiefs of the bush. In such a process, the desire manifested in the terms of the Petition to induce in the minds of the Chiefs the belief that a promise had been at first made to them that their former slaves would not be allowed to leave them unless they were cruelly treated, and that the method of unconditional liberation, which is seen to be adopted is an innovation, becomes readily intelligible. I have now no doubt that misrepresentations as to my statement of the 3rd November were purposely made and put about immediately, or very soon after the meeting, by parties who desired to give such a colouring to the announcements as suited their own views of self-interest. These misrepresentations are reproduced and continued in this Petition.

13. I am not aware whether the archives of your Lordship's Office afford materials for forming a due appreciation of a class of natives who are found in Cape Coast and, to a small extent, in other towns on the sea board of the Gold Coast who have a smattering of education, but, being without industry or character, are incapable of following settled occupations, and who are ready to use the degree of knowledge they possess for any purpose, however mischievous, from which they can hope to reap any measure of selfish advantage. They have no real influence either with the native rulers of the Protectorate or with the population, but have occasionally in past times been able by misrepresentations and delusive promises to lead individuals or even sections of the community temporarily astray. It is to persons of this class that I attribute the attempts to cause misconception to which I have referred, as well as the authorship of the Petition.

14. The statements and answers made by the Kings and Chiefs at the interview which I have narrated were, however, most satisfactory, demonstrating as they did that, whatever might have been the endeavours to raise erroneous impressions as to what had taken place at the November meeting, the native authorities had perfectly apprehended what was stated to them, and the position which the former slaves now occupy. The fact of repeated instances throughout the country of the former slaves changing their abodes at a distance from Cape Coast without reference to their masters corroborates the view which I have already expressed to your Lordship, that the knowledge of their privileges is spreading with ample rapidity amongst the classes of the population now emancipated.

15. I would not have troubled your Lordship with this lengthy statement regarding the Petition on account of any importance which attaches to it in itself. But I have thought it right in this instance, as a typical one of many communications which are addressed to me in this Government, and which may even reach your Lordship otherwise than through my hands, that your Lordship should be thoroughly informed as to the real nature and worth of the representations which have been put forward.

16. Although it is not improbable that other attempts to raise agitation may be made of a similar or of a different nature to the present, which, notwithstanding the time which will be so occupied, it will be my duty to unravel carefully and to meet according to their real character, I have no apprehension that the scheme of emancipation will encounter any serious obstacle from such attempts. I believe, on the contrary, that the success of the scheme is now thoroughly assured.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEO. C. STRAHAN.

P.S.—In reading over this despatch, I observe that I have omitted to mention that the mode adopted of addressing the Governor in a written petition is entirely foreign to the usages which prevail amongst the native authorities of the Protectorate. Whenever they have matters to communicate in which they feel interested and at liberty to address the Governor, they adopt the course of either attending upon him in person or by means of their trusted sword-bearers or messengers who are recognized as their representatives.

G. C. S.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Cape Coast, December 30, 1874.

To his Excellency Captain G. C. Strahan, R.A., Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, &c.,
Cape Coast.

The Petition of the Undersigned Kings and Chiefs of the Gold Coast Protectorate,

~~Most humbly~~ sheweth,—

THAT your petitioners most respectfully approach your Excellency to lay before you a grievance of theirs, with a view to obtain redress therein.

On the 3rd day of November last your Excellency held a meeting of the Kings and Chiefs of the Protectorate, at which you delivered to them Her Majesty's Message on the subject of slavery and pawnholding.

1. At this meeting the said Kings and Chiefs (your petitioners among them) were told and made to understand by your Excellency that, though no more slaves were to be purchased nor pawns taken, yet no slave could leave his master or mistress without cause shown and proof of cruelty or maltreatment, and that pawns refusing to serve or work on leaving their master or mistress, the amount for which they had been given in pawn could be recovered.

2. Since the above meeting your petitioners have learned that a number of slaves have been manumitted, simply because they were no longer desirous of serving their masters, which process, your petitioners most respectfully urge, is not in accordance with what they were told and made to understand at said meeting, and it is this that has led your petitioners to address your Excellency.

3. Without dilating on the numerous evils that are likely to, and will most certainly, arise out of the method now adopted in dealing with the slave and pawn question, your petitioners respectfully solicit permission to bring under your Excellency's notice one or two of them.

4. Nearly nine-tenths of the slaves and pawns held by your petitioners and others in the country have descended to them by the laws and customs of the country, together with their landed property, palm-oil and other plantations, goods and chattels; those slaves and pawns who have not come into the hands of your petitioners and others by the laws of inheritance have been acquired from the proceeds of their labours.

5. These slaves and pawns are now, so it appears, to be emancipated without compensation being granted to their owners, who, by such a step, will become impoverished, and will be without the means of working or cultivating their plantations.

6. Such a course, your petitioners most humbly urge, will be a deathblow to the cultivation of native produce; it will throw back the commercial prosperity of the country for some years to come, and bring to a standstill the palm-oil and other trade of the Protectorate, for your petitioners will be without hands to work or cultivate as they have heretofore done their plantations. Even the common necessities of life will become scarce and hardly obtainable.

7. Your petitioners would also respectfully draw attention to the fact of there being no beasts of burden here, there being none of the facilities of civilized countries, and the absolute necessity there is to them of having their fellow men to work at present as carriers, &c., and they are certain, for more reasons than those herein stated, that the absolute and unconditional emancipation of their slaves, and the release and discharge of their pawns will create anarchy and confusion throughout the length and breadth of the Protectorate.

8. These slaves and pawns having descended to your petitioners and others as before stated, how are their plantations to be cultivated or worked if their slaves and pawns are emancipated in this manner? how are your petitioners and others to obtain the means of livelihood when deprived of the only resource they have? and how are they, when thus impoverished, when their slaves and pawns are thus liberated, how are they to obtain funds to hire and obtain the services of these slaves and pawns, who will then be free men?

9. Immense sums of money have been expended by your Petitioners and others in the purchasing of slaves—numbers of whom have been bought out of commiseration—and the taking of pawns in payment for debt and loans advanced; and the steps now taken are to deprive your Petitioners and others of the fruits of their labour, and of property that has descended to them by laws and customs, of which the Government have taken due cognizance.

10. The practice and system of buying slaves and of taking pawns has existed in the Protectorate from time immemorial, and during the two or three centuries that the British nation has ruled this country it has been recognized as a lawful institution. Within that period, Her Majesty's Court in the Protectorate have confirmed it as such, and have thus induced many a hard-working man to expend his money in the purchasing of slaves, and of the taking of pawns with a view to a profitable investment of his money in a country where there are no banks, no railway shares, or shares in any other enterprise or adventure obtainable; and thus suddenly to emancipate slaves and pawns contrary to what your Petitioners were told and made to understand at the said meeting, and without compensation, is, your Petitioners respectfully urge, virtually to impoverish the whole country, to paralyze commerce, and to bring the Protectorate to the verge of ruin.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your Excellency will be pleased to allow

them to retain their slaves and pawns on the conditions mentioned at said meeting; and that your Excellency may be pleased to forward their Petition for the consideration of Her Majesty the Queen, together with such additional representations as they may have to make, should it be contemplated to pass an Ordinance, or make any laws on the subject matter hereof before Her Majesty's assent thereto may be given.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

(Signed) QUASSI EDDOR, *King of Mankessim*, his ✕ mark.
 AUFOO OTTOO, *King of Abrah*, his ✕ mark.
 COFEE ACKINNEY, *King of Eccoomfee*, his ✕ mark.
 QUAMINA ESSANDOR, *King of Inkoosocoom*, his ✕ mark.
 QUASSI TANDOR, *King of Gomoah*, his ✕ mark.
 QUASSI ATTAH, *Head Chief, Cape Coast*, his ✕ mark.

[Here follow 36 other signatures or marks.]

No. 2.

Governor Strahan to the Earl of Carnarvon.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord,

Government House, Cape Coast, January 8, 1875.

REFERRING to my despatch of the 3rd instant,* transmitting to your Lordship a document addressed to myself, having relation to the abolition of slavery and which purported to be a Petition from certain Kings and Chiefs of the Protectorate, I have now the honour to forward a Petition to Her Majesty on the same subject, which I have this day received.

2. I am unable, from want of time, to show in this instance, as in the case of the first Petition, the unauthentic character of the document which has been placed in my hands, probably on purpose, at a time when the mail is hourly expected, but, from the fact that it emanates from the same parties by whom the former Petition was produced—even the handwriting bring identical in which the names (which are not signed) are affixed to both documents, as well as from internal evidence of composition—I have no hesitation in stating that I do not consider the present Petition to be receivable in any way as an exposition of the views of the parties whom it professes to represent. It reiterates the topics of the previous Petition with some amplifications, and also contains some additional statements. I consider that in this case I should unworthily occupy your Lordship's and my own time by entering upon any analysis or commentary.

3. I take this opportunity of drawing your Lordship's attention to a Report from the Commandant of Accra, which happens to have reached me simultaneously with the Petition. As Accra is the centre of a district in which the palm oil manufacture as well as other industries have been much further developed than in the neighbourhood of Cape Coast or in any part of the Fanti country, and therefore much more liable to feel injurious consequences as regards its trade and industrial progress, if any such were resulting from the changed condition of the population, the remarks of the Accra Commandant as to what is taking place there stand in curious contrast with the forebodings of disaster which are so freely made in the Petition.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. C. STRAHAN.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I may point out to your Lordship, as showing the thorough want of principle in the promoters of the Petition, that my Private Secretary has brought to my notice that in the copy sent to me for the purpose of being forwarded to your Lordship, which purports to be a transcript of the Petition sent to myself, copy of which is forwarded in my despatch of the 3rd January,* the names of forty-three persons have been added which did not appear in the original Petition.

G. C. S.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Cape Coast, January 7, 1875.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

The Memorial of the Undersigned Kings, Chiefs, Headmen, Captains, and other principal men of the Gold Coast Protectorate,

Most humbly sheweth,—

1. THAT from time immemorial slavery and pawn-holding has existed in your Majesty's Protectorate on the Gold Coast.

2. That since your Majesty's Government has ruled the Protectorate the system and practice of buying and selling slaves, and of taking pawns in payment for debt, has been recognized as a lawful institution.

3. During this period, slaves who ran away from their masters without just cause, unless cruelty or maltreatment could be proved on the part of their masters, were compelled by your Majesty's Courts here to return to serve their master, or to dispose of themselves to some other persons whom such slaves preferred to serve, handing the amount so obtained by them, generally the amount originally paid by their masters for them, to their masters. If cruelty or maltreatment were proved, then the authorities manumitted such slaves. This course of action has never at any time been opposed by your Memorialists, as being in accordance with the laws and customs of the country, and as meeting fully the requirements of the case; and had the same method been in continuance, your Memorialists would not have been under the necessity of approaching your Majesty in Council.

4. A step in a diametrically opposite direction having, within the last few days, been taken by his Excellency Governor Strahan, your Memorialists are compelled most humbly to address your Majesty with a view to obtain redress therein, as their efforts here have proved most futile.

On the 3rd November last Governor Strahan convened a meeting of the Kings and Chiefs of the western districts of the Protectorate in Cape Coast Castle, at which meeting some of your Memorialists were present, for the purpose, as they then learnt, of delivering to them your Majesty's Message on the slave and pawn question, which has been considerably agitated of late.

5. At this meeting, his Excellency Governor Strahan, after refusing to allow the Kings and Chiefs then present to retire till the next day, and thereby detaining the Kings and Chiefs against their wishes and will, consented to slaves (those already bought) being held by their masters so long as the slaves were not cruelly or badly treated, and that the amount paid for or advanced on any pawn could be recovered when such pawn refused to serve or work for her master or mistress.

6. These conditions were accepted by the Kings and Chiefs present and the meeting closed.

7. To the astonishment of your Memorialists hardly a week had elapsed ere his Excellency began granting manumission papers to numbers of slaves without any cause whatsoever being shown by them other than that the slaves were desirous of leaving their masters. No proof of cruelty or maltreatment was adduced; it was sufficient that the slaves wished to leave their owners.

8. Your Memorialists thereupon petitioned Governor Strahan on the subject, drawing his Excellency's attention to some of the evils likely to arise out of such proceedings, to the conditions he had granted them at the said meeting, and to the fact of his having now ignored those terms.

To this petition the only reply your Memorialists were able to obtain from Governor Strahan was that on the 1st of January instant, his Excellency sent for such of the Kings and Chiefs as were in town to meet him at Government House; the Kings were sent for one by one.

9. The King of Abrah, because he declined saying anything in the absence of the other petitioners, was locked up by the orders of Governor Strahan in one of the rooms in Government House for upwards of an hour or two; and several others detained at Government House and not permitted to leave for some time, although they had had an interview with his Excellency, and were desirous of retiring to their several residences. These arbitrary measures were adopted by his Excellency simply because the Kings and Chiefs then present stated the truth as regards the conditions granted them at the meeting of the 3rd November, and because they informed Governor Strahan that at that meeting he had not given them to understand that slavery was absolutely and for ever abolished.

10. Had Governor Strahan informed the Kings and Chiefs that he would not listen to any terms, as it was the wish of your Majesty that slavery should be absolutely and for ever abolished, there would have been no necessity for a petition of the tenor of the one inclosed to have been addressed to him ; but, as it was, he gave your Memorialists to understand one thing while he has since acted up to another.

11. Without in any way animadverting on the conduct of his Excellency Governor Strahan at the meeting in the Castle, when he declined to give your Memorialists till the next day to deliberate over your Majesty's Message, and detained them in the Fort till they obtained the Concessions granted them, and without remarking on his imprisonment of the King of Abrah in Government House as before stated, and his detention of other Kings and Chiefs thereat, your Memorialists must most respectfully and humbly bring to your Majesty's serious notice, the conduct of Governor Strahan on each of those occasions.

13. It is not the desire of your Memorialists at the present moment to draw attention to behaviour which strikes at the root of one of the most fundamental laws of your Majesty's Kingdom, yet they feel it to be their bounden duty to bring it cursorily to your Majesty's notice; the more so as from time to time it has been their fortune or misfortune to be placed under the rule of officials who appear to have no regard to law or justice.

Your Memorialists will now proceed to lay before your most gracious Majesty their grievances.

13. By the laws and customs of the country anyone who has the means can buy slaves or take pawns. The slaves (domestic slaves so-called) on being bought by their masters, become members of their households and families; these slaves descend to the heirs of their masters, together with the landed and other property. In the absence of direct heirs, the slaves succeed to their masters; and numbers of people buy female slaves and take them to wife with a view to the children so begotten inheriting in preference to those had of a free woman.

14. So long as the slaves remain with their masters, the latter are bound to maintain, support, clothe, and feed them ; when they are desirous of marrying, the masters have to undergo the expense ; when sick, the masters pay for the attendance of doctors ; if the masters own plantations, the slaves have set days to work for themselves and their masters ; the slaves have their debts paid by their masters ; in short, the slaves are treated by their masters as are their maternal branch of their families who are contradistinguished from the paternal.

15. Slaves when cruelly or badly treated are entitled to their emancipation ; those deserting their masters, without just cause, must dispose of themselves to the persons they would like best to serve, and hand over the sums so obtained by them to their late masters. Slaves can obtain their freedom on paying to their masters what may be decided to be a reasonable sum ; and when they become heirs to their masters the descent runs in the same manner. All other laws and customs regarding slaves are of but a secondary nature, such as the liability of the masters for their funeral expenses, &c. Pawns, on the other hand, can leave their owners as soon as they are in a position to redeem themselves ; they may have a few additional items of expense to pay, and a small sum for each child that they may have in their owners' houses when leaving. At times when the moneys advanced on pawns, when, of the feminine gender, are turned into dowry money by the owners marrying such pawns themselves, when the pawn ceases to be such.

15. Instances of cruelty and maltreatment are exceedingly rare, hardly on the average, among so large community of slave and pawning holding people, of twenty or fifty during the year.

16. Years at times elapse without a single instance of cruelty or maltreatment being clearly established or brought forward, for the simple reason that the owners of slaves and pawns know that such conduct will cost them the moneys so paid for such pawns and slaves besides something else in the shape of fine or imprisonment ; and this has been hitherto, and will continue to be, a sufficient guarantee for the protection of slaves and pawns. Therefore, your Memorialists considered it to be no hardship of an excessive nature for them to consent (wrung out of them as it was) to the conditions granted to them by Governor Strahan on the 3rd November last, to which they now regret to find he had no intention of adhering.

17. In the first place, before bringing to your Majesty's notice some of the evils the measures that Governor Strahan has adopted are likely to create, your Memorialists must be permitted most humbly to state that they cannot accept the view that the late war was a war of their own. The British forces fought more to uphold and maintain the dignity of the British Empire than in defence of the people of the Gold Coast, whom your

• Majesty has been pleased to take under your Majesty's gracious protection. Your Memorialists, nevertheless, have the highest sense of gratitude and loyalty towards your Majesty for the deep interest and concern that it has pleased you to evince towards them in saving them from the hands of a cruel and sanguinary foe.

18. Large sums of money are, and have been, annually expended in the buying, support, and maintenance of slaves from time immemorial up to the date of the promulgation of Governor Strahan's Proclamation of the 17th November last; as large sums have been spent in the taking of pawns; and these sums of money were the proceeds of earnings hardly obtained. Now Governor Strahan informs your Memorialists, directly contrary to the concessions he granted them, that slavery is for ever abolished, and that the immense sums of money expended by the ancestors of your Memorialists and by themselves are to be lost for ever, without any compensation or return from the slaves in any shape, degree, or form, although the value of their slaves alone, leaving aside the pawns, would more than double the amount expended by your Majesty's Government during the recent campaign.

19. The upshot of this measure is that the krooms, villages, and plantations of your Memorialists are now being deserted; pawns as well as slaves are leaving them in consequence of Governor Strahan's Proclamation; the pawns contending, rightly or wrongly, that if slaves who can succeed to their master's property are emancipated, they see no reason why they should not in like manner be discharged. The result will be that, in the course of a few weeks, the palm oil and other produce trade of the country will be at a standstill; no hands will be available to work the palm oil and other plantations; many a poor man and woman will be deprived of his or her means of support, and left to die of starvation in the interior; to make away with his or her life, as has already occurred; or to commit some deed of violence. The slaves themselves will infest the highways and render travelling in the interior parts of the country, where the police do not penetrate, highly dangerous; deeds of robbery and violence will be of every day occurrence; and the possibility of a collision between the emancipated slaves, who will be attempting such deeds, and their masters become exceedingly imminent. These are evils of a secondary class; the commercial prosperity of the country stands first and foremost.

20. Since Governor Strahan commenced giving manumission papers to any slaves who chose to apply for them, numbers of slaves and pawns who belong to the Ashantees who came down here to trade, have been seized by the authorities here, and set free. These men, women, and boys were sent and brought down as carriers, to take back the goods that their masters would purchase here to Ashantee, in the absence of railways, trains, tramways, canals, and the thousand and one other facilities obtainable in civilized countries. These people being seized upon, how are the Ashantee traders to carry away the goods purchased by them? And is this an inducement to other Ashantees to come down here to traffic? This will be a deathblow to the trade of the Protectorate with Ashantee, paralyze the commerce thereof, and ere long bring about another invasion of the country by the Ashantees, who, rather than submit to any such measures, will stake all on the cost of a die. These people, who are brought down by traders from the interior, are either slaves or pawns, and such a line of policy, where the Government cannot control the internal polity and economy of Ashantee and its dependencies, will surely prevent any Chief or trader coming near the Protectorate with his people, for the purposes of trade, and this is the outspoken intention of the Ashantees now in town; irrespective of which it will be worth considering the effect this measure will have on the revenue of the Protectorate, when legitimate commerce will have received so severe a check. Our proprietary rights in our slaves, and pawns as well, have been completely set aside by Governor Strahan's course of action, which is not at all in conformity with the compromise he guaranteed or granted us; and whilst knowing the abhorrence your Majesty and the British nation have for slavery in any shape, degree, or form, your Memorialists feel convinced that your Majesty in Council will not, after the conditions granted by your Majesty's Representative, abolish at once and for ever a custom of immemorial prescription, wound up and interwoven as it is with all the habits, laws, customs, and usages of their society, when such evils may and will readily flow from such a hasty measure.

21. The emancipation of slaves, in the manner now proclaimed by Governor Strahan leaves the slave-holding population impoverished; they are deprived of the services of their slaves, without means being placed at their command to hire and obtain the services of free men. The slaves themselves have no landed property; they have no village or kroom to which they can claim a right to reside in. Governor Strahan's line of action, whatever the Proclamation may say to the contrary, is an invitation to slaves to leave their masters; and, as such, it has been accepted and is acted upon, and will undoubtedly precipitate a complete breaking up of native society, and bring about the entire collapse of

trade. Families, households, krooms, villages, and towns, are now being broken up, and the effect that this step will have on the country in the course of a few months, commercially and socially, will be something fearful to contemplate.

22. In the face of the concessions granted by Governor Strahan, if it is proposed to entirely abolish slavery on the Gold Coast, your Memorialists would most respectfully and humbly urge their claims to compensation at your Majesty's hands for the breaking up of their homes and families, krooms, villages and towns, the loss of the services of their slaves and pawns, their plantations, which will become and are being ruined for the want of hands to cultivate them, and the immense sums expended by them in the purchase, support, and maintenance of those slaves, whom they bought and retained under the cognizance of your Majesty's authorities here who had recognized the institution as a lawful one.

Your Memorialists would also call attention to the fact that, although the Proclamation issued by Governor Strahan bears date the 17th December last, yet it was not promulgated in Cape Coast till the 30th day of December, the day on which your Memorialists forwarded the said Petition to his Excellency; the first intimation they had of the existence thereof was after they had sent in to Governor Strahan the said Petition, when they learnt that a Proclamation in reference to the slave and pawn question was being placarded about town. Whether any information had reached his Excellency previous to the Petition being presented to him, that your Memorialists were about forwarding a Petition or not, on the subject-matter of the Proclamation that led to its publication, after it had been about two weeks in readiness, your Memorialists cannot say; but they would most humbly draw your Majesty's attention thereto.

23. Your Memorialists, therefore, pray that your most gracious Majesty in Council may be pleased to order the Proclamation bearing date the 17th December, 1874, issued by Governor Strahan, on the slave and pawn question, to be annulled and cancelled; and the Ordinances of the 17th December, 1874, repealed, in so far as neither of them are in the terms of the conditions granted them by Governor Strahan on the 3rd November last; and that an Ordinance, containing the terms and provisions as conceded to, and obtained by them on the 3rd November, 1874, be issued and passed; and that all slaves who have since obtained their emancipation, contrary to the terms and conditions so granted, your Memorialists, on the said 3rd November, 1874, be ordered to return to their masters, and to the villages, krooms, and towns they have deserted, unless they can prove cruelty or maltreatment; or, in case your Majesty should be pleased to give your gracious assent and allowance to the said Ordinances, that your Majesty will graciously order that compensation be granted and paid your Memorialists for the loss of the value of their slaves and pawns, the deprivation of their services, the ruin of their plantations, and the breaking up of their homes and families, krooms, towns, and villages, and for the absolute and unconditional emancipation of their slaves, and the release and discharge of their pawns; and your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

[Here follow 86 signatures and marks.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Petition to his Excellency Governor Strahan, dated December 30, 1874.

[Same as Inclosure in No. 1.]

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Sir,

Accra, January 2, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that quietness, good order, and a spirit of obedience to the laws and to the orders of the Government prevail throughout this district.

With reference to the recent abolition of slavery on the Gold Coast, and to the working of the scheme of emancipation, enunciated by his Excellency, it may not be out of place to make a few short remarks, which, I may observe, are not based upon conjecture or forecast, but are founded upon actual observation and experience.

1. Touching the peace and quietness of the country, I have to report that the present can favourably compare with any other period preceding the abolition.

2. That trade and industry have in no way been inimically influenced.

3. That the natives do not appear to be anxious as to the present, or uncertain or desponding as to the future.

4. That, as far as Accra is concerned, houses are being erected by the natives, and new native stores are being opened.

5. That no ties have been sundered save those that from their repugnancy to the servitor were a blight on his energies, of little value to the served, absolutely baneful in their influence on the community at large, and prejudicial to the moral and material progress of the country.

Lastly, to use his Excellency's own words retrospectively, no household has been ruined, no family has been broken up.

Trusting that his Excellency will not deem it amiss in my thus recording my experience of the working up to the present of the recent abolition of slavery.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

V. SKIPTON GOULDSBURY,

Acting Civil Commandant, Accra.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary,
Cape Coast.

No. 3.

Governor Strahan to the Earl of Carnarvon.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord,

Government House, Cape Coast, January 8, 1875.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 3rd January and of the 8th January,* I have the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying document just received which is of a similar character to the inclosures of the despatches above quoted.

2. I may add that the persons whose names purport to be appended to this Petition are entirely unknown to me.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEO. C. STRAHAN.

Inclosure in No. 3.

Cape Coast, January 7, 1875.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

The humble Petition of the Undersigned ladies of the Gold Coast Protectorate,

Most respectfully sheweth,

THAT on the 3rd day of November last, his Excellency Governor Strahan convened a meeting in the Castle here of the Kings and Chiefs of the western districts of the Protectorate.

At this meeting, after his Excellency had delivered to the said Kings and Chiefs your Majesty's message on the slave and pawn question, his Excellency informed the Kings and Chiefs that, although no more slaves were to be purchased or sold and no more pawns to be taken in payment for debt, yet no slave could leave his master or mistress unless there was proof of cruelty or maltreatment, when such slave would be entitled to his or her freedom, and that the amount for which any person was pawned could be recovered on such person refusing to serve. These conditions were granted the said Kings and Chiefs without their having the opportunity of coming into town and ascertaining the views of the community on this subject for the purpose of submitting same for your Majesty's consideration.

To the no small surprise of your Petitioners, they now find and learn that his Excellency Governor Strahan has since been emancipating a number of their slaves on their application to be set free without any inquiry into the cause of such application, so long as the slaves declared that they would no longer serve their masters.

To your Petitioners this policy of Governor Strahan's is an excessive hardship. The whole of your Majesty's Petitioners more or less hold slaves and have pawns, whom they have bought with the fruits of their labours. This measure will be to deprive your Petitioners of the services of such slaves and pawns, and reduce them to a state of poverty.

Free labour is hardly obtainable on the Gold Coast, and generations must pass away ere such a market can be created and established here; therefore, to divest

pawn-holding community of their proprietary rights in their slaves and pawns, will be to create such a disruption of family and household ties, to bring about such a stagnation of trade, to put such a sudden stoppage to the cultivation of palm oil and other plantations, as well as to other agricultural pursuits, besides breaking up krooms and villages, as will be awful to contemplate, even if matters assume no worse a feature.

Your petitioners bought these slaves with the view of making them, as they are, members of their households and families. There is no distinction worth speaking of between such slaves and the members of those families to which they belong. It is true that the menial services of the households fall to them, as the share of the duties allotted to them as members of such families, but that is no greater hardship than such as servants in civilized countries have to undergo. In return for such services the slaves are maintained, supported, fed, and clothed by their masters, their debts are paid for them, and they have innumerable other advantages as fall not to the lot of menials in other more favoured countries.

The system and practice dates from time immemorial, and for Governor Strahan to endeavour thus suddenly and unconditionally to seek to abolish it for ever will, your petitioners fear, create complications as yet unforeseen. The injury, your petitioners would respectfully submit, the grievous wrong thus done to the whole community of the Gold Coast Protectorate by Governor Strahan in the face of the conditions granted by him to the Kings and Chiefs on the 3rd November last, and in direct opposition to the terms then mentioned, if not speedily remedied will make itself felt here both commercially and politically, as well as socially. It will in a measure cause pawns also to seek for their release and discharge as unconditionally as the slaves have obtained their freedom, as they have not the same advantages and privileges as have the slaves. They will refuse any longer to serve; and as the majority of them have pawned themselves or have been pawned for debts of their own, the pawnholders will have the satisfaction only of imprisoning and maintaining them whilst incarcerated, which is but poor satisfaction, and which will be but sinking more money in vain efforts to recover the original sum. This will be the case particularly with your petitioners, who will now have to perform the menial duties of their households themselves, since they all have not the means to hire and obtain the services of freed men or women, and numbers of them are entirely dependent on the services of their slaves and pawns, and have no other source of income excepting by and through such slaves and pawns.

Your Petitioners, therefore, having heard that the said Kings and Chiefs have in vain petitioned his Excellency Governor Strahan on the subject-matter hereof, and having learnt that the Kings and Chiefs of the Protectorate are about memorialising your Majesty thereon, feel it to be a duty owing to themselves and the community of which they form no mean a part, to petition your Majesty in support of the said Memorial, in the contents of which they heartily concur.

Wherefore your Petitioners most humbly pray that your Majesty in Council will be graciously pleased to order that the Proclamation issued by Governor Strahan on the slave and pawn question, bearing date the 17th December, 1874, be annulled and cancelled, and the Ordinances bearing same date be repealed in so far as neither of them is in the terms of the conditions granted by Governor Strahan to the said Kings and Chiefs on the 3rd November last; and that an Ordinance containing the terms and provisions as conceded to the said Kings and Chiefs be issued and passed, and that all slaves who have since obtained their freedom contrary to the terms and conditions so granted to the Kings and Chiefs on the 3rd day of November, be ordered to return to their masters, and to the villages, krooms, and towns which they have deserted, unless they can prove cruelty or maltreatment; or, in case your Majesty should be pleased to give your gracious assent and allowance to the said Ordinances, that your Majesty will graciously order that compensation be granted and paid your Petitioners for the loss of the value of their slaves and pawns, the deprivation of their services, the ruin of their plantations, and the breaking up of their homes and families, krooms, towns, and villages, and for the absolute and unconditional emancipation of their slaves, and the release and discharge of their pawns, and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

[Here follow 2 signatures and 17 marks apparently by the same hand.]

The Earl of Carnarvon to Governor Strahan.

Sir,

Downing Street, February 19, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches of the 3rd January and of the 8th of the same month,* transmitting and commenting upon certain petitions purporting to be signed, or, in most cases, to be certified by the marks of Kings, Chiefs, Headmen, ladies, and others within the Gold Coast Protectorate, in which it is urged that the steps taken by you; in pursuance of the statement which you made on the 3rd of November, in last year, to the assembled Kings and Chiefs, should be annulled, and that the holders of slaves and pawns should be permitted to retain them unless upon proof of cruelty or maltreatment; or, in the event of this request not being acceded to, that compensation should be paid to the petitioners for the losses which they allege that they have sustained, or will sustain, through the operation of the Ordinances against which they appeal.

I did not fail at once to observe that the composition and language of these petitions, which are drawn with a great command of English, are in remarkable contrast to those which the persons purporting to be the petitioners are themselves in the habit of using when endeavouring to give expression to protests of this nature, and I cannot doubt that you are right in attributing these documents to some one or more of the educated Fantees, who have on previous occasions advocated their views on Colonial and other subjects in a similar manner.

I am led to this conclusion, in the first place, by the very clear and explicit manner in which you repeat the account originally given by you of your statement respecting the abolition of slavery, and in which you assure me that this account is corroborated by the unequivocal concurrence of those Kings and Chiefs whom you were able again to convene on the receipt of the petitions. I should, moreover, be forgetful of some important passages in the recent history of the Gold Coast if I did not bear in mind that on previous occasions (as, for example, in the case of the well-known scheme for a Fantee Confederation) some of the better educated natives have undertaken, without any sufficient authority, to make proposals and representations, equally well expressed with the present, which could be seriously entertained only if they emanated directly from the Kings and other persons in authority.

I also observe that there is a remarkable similarity between the incorrect report which was recently sent home to this country in Reuter's telegrams of your statement of the 3rd November respecting the abolition of slavery, and the corresponding passages (in the 1st and 5th paragraphs respectively) of the petitions now under reference.

It would appear not improbable that the report to which I have alluded as embodied in the telegrams may have come from the same source as the petitions; and the knowledge that a particular account had been published in England would not unnaturally suggest the expediency of basing any claims for consideration or compensation upon the statement that a similar understanding had been come to by the Memorialists.

I need not, however, further pursue this part of the subject, because, as I have already intimated, it is with the Kings and Chiefs, not with irresponsible natives, however clever or well educated, that Her Majesty's Government must deal; and I cannot hesitate to accept unreservedly your confident statements (which, from the first, have been thoroughly consistent and unwavering) of the manner in which your declarations have been received and understood by the recognized authorities in the Protectorate.

The reply which it is my duty to advise the Queen that you should be directed to give to the petitioners (if, indeed, there are any persons of importance remaining, after the explanations and repudiations which I have received, to whom a formal reply ought to be given) is a very simple one. It is that, having instructed you by the command of Her Majesty, and as I am persuaded with the universal concurrence of the people of this country, to take prompt steps for the eradication of a shameful institution from the Protectorate, this Government cannot for a moment listen to any arguments in favour of compromise or further delay.

In their personal relations with you the Kings and Chiefs appear to have throughout shown a proper sense of the very great benefits conferred upon them by the Queen in the rescue of their country from invasion, and themselves from slavery and death. And I at once absolve them from any conscious participation in so ill-advised and mistaken a sentiment as that contained in the 17th paragraph of the Petition to the Queen, in which they are made to say that "the late war was not a war of their own, and that the British

* Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

forces fought more to uphold and maintain the dignity of the British Empire than in defence of the people of the Gold Coast."

Those words will at once be generally repudiated, but they unfortunately represent too correctly that lamentable want of patriotism and public morality which have in times past characterized too many of the Gold Coast natives, and have rendered it so difficult either to govern or to defend the Fantees.

You will cause it to be known that the Queen has received the Petition addressed to Her Majesty with pain and surprise; that Her Majesty again commands you to advance steadily and firmly, but with all due consideration for any special circumstances, in the course upon which you have entered; and that she relies confidently upon the good feeling of the Kings and Chiefs, of which renewed evidence has been given at your late interview with them, and upon their cheerful consent on behalf of their people to such sacrifices as may be involved in the liberation of as many slaves and pawns as do not desire to remain in their present service.

It may not, perhaps, be superfluous to observe that in the same Petition in which great grievances are alleged and compensation is asked for, there is a long argument to prove that the condition of the slaves is excellent, that they receive every care and attention, and that instances of cruelty are exceedingly rare. On this I have only to observe that, if the statement is to be believed, I do not perceive the ground for the fear of any sudden interruption in the existing relations between master and slave.

It rests, in fact, with those who have hitherto kept persons in compulsory bondage to substitute for it that voluntary compact which alone can be permitted, and which the Petition shows that they can make acceptable to those dependent upon them.

The only other point to which I think it necessary to refer is the suggestion that compensation should be granted to the petitioners for the loss of their slaves and pawns. In your statement of the 3rd November you pointed out to the Kings and Chiefs that the Queen had, without assistance from the inhabitants of the Protectorate, and at a very great expenditure of life and money, delivered them from defeat and misery, that her object was not the repayment of any part of the money which had been expended, but that the return expected was obedience to the Queen's desire that slavery should be abolished. You will now inform the petitioners, in the same spirit, that in all that has been done for them they will find more than the equivalent of such sacrifices as some of them may now be called upon to make, and that it is difficult for the Queen to entertain seriously a request for money compensation from slaveholders who, but for her generous and prompt interference, would now be either dead or themselves subjected to a most cruel slavery.

In conclusion, I have only to observe that while I receive with confidence your continued assurances of the success of the steps already taken by you, I do not forget, as I am aware that you do not, that much remains to be done before the institution which it has been determined to abolish can be effectively replaced by other and better provisions for the cultivation of the soil, the interchange of trade, and the general improvement of the native races within the Protectorate.

I propose shortly to address to you some remarks on what appears to me to be the course generally most desirable for this end, and I shall probably learn before long what are your views on this portion of the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CARNARVON.

GOLD COAST.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE relating to the
Abolition of Slavery on the Gold Coast.

(In continuation of C 1,139 of 1875.)

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. February 9, 1875*

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 8 (1874).

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES AND AGENTS,

AND

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS,

RELATIVE TO THE

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

From January 1 to December 31, 1873.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES
AND AGENTS, AND REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS,
RELATIVE TO THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

ZANZIBAR.

No. 1.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received February 18.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, January 1, 1873.

I HAVE the honour herewith to inclose copy of a letter in translation from King Abdulla of Johanna, asking that freed slaves may be landed on the Island to be worked on his plantations.

Against acceding to such a proposition there are the obvious objections that Johanna is a slave-importing place, governed by slave laws, and the only labour now to be had is that of slaves, that we have there no Consul, and the island is one of very small importance.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Sultan Abdullah of Johanna to Dr. Kirk.

(Translation.)

26 Shaban.

YOUR honoured letter has reached, and your friend has understood it.

Now, I tell you, my friend, having knowledge that cholera passed over our place several times, causing many deaths, and before that we were few and the place is small, so when cholera came we were reduced, and ever since then we are weak and in want of labour. Still we cultivate a good deal of sugar-cane and other things, and what I ask of your kindness is, to send us workmen whom we will pay; perhaps we may find profit from the ground when cultivation increases. Please do this for us as is done to others in the Seychelles. They will work, and we pay them, and they shall be as free as ourselves, and salam.

No. 2.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, January 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of Court proceedings and minutes of evidence in the case of a dhow seized by the Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and condemned by me as being at the time engaged in the illegal Slave Trade.

To the Court proceedings annexed I have no remarks to add, the case being clearly established by the evidence taken by myself immediately on arrival of the prize, and before the crew, passengers, and owner had time to concoct a consistent story in their defence.

I may here state that there is no doubt that the illicit introduction and export of slaves in which this vessel was engaged is greatly on the increase, for the following

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B

reason,—the Zanzibar Custom-house being farmed to a British Indian subject, who is at the present moment uncertain what course will be adopted regarding the Slave Trade, takes no interest in so insignificant a portion of his business, which, moreover, brings him personally into disgrace; all the precautions that before limited the Slave Trade pretty effectually as regarded the introduction of slaves into the island to one channel, the Custom-house, for the sake of obtaining the duty, have been disregarded, and smuggling become easy.

I have, &c.
Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, 1873.

CASE No. 1.

Her Majesty's ship "Briton" v. a Zanzibar Vessel.

(Seized January 2, 1873. Case heard, January 8, 1873. Decree:—Condemnation and Destruction.)

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar vessel or betela called the "Mpaji-Mungu," whereof Aman was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against one male slave called Songoro, seized by Augustus M. R. Hamilton, Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

APPEARED personally, George John Malcolm Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that on the 1st January, 1873, whilst at anchor in Zanzibar harbour, he sent two boats under orders to cruize for the Slave Trade in the neighbourhood of the River Kingani, on the African coast,—Augustus M. R. Hamilton, Sub-Lieutenant, being in charge. That upon the return of the boats on the 4th of January, 1873, the said Augustus M. R. Hamilton, Sub-Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had seized on the 2nd January, 1873, in the Kingani River, a Zanzibar dhow, said to belong to a Persian residing in Zanzibar, having on board a slave not a domestic, but obviously for introduction into the Island of Zanzibar, in contravention of the Sultan's Proclamation forbidding the import of slaves between the 1st January and 1st May, and that when the dhow was boarded the said slave was concealed, and his presence denied.

Whereupon Augustus M. R. Hamilton, Sub-Lieutenant, brought the said dhow into the harbour of Zanzibar, and he forthwith made oath that no pass-papers, or documents of any description, were found on board the vessel, or delivered up, relative to the said ship and slave.

Lastly, the deponent made oath that it appears, per statement of the captain and supercargo, that the vessel's owner is a Persian residing in Zanzibar, who can easily be recognized.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain, R.N.

On the 6th day of January, 1873, the said deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit,

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, Acting Political Agent, and
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

Filed in Court, and summonses issued to the owner, Faraj Saeed, to appear on Wednesday the 8th January, 1873, at 10.30 A.M.

Notice given, with Memorandum of case, on 5th January, 1873, to His Highness Seyyid Bargash.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Depositions taken on board the Vessel seized and brought to Zanzibar the 5th January, 1873, in the Swaheli language, by John Kirk, Judge in Vice-Admiralty Court.

1st Witness.—Moosa, an Arab, lived commonly at Bagamoyo, on the African Coast. Have a plantation one day's journey distant from coast. This vessel was

chartered to take cargo of wood from River Kingani to Zanzibar. I embarked in the vessel in charge as friend of the owner, resident at Bagamoyo, then in Zanzibar, now to be found in Zanzibar with Haji Mirza, the Persian baker. Had with me a slave in dhow; this slave was born and brought up in my family; both his father and his mother are now with me at Bagamoyo. I took this domestic with me in order to have him brought up in the Mohammedan religion, and trained as a personal servant. How could I think of selling a boy born in my house? I often pass from Bagamoyo on the coast to Zanzibar, and should require this boy. I might have put the boy in this dhow to learn to be a sailor; in fact, I had this in view in bringing him with me now.

It is true the slave speaks none of the languages of the coast, but he lived on my plantation in the interior; he speaks the Uzaramo language, and my plantation is beyond Ki Koka; it is in the Uzaramo country.

NOTE.—The slave speaks Ki Kam, not Kizaramo. There are no Arabs found in Uzaramo, and none beyond Ki Koka.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

2nd Witness.—Menia Aman, am master of this vessel, which is called "Mpa-ji-Mugu" ("Gift of God"), had charge of the sailors and navigation; no responsibility with the charter, that was done by the dhow-owner himself, who was then on the coast; when about to sail the vessel was in the hands of Moosa, an Arab, friend of the owner, who had gone to Zanzibar; dhow-owner is friend of Haji Mirza, the Persian. Took in wood that had been cut in the country; went up the river for this purpose. When the agent Moosa came on board, he brought a small slave boy with him; as a negro captain I could say nothing. I had no responsibility, and dare not mention any doubt I might have to Moosa, an Arab; he was alone responsible. I sail the dhow. This slave of Moosa's could speak nothing of the languages of the coast.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Evidence taken on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," to which vessel the Crew of the Dhow were ordered to be removed on the 5th of January, 1873.

3rd Witness.—Juma, native of opposite coast, am sailor. We were one month up Kingani, loading wood, which belonged to the woodcutters themselves. Moosa came from Bagamoyo village, distance an hour or so, to the dhow, then at the river's mouth. He was accompanied by his slave boy: boy could not speak Swaheli, he had evidently just been brought from the interior. He spoke the language of Ukami only. I do not understand Ki Kami. I am a free man.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

4th Witness.—Gesi, am sailor, of the Sagara tribe inland. Have been eleven months in this dhow; am slave of one Isa; get $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollars a-month, half goes to master. When Moosa came to the dhow to go to Zanzibar, he had slave boy with him; boy knows almost nothing of the coast language. He speaks his own language, that of Ukami. I am of Usagara, not very far off from Ukami; but the dialects of these places are different; thus we have a dialect in Usagara, in Ukami, in Udoe, in Uzaramo, all near each other, but the dialects sufficiently distinct not to be readily understood, and a native could always be told in a moment. Although I do not speak Ki Kami, this boy I know does, for I can understand him a little, and know perfectly each language when I hear them spoken.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

5th Witness.—Mufta, of Usagara, was sailor in this dhow, am a slave of Faraz, the owner; get $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollars per mensem as wages. The boy who came with Moosa is a native of Ukami. I do not understand his language, although myself a native of a neighbouring country.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

6th Witness.—Othman, native of the coast. The small boy who followed Moosa on board our dhow spoke no Swaheli, the language of Bagamoyo, nor did he understand it. I do not know his tribe, some of the people of the interior.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

7th Witness.—Kembo, am of the Dengergo, a sailor. Moosa came to us at night with his boy; he knew no language with which I am acquainted, although I have travelled to Uganda and lived in Unyamwezi. I believe he is from Ukami, a country about eight or nine days going from the coast. I do not know the dialects of that part, they are many.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

8th Witness.—This boy seems about twelve years of age; he is the slave of Moosa shipped in the dhow. He speaks practically no Swaheli, but has been taught to repeat to almost every question, that his father and mother both live in Bagamoyo, and that he was born there—so much Swaheli (the language of Bagamoyo), he knows but little more. He speaks the Ukami language, with which I am not acquainted, but by calling in an interpreter it seems this boy was taken very lately in war, his village being attacked, and he, with others, kidnapped by the people of Kutu, who marched them down and sold them to Swaheli slave-traders. The boy has been so intimidated by the Arabs that he answers very little, and the little he says is in his own language, repeats the lesson he has evidently been taught to say under the most fearful threats, that he was born in Bagamoyo, a simple absurdity, as he does not know the language, and speaks fluently that of Ukami, a distant country.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Minutes of Court of Proceedings.

Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, January 8, 1873

Her Majesty's ship "Briton" v. a Zanzibar Dhow.

Present in Court for the captors:—G. J. Malcolm, Captain, R.N.

Present for the Defence:—Faraj ben Saeed Bagora, owner of the vessel.

Read in Court in translation the affidavit sworn to on 6th January, 1873, by Captain Malcolm, R.N., to the owner, who appears at the order of His Highness Seyed Bargash, in answer to Monition issued by this Court.

Deposition of the Owner of the Vessel, taken January 8, 1873.

9th Witness.—My name is Faraj bin Saeed Bagora, Nubian, born at Jiddah, in Arabia. Am dhow owner, and appear by order of the Sultan to defend my property. I left Bagamoyo on the coast five days ago. Moosa, passenger, and in charge of my dhow, purchased the slave boy he had with him about forty days ago; the slave is a native of Ukami. Moosa at the time bought no other slave. Did not buy the mother or any one else; he bought this slave alone from slave-dealers come from the interior. The slave was bought in the village of Bagamoyo, and shipped in the dhow; he was to be trained as a sailor in this dhow. I see no harm in this; he was not to be landed at Zanzibar. I do not know who sold him to Moosa.

Moosa lives usually at Bagamoyo, but goes often to Zanzibar. He has no plantation anywhere; he possesses no plantation in the interior. Moosa and I are of the same place in Arabia. Moosa bought this slave to put in my dhow.

True translation,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

By the Court.

January 8, 1873.

In this case before the Court, the vessel, her cargo, crew, and passengers, have been brought to this port, and the owner, being on the spot, has appeared personally in his defence. No case has been brought by the captors against the cargo, there being no reason to think that the owners were criminally concerned.

The case presented by the captors is, that during the forbidden times this vessel was about to sail with a slave on board, and that this slave was not part of the dhow's crew, but to be dealt with as a slave on arrival in Zanzibar. The owner of the slave denies this, and says that the slave boy was not only a domestic, but born in his house; while the dhow-owner, a party to the embarking of the slave, says he was just bought from slave-dealers, and to be used on board the dhow.

Now it has been clearly shown that the slave is not a native of the coast, much less born in the house of an Arab of Bagamoyo; he is undeniably a newly-purchased slave from Ukami, where a good deal of slave-hunting goes on, not as in the Nyassa country, but on a small scale. There can be no doubt the slave was to be sold at once on landing, and that he was taken away from the Kingani River mouth to conceal the shipment from the authorities.

Under these circumstances a decree of condemnation will be given, and the dhow destroyed according to custom, the cargo being landed.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar ship or vessel called the Mpa-ji-Mungu, whereof Menia Aman was Master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against one slave boy named Songoro, seized as liable to forfeiture by G. J. Malcolm, Esquire, Captain, Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," before John Kirk, Esquire, Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 8th January, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared the above-named G. J. Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which sets out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar vessel, owned by Faraj Saeed Bagora, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, taken after condemnation by order of the Court.

Also one slave boy, named Songoro, was seized in the mouth of the Kingani River, on the African coast, on the 2nd day of January, 1873.

I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence on both sides, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal Slave Trade, but in contravention of the orders of the Sultan of Zanzibar, for the carrying out of a Treaty existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also one slave, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly. Ordering the vessel to be destroyed; and whereas no proof has been brought against the charterer of this vessel, we order the cargo to be landed and restored.

In witness whereof I have signed the present Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto, this 8th day of January, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,

*Acting Political Agent, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.*

Certificate for Admeasurement of Tonnage according to the Merchant Shipping Act, Section 22, Art. II.

We, the undersigned officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner presented by Rule 2 of the 22nd Section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the Zanzibar dhow "Mpaji-Mungu," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on the 2nd day of January, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS.

	Ft.	in.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at stern-post	50	6
Main breadth of plank	15	6
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	25	6

ZANZIBAR.

TONNAGE.

Tonnage under tonnage deck ..	Tons.
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or round houses —	39·20
Poop, length, 11 feet; breadth, 13 feet; Height, 2 feet	2·86
Total	42·06

Signed this 6th day of January, 1873,

(Signed)

JOHN FELLOWES, *Lieutenant, Her Majesty's ship "Briton."*JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant.*H. BODLEY, *Carpenter.*

Approved,

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

*Certificate for Admeasurement of Tonnage according to the Merchant Shipping Act,
Section 21, Rule I.*

We, the undersigned officers, do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule 1 of the 21st section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the dhow "Mpaji-Mungu," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on the 2nd day of January, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS.

	Ft. in.
Length at under side of tonnage deck from inside of plank at side of stem to inside of plank at midship stern timber at the point of one-third of round of beam below the deck	50 0
Main breadth inside from plank to plank	15 0
Depth amidships at the point of one-third of round of beam below the under side of deck to ceiling in floor timber at limber strake	8 9

TONNAGE.

	Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck ..	36·79
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them poop or round houses, &c.—	
Poop	2·00
Total	38·79

Signed this 11th day of January, 1873.

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain, Her Majesty's ship "Briton."*JOHN FELLOWES, *Lieutenant, ditto.*JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant, ditto.*H. BODLEY, *Carpenter, ditto.*

"Briton," at Zanzibar, January 11, 1873.

This is to certify that the slave dhow "Mpaji-Mungu" was, in accordance with the Decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court at this place on the 8th January, 1873, broken up and destroyed on the 11th January, 1873.

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain, Her Majesty's ship "Briton."*JOHN KIRK, *Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.*

Zanzibar, January 9, 1873.

In accordance with a Decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar of the 8th January, 1873, the prize crew from Her Majesty's ship "Briton" of the dhow "Mpaji-Mungu," placed on shore and delivered up to me a cargo of 54 tons of wood, being the freight of that vessel, and having been cut for me in the Kingani River.

I have no further claims of any kind against the dhow "Mpaji-Mungu," or Her Britannic Majesty's ship "Briton."

The owner has appeared, and, being illiterate, accepted the above.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK, *Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.*

No. 3.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, January 13, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to furnish, for your Lordship's information, the following Slave Trade Returns of the Zanzibar Customs for the year 1872.

These being extracted from the Official Custom-house Books, may be relied on as not exaggerating the numbers, and represent accurately the Slave Trade as carried on openly under the Zanzibar Government, in accordance with the letter of existing Treaties.

The number of slaves coming from Quiloa, landed at the Zanzibar Custom-house between the 1st May and 31st December, 1872, has been 14,721; and from all other coast towns together, only 408. The total number of slaves landed at this Custom-house, has therefore been 15,129.

Those leaving Zanzibar under the Sultan's pass, have been:—

	No.
To the Island of Pemba	3,097
To the coast towns Lamo, Melindi, and Membas	5,737
To the coast towns Pangani, Wassein, and Tanga	547
Total	9,381

The State Revenue from the above, according to the Tariff explained in my last year's Slave Trade Report, has been:—

	Dollars.
Imports from Quiloa, 15,129 at 1½ dollars	22,694½
Ditto, elsewhere, 408 at 2 dollars	816
Exports, 9,381 at 2 dollars	18,762
Total	42,272½

Or, at 4 dol. 75 c. equal to 1*l.* sterling 8,899*l.*

This season, the number of slaves smuggled, kidnapped, or carried off from the Zanzibar dominions, has certainly exceeded the average, while our cruizers have intercepted an unusually small number; this is easily to be accounted for, by the small number of available ships, and by the removal of these from the proper cruising-grounds, owing to a series of unforeseen circumstances. So far as I know, not a single slave has this year been lost by capture in the Somali trade, while only two prizes have been taken on the voyage to Arabia; but as prices of slaves this year have been higher in Brava and the Somali ports than at Muskat, a great number have been removed there.

The fact that the Slave Trade this year has been publicly denounced, will account for the Custom-house, which is farmed to an Indian, taking little interest in securing a tax, the receipt of which by him may be questioned, while there is otherwise no machinery whatever to prevent smuggling.

The fact that in a few days the three ships of war now present, all new to the service, have captured two good prizes, both engaged in smuggling slaves, the one sailing from, the other for Zanzibar, will show how general this has become.

Looking at the above official statistics, and taking my remarks regarding smuggling into consideration, we must conclude that this year the actual Slave Trade has increased rather than diminished; and the slave-dealers make no secret of having done well, owing to no captures of any consequence being made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 4.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, January 13, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for transmission to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, a List of all cases that have been adjudged in the Vice-Admiralty Court here, during the half-year ending 31st December, 1872.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

ZANZIBAR.

Inclosure in No. 4.

List of Cases adjudged in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, during the Half-year ending 31st December, 1872.

Date of Seizure.	Property Seized.	Date of Sentence.	Decretal part of Sentence, Forfeiture or Restitution.	Whether Property Condemned has been Sold or Converted, and whether any part remains Unsold, and in whose hands Proceeds remain.
1872. May 15th	Dhow	1872. Nov. 15th	Forfeiture	No proceeds, the dhow having been destroyed on the spot at time of capture.
July 18th	One slave .. .	July 20th	Ditto ..	No proceeds, the dhow and fittings burnt by order of this Court.
July 20th	Dhow and 9 slaves ..	July 22nd	Ditto ..	
Sept. 27th	Dhow and 79 slaves ..	Oct. 9th	Ditto ..	Dhow destroyed by order of this Court, but fittings sold, the proceeds of which (9l. 5s. 4d.) kept by the Judge to defray Court costs in this case.
Oct. 5th	Dhow .. .	Dec. 12th	Ditto ..	Dhow, &c., destroyed on the spot at the time of capture. Thirty-two 5-franc pieces, equivalent to 6l. 8s., found on board, which has been applied by the Judge in paying costs in this case, and the balance, 11s. 3d., remitted to the Chief Clerk to the Foreign Office, London.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Acting Political Agent, and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Zanzibar.*

*British Agency and Consulate, Zanzibar,
January 13, 1873.*

No. 5.

Viscount Enfield to Dr. Kirk.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March 6, 1873.*
LORD GRANVILLE has received your despatch of the 1st January, inclosing a translation of a letter from the Sultan of Johanna, in which he asks that freed slaves may be landed on that island to be employed as free labourers, and pointing out the objections which exist to a compliance with this request.

I am directed by Earl Granville to inform you that an application to the same effect has already been received from the Sultan through the Admiralty; and that his Lordship has requested that Department to procure a Report on the subject from a competent naval officer on the East Coast station, and that Sir Bartle Frere has also been asked to give his opinion on the matter.

I am to add that Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the objections very properly pointed out by you which exist to a compliance with the Sultan's request, unless proper provision can be made to secure their freedom to the liberated slaves.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 6.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received March 11.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, January 24, 1873.

WITH reference to the subject of your Lordship's despatch of the 4th December, relative to the master and owner of the dhow captured by Her Majesty's ship "Columbine" on the 13th December, 1871, with 133 slaves on board, and which was condemned here, the master and owner being present in Court, I have the honour to report that immediately after the trial the owner was made over to his Highness the Sultan, by whom he was at my especial request imprisoned in irons in the Arab fort for one month.

I take this occasion to inform your Lordship that, his Highness has shown himself

most desirous to punish all such offenders and has himself, asked that they may be given up when the vessel has been condemned. In all cases I have indicated to his Highness the respective guilt of each one so made over for punishment, nor have I to complain of the smallest laxity on his Highness's part in this matter as yet.

No. 7.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the despatch of the 30th of December, with reference to the purchase of the slave market of Zanzibar by a British-protected subject. I have to report that, on a representation from this office the slave auctioneers were expelled upwards of a month ago from the space in question, and the market removed to a new site, owned, I believe, by Arabs only.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 8.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received April 21.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 18, 1873.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit proceedings and Decree of condemnation in this Vice-Admiralty Court in the case of a native coasting vessel owned by a Kutchee and sailing under the Consular provisional pass, which was seized and destroyed near Lindy on the African Coast, by Lieutenant Phillpotts, in command of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," on detached service.

In this case no suspicion attached to either the owner of the cargo or the vessel itself, but the latter was compromised through the acts of his agent, the Captain, a native of the coast. The cargo, being landed and made over on receipt to its owner, did not become matter for my consideration.

The sole proof of slave dealing here rested on the status and history of a small boy found on board. Each native vessel carrying, as a rule, a canoe boy, it would have been difficult to bring a case against this had the boy been mustered with the crew, as the pass expressly named a canoe boy as one of those on board: but, in the first place, he was stowed away under cargo and found only after search; in the second place he was far too young to be of the smallest use to the dhow; and, in the third, an efficient boy, the one on board when the pass was issued, had been landed somewhere and replaced by this one. The inference was, that this lad had been shipped to be sold, and he certainly was the slave of the Captain very recently bought at Quiloa; at the same time, looking simply at the evidence adduced in Court, I confess that the case was not so clear as might have been desired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 8.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court, Zanzibar.

Case No 3 of 1873.

Her Majesty's ship "Briton," Captors, v. Native Vessel, under English Colours and Consular Provisional Pass, named "Mubrooke."

(Seized February 17, 1873. Heard in Court, March 17, 1873. Decree for
Condemnation dated March 18, 1873.)

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the English vessel or betela called the "Mubrook," whereof Sinidi was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against one male slave called Mambo, seized by Lieutenant Arthur Stevens Philpotts, in Her Majesty's Navy.

APPEARED personally, George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that, on the 15th day of February, 1873, whilst at anchor

off the Island of Monfia, he sent two boats under orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Lieutenant, being in charge; that, upon the return of the boats on the 14th March, 1873, the said Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had seized, near Lindy, a native vessel under English colours, said to belong to Dongorlee Ruttensee, having on board a slave, not a domestic, who was concealed, and evidently for sale, in contravention of an act to amend and consolidate the laws relative to the abolition of the Slave Trade of 24th June, 1824, 5 Geo. IV, cap. 113, and that, when the said dhow was boarded, the said slave was concealed; whereupon Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, after a survey and mature consideration, destroyed the said vessel or betela, on the 19th February, 1873, off Lindy Harbour, and he forthwith made oath that the only paper found on board was a provisional pass dated at Zanzibar the 13th day of October, 1872, signed by John Kirk, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

On the 15th of March, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit, before me.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Acting Political Agent, and
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.*

Filed in Court, and Minutes issued to the Captain and owner, both present. March 15, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Report of Survey.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby certify that we have been on board the Zanzibar dhow "Mubrooke," by order of Lieutenant A. Phillpotts, R.N., in command of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," on detached service, and find, taking into consideration the monsoon being against her and her general condition, that she is unfit to undertake the voyage to Zanzibar, and recommend that she be broken up in accordance with "Instructions for the suppression of the Slave Trade."

Given under our hands on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats, on detached service, this 18th day of February, 1873, at Lindy.

(Signed) HORACE R. ADAMS, *Sub-Lieutenant.*
FREDK. BOKER, *Navigating Midshipman.*

Approved and concur,

(Signed) ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS,
Lieutenant, Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" Boats.

Approved,
(Signed) G. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

Certificate of Destruction of Dhow.

I, the undersigned A. Phillpotts, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats, do hereby certify that, on the 18th day of February, 1873, I directed a survey to be held on board the dhow "Mubrooke," detained by me on the 17th day of February, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade; and that the surveying officers having reported to me that she was unfit to proceed to Zanzibar against the monsoon, as from the report of survey, hereunto annexed, will more fully appear: the said dhow has been destroyed by my orders on the 19th day of February, 1873, off Lindy river.

Signed this 14th day of March, 1873, at Zanzibar.

(Signed) ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS,
Lieutenant, in Command of Boats.

Approved,
(Signed) G. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

Certificate of Admeasurement.

We, the undersigned officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule 2 of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act 1854, the Zanzibar dhow "Mubrooke," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on February 17, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at sternpost ..	41
Main breadth to outside of plank	16
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	32
Tonnage (no poop)	Tons. 42·5

Signed this 19th day of February, 1873, at Lindy.

(Signed)

HORACE R. ADAMS, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

FREDK. BOKER, *Navigating Midshipman.*

Approved and concur,

(Signed)

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS,

Lieutenant, Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" Boats.

Approved,

(Signed)

G. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

I, the undersigned Arthur Phillpotts, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy and belonging to Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that I have removed from the Zanzibar dhow under English colours "Mubrooke," which was detained on the 17th day of February, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, the following, viz.:—

On the destruction of the dhow, not having room for them in the boats, I allowed the crew with the exception of the master, to go on shore, but the later escaped from the boats.

Signed this 14th day of March, 1873.

(Signed)

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS,

Lieutenant, in Command of Boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

Approved,

(Signed)

G. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

** Inventory of the Stores, Cargo, and Furniture.*

I, Horace Reid Adams, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy and the Prize Officer in charge of the Zanzibar dhow "Mubrooke," detained on the 17th February, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats, do hereby certify that the following is a correct inventory of the stores, furniture, and cargo of the said vessel so far as the same can be ascertained:—

One mast, one sail, two water-casks (one large, one small), one grapnel and cable, one wooden bowl, one tub.

Cargo, seed. Restored to owner, for which a receipt was given and produced in Court.

Signed this 18 day of February, 1873, at Lindy.

(Signed)

HORACE R. ADAMS,

Sub-Lieutenant and Prize Officer.

Approved,

(Signed)

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS.

Lieutenant, and Officer Commanding Boats.

Approved,

(Signed)

G. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

March 17, 1873.

Minutes of Proceedings.

Present for the capture :

Captain G. Malcolm, R.N., Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

For owners of vessel :

1. Dunji Dungensi, Agent for Dunjasi Ratinsi, of Kutch.
2. Sewadi, Master of the Dhow.

READ affidavit sworn to on the 15th day of March, 1873.

Exhibited pass of vessel destroyed, being No. 501; name "Mubrooke," dated 13th October, 1872.

Owner's name, Dungarsee; Captain's name, Sewedi; signed by John Kirk, and granted provisionally, and for one year.

Exhibited also a receipt for the cargo which was landed and given in charge on shore.

Lieutenant Arthur Stephens Phillpotts, R.N., examined :—

At the time of boarding this dhow I was myself ill with fever. The boat that boarded was the jolly-boat, in charge of Sub-Lieutenant Adams; the dhow was first examined by Mr. Adams, who reported that he had found a slave concealed on board. The same evening I examined into the case slightly, detaining the dhow until next morning, when I went more minutely into the matter. I did not myself proceed on board being satisfied that a clear case of slave trading had been proved. I ordered the destruction of the vessel, ordering at the same time the cargo to be landed, having no reason to think that the owner was aware of the fact of a slave being on board. The cargo was landed and duly given over to the Banian who shipped it, he giving a proper receipt for the same.

Receipt read in Court—is a full acknowledgment of all the cargo that had been loaded.

Sub-Lieutenant Adams, R.N., examined :—

Was in charge of the jolly-boat. When putting off from the pinnace observed a dhow coming to an anchor off Lindy; boarded her under weigh and examined her papers; found crew correct, and had them mustered aft. Then assisted by two men I searched her, proceeding aft myself and sending the seamen forward. One of the men came up with a slave boy in his arms. He said the slave was concealed amongst the bags. The dhow had a full cargo of seed in bags. Took the dhow off to the Pinnace and took the slave boy and captain on board of her. The captain began to frighten the boy by signs so that he could not be got to speak, at first. The captain said the boy was on board for the purpose of assisting to work the dhow. Received orders to detain her for the night. The boy stated he was a slave owned by the captain. He also said he had come from Quiloa. The dhow was from Quiloa, and had called at Kiswara the night before. Next day inquired about the cargo; found that it belonged to a Banian on shore named Dumba, but the captain said to one Sinji. This Sinji, who was at Lindy, said it was not his and declined to take it. The real owner afterwards came and landed the cargo.

John Brimming examined :—

Was one of the crew of the jolly-boat off Lindy. When searching the forward part of the dhow found a little boy stowed away among the bags under the forecastle. The crew of the dhow were on deck at the time. Lifted the boy out.

Sewedi, Captain of the dhow, examined :—

Had been seven months in the service. Had four sailors in the crew besides myself and a boy. Got the boy at Quiloa. He had been in the dhow two months. His father was of Lufiji; his mother died of cholera. After that the boy was with Binti Sabi, of Quiloa, he is native of Chole. He was placed in the dhow to work, and had to stay and watch while the crew went on shore.

Dunji Dungensi, Agent for Dunjarsi Ratinsi of Kutch, examined :—

The dhow was bought at Quiloa by an agent. She was bought about six months ago. The pass was sent to her on the depositions being given at the Consulate. This transaction was done through Senda, agent of the house at Quiloa.

Sewba Premji, agent of Dunyens at Quiloa, examined :—

Bought the dhow in question. The captain has been about seven months in her. She loaded the cargo on this voyage at Mitingi. After the purchase she went to

Delgado; thence to Quiloa and back to Delgado; thence to Zanzibar; then trading between Delgado and Quiloa. I do not anything about the captain and his crew; I do not know where he got the boy. The custom in small dhows is to allow the captain to engage and pay the dhow boy himself.

Boy examined:—

Says his name is Mambo. He is Waiao. He is a slave of the captain of the dhow. Before he was slave of a woman at Quiloa. Seems about seven years of age.

Ali bin Ahmed, interpreter in Her Majesty's ship "Briton," examined:—

Was in the jolly-boat when the dhow was boarded. Asked for her papers. The boy was found under the bags. The captain said the boy was not a slave. The boy said the captain was his master. He came from Quiloa, and said he was of the Ginda tribe.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the native vessel named "Mubrooke," No. 501, in the British Consular list of provisional registry, whereof Sewedi was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against one slave boy named Mambo, seized as liable to forfeiture, by G. J. Malcolm, Esq., Captain Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," before John Kirk, Esq., on 17th March, 1873.

APPEARED personally, the above-named G. J. Malcolm, Esq., and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration setting out the circumstances under which a native vessel named the "Mubrooke," No. 501, owned by Dungarsee, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, also one slave boy named Mambo, were seized near Lindy, on the African coast, on the 17th day of February, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence on both sides, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal Slave Trade, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the one slave-boy Mambo, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto, this 18th day of March, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

No. 9.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 25, 1873.

YOUR despatch of the 11th of January, including your account of Court fees and proceeds of sale of condemned vessels for 1871 and 1872, and a post office order for 11s. 3d., has been communicated to the Lords of the Treasury, and I am now to acquaint you that their Lordships consider that the explanations you have furnished make the accounts quite clear and satisfactory, and that in continuing to act as you have done hitherto upon the Foreign Office instructions of September, 1871, all chance of confusion will be avoided.

Their Lordships would wish to receive with your quarterly or half-yearly returns of cases adjudicated in the Court, statements of the fees charged and proceeds received, similar to those which were forwarded in your above despatch, and I am to instruct you accordingly to furnish these returns in future.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 10.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, April 25, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of Decrees and Annexes relative to the capture and condemnation of two small native vessels seized, with slaves on board, by

the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton" near Tola Island on the African Coast between Lamo and Brava.

Being myself on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton" when the boats rejoined the ship off Tola, I had ample opportunity on the spot of examining, so far as was possible, into the circumstances of each case. In each, slaves were found in the vessel, nor was there a shadow of doubt of the illicit nature of the voyage, while in one, some of the slaves were thrown overboard by the Somali passengers or crew, probably in the hope that they might thus reach the shore and escape capture.

It was much to be regretted that in neither case was it possible to secure the crew or slave-owners who escaped while the dhows were being taken possession of and the drowning slaves rescued, but I took occasion to impress upon Captain Malcolm and the capturing officer the necessity of using every endeavour to seize and bring to justice such criminals, whenever it may be possible to do so.

The slaves being strangers to Zanzibar and so out of reach of their former masters, I shall endeavour to locate them in the Island.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court, Zanzibar.

Case No. 4 of 1873.

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Thoala dhow called the "Wohada Salem," whereof Sali was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against three male slaves and three women slaves, seized by John Edrie Blaxland, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's navy.

APPEARED personally George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that, on the 11th day of March, 1873, whilst off the Island of Monfia he sent two boats under orders to cruise for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, John Edrie Blaxland, Esq., Lieutenant, being in charge, that upon the return of the boats on the 9th April, 1873, the said John Edrie Blaxland, Esq., Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had seized near Tola Island a native vessel without colours, said to belong to Banahob of Thoala Island, having on board three male and three female slaves not domestics (one of the former being in irons), in contravention of the Treaty engagements in force between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, whereupon John Edrie Blaxland, Esq., Lieutenant, after a survey and mature consideration, destroyed the said vessel or dhow on the 22nd March, 1873, and he forthwith made oath that there were no papers found on board.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

On the 10th day of April, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit before me on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, Political Agent, and Her Majesty's
Consul, Zanzibar.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the native vessel or dhow called the "Wohada Salem," whereof Sali was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against three male and three female slaves seized as liable to forfeiture, by John Edrie Blaxland, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's navy, and at the time commanding boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 10th April, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me the said Judge the sworn declaration

hereto annexed, which sets out the circumstances under which a native vessel, said to have been owned by Banahobo, native of Thoala Island, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed taken before condemnation; also three male and three female slaves were seized near Tola Island on the African Coast on the 20th day of March, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence of the captors and of the slaves, and in the absence of the master, who escaped, or of any one on behalf of the owners, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal transport of slaves, in contravention of Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, also three male and three female slaves, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly. Further, I consider that the captors were justified in destroying the vessel.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 25th day of April, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

The Undersigned, John Edrie Blaxland, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commander of Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" cutters on detached service, do hereby certify that on the 22nd day of March, 1873, I directed a survey to be held on board the native vessel without colours, "Wahada Salem," detained by me on the 20th day of March, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, and that the surveying officers, viz. Sub-Lieutenant Alexander R. C. Hood, and myself, being of opinion that she was unseaworthy, and it was not possible to keep her afloat, as from the Report of Survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said vessel was destroyed by my orders.

Signed this 22nd day of March at Tola Island, 1873.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant, in Command of Cutters
on Detached Service.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

We, the undersigned officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, the native vessel, without colours, "Wohada Salem," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on the 20th day of March, 1873, and destroyed on the 22nd day of March, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Ft.	in.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at stern post	60	0
Main breadth to outside of plank	16	5
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	30	0

TONNAGE.							Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck	..	..	..	..	..	..	58.38
Closed-in spaces above tonnage deck, if any, &c.—							
Poop	..	..	..	..	..	..	
House	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	58.38

Signed this 22nd day of March, 1873.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant.
A. R. HOOD, Sub-Lieutenant.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain and Senior Officer.

"Briton," at Sea, April 10, 1873.

Received from Captain George J. Malcolm, Her Majesty's ship "Briton," three male and three female slaves,* emancipated, having been taken from the native vessel "Wohada Salem," captured by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats, with a request that he will keep them on board until arrival at Zanzibar.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court, Zanzibar.

Case No. 5 of 1873.

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the dhow "Dah Selim," whereof Seasa was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against 1 man, and 3 boys, slaves, seized by John Edrie Blaxland, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

APPEARED personally, George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath, that on the 11th day of March, 1873, whilst off the Island of Monfia, he sent two boats, under orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa. John Edrie Blaxland, Esq., Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had seized, near Tola Island, a native vessel without colours, said to belong to Mohamed bin Sheikh, of Thoala Island, having on board 1 man, and 3 boys, slaves, not domestics, in contravention of the Treaty engagements in force between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade; whereupon John Edrie Blaxland, Esq., Lieutenant, after a survey and mature consideration, destroyed the said vessel or dhow on the 9th April, 1873; and he forthwith made oath that there were no papers found on board.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

On the 10th day of April, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit before me, on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, Political Agent, and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the native vessel or dhow called the "Dah Selim," whereof Seasa was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; also against 1 man, and 3 boys, slaves, seized as liable to forfeiture, by John Edrie Blaxland, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, and at the time commanding the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 10th April, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared, George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a native vessel, said to have been owned by Mohamed bin Sheikh, a native of Thoala, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, taken before condemnation; also 1 man, and 3 boys, slaves, seized near Tola Island, on the African coast, on the 20th day of March, 1873. The said Judge, having heard the evidence of the captors of the slaves in the absence of the master, who escaped, and of any one on behalf of the owners, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of the seizure was engaged in the illegal transport of slaves, in contravention of Treaties existing between Great Britain and

* 1. Mabruki; 2. Serenge; 3. Mambo; 4. Zafrani; 5. Salama; 6. Suedi (enrolled as a Siedi boy in Her Majesty's ship "Briton.")

Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, also 1 man, and 3 boys, slaves, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly. Further, I consider that the captors were justified in destroying the vessel.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree, and caused my Seal of Office to be affixed thereto this 25th day of April, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

The Undersigned, John Edrie Blaxland, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" cutters on detached service, do hereby certify, that on the 9th day of April, 1873, I directed a survey to be held on board the native vessel without colours, "Dah Selim," detained by me on the 20th day of March, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade, and that the surveying officers, namely, Sub-Lieutenant Alexander R. C. Hood, and myself, being of opinion that she was unseaworthy, and it was scarcely possible to keep her afloat, as from the Report of Survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said vessel was destroyed by my orders.

Signed this 9th day of April, 1873, at Tola Island.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant,
In Command of Cutters on Detached Service.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

We, the Undersigned, Officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, the native vessel without colours, "Dah Selim," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats, on the 20th day of March, 1873, and destroyed on the 9th day of April, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade. We certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Ft.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at stern-post	54
Main breadth to outside of plank	15
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	27

TONNAGE.

	Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck	42·86
Closed-in spaces above tonnage deck, if any, &c.—	
Poop	
House	
Total	42·86

Signed this 9th day of April, 1873.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant.
A. R. C. HOOD, Sub-Lieutenant.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain and Senior Officer,
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," at Sea, April 10, 1873.

Received from Captain George J. Malcolm, Her Majesty's ship "Briton," 1 man, and 3 boys,* slaves, having been taken from the native vessel "Dah Selim," captured by Her Majesty's "Briton's" boats, with a request that he will keep them on board until arrival at Zanzibar.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

ZANZIBAR.

No. 11.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, May 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour herewith to inclose extract of despatch dated the 27th of March, 1873, from the Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, forwarded for my information and guidance.

Inclosure in No. 11.

The Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

(Extract.)

Fort William, March 27, 1873.

I AM directed to inform you that, by the notification in the "Gazette" of India dated 18th March, Dr. Kirk has been confirmed in the appointment of Political Agent at Zanzibar.

This was communicated on the 13th idem to the Resident at Aden, by telegraph, and he was told to transmit the information to Dr. Kirk by the quickest opportunity.

Steps will be taken to appoint an Agency Surgeon to Zanzibar in succession to Dr. Kirk.

No. 12.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 16, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government have received with great satisfaction your telegram of June 5, announcing the signature of the Treaty with the Sultan, and the closing of the slave-market at Zanzibar.

No. 13.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 19, 1873.

I APPROVE the language which, as stated in your despatch of the 25th of April, you held to Captain Malcolm as to the great desirability of securing the punishment, wherever practicable, of the owners of dhows which have been convicted for carrying slaves. Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that His Highness the Sultan will continue to co-operate with them to this end, according to the terms of the Treaty which they understand from your telegram of the 5th instant has been recently signed by His Highness; and the Lords of the Admiralty will be moved to issue Instructions to their Naval Officers on the East Coast, calling their attention to this point in future cases of seizure of dhows.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 14.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, May 16, 1873.

I AM in possession of reliable information that at Quiloa there are now upwards of 3,000 slaves, chiefly children, all ready for shipment. These, I am convinced, cannot be marched up the coast to Dar-es-Salam, and the dealers fear to embark them where they are.

No. 15.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, May 22, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, without exhibits, the accompanying abstract of proceedings in the British Consular Court here against Arnasallo, a native of Madras, for some time resident here, where he came as personal servant of the late Baron von der Decken.

This man has for several years led a very disreputable life, first in Zanzibar and latterly on the coast, where he seems to have concealed himself, after being sentenced to deportation for slave-trading by Mr. Churchill.

On this occasion the evidence was not only clear, but the facts admitted by the accused. I have, therefore, enforced the former sentence of deportation, sending him prisoner in a native vessel to Kutch, and have realized and paid over to Government 100 dollars, the amount of fine, from his estate, the remainder of which will be divided to meet part claims among his creditors.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Abstract of Proceedings in the British Consular Court, Zanzibar.

Criminal Case.—Thursday, May 22, 1873.

Arnasallo, of Madras, residing at Bagamoyo, accused of Slave-dealing.

Preliminary Remarks on Accusation and previous Examinations.

A LETTER to Dr. Kirk, dated 21st March, 1873, annexed to proceedings, and another, dated 18th April, led to inquiry and to the dispatch of Songoro, Consular Peon, to Bagamoyo, to arrest Arnasallo. May 5, he was brought to Zanzibar a prisoner, with two slaves, found in his possession.

The result of several carefully conducted inquiries, was a conviction that the charge of murder could not be proved, resting, as it appeared to, only on vague and hearsay statements.

Arnasallo was accordingly brought before the Court, accused of slave-dealing.

John Kirk, Esq., Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul, after appointing Frederic Elton, Esq., Her Majesty's Acting-Assistant and Vice-Consul, and Frederic Holmwood, Esq., Assistant in Her Majesty's Consulate, both of Zanzibar, to sit with him as Assessors, proceeded, on Thursday, the 22nd May, 1873, to the trial of Arnasallo, of Madras, residing at Bagamoyo, on the charge of slave-dealing.

It is brought in evidence before the Court, that the prisoner was previously convicted of a similar offence before the Zanzibar British Consular Court, and was condemned to pay a fine of 100 dollars, and to deportation. The deportation was never carried out.

Keshina, a girl of the Miao tribe, of Bagamoyo, examined, states, that she came from Kilwa, was sold in the market at Zanzibar to a slave auctioneer, by him sold to a Sheheri Arab, one Buksem, by him sold to his brother, who finally sold her to prisoner, with whom she had lived some time. Prisoner had another slave, a child, bought lately from the people of the coast, the child was not bought from the Sheheri. Prisoner beat his slaves; he beat witness daily with a stick.

(The child referred to, a boy of a few years old, was produced before the Court, having been brought over from Bagamoyo with prisoner.)

The child, witness states, was bought through Sayid Maznam, from whom she was purchased.

Several documents belonging to the prisoner, and taken in his possession, were produced in Court. These proved that a slave named Zaya had been taken by prisoner, under a mortgage of 15 dollars; both the girl Heslina and the woman Hassina, on being questioned by the Court, corroborate this written evidence, and state the slave in question is still his, and lives in a hut near prisoner's house at Bagamoyo.

Prisoner now states, of his own free will, that as regards Heslina, he received her

as a set-off against a debt from Sayid Maznam, and thus admits complicity in slave-dealing.

The Judgment of the Court, taking into consideration his previous conviction, is as follows :—That the sentence of deportation, not previously enforced, but decreed by Her Majesty's Consular Court at Zanzibar, in 1870, be now immediately enforced, and that the prisoner, Arnasallo be banished for the term of his natural life, from the dominions of Zanzibar, under the Rule of his Highness Seyd Burgash ; and, further, that a fine of 100 dollars be levied upon him.

The slaves found in his possession to be forfeited to Her Majesty, and declared freed.

Both Assessors fully concur in this Judgment.

The Court directs immediate steps to be taken for his deportation.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,

Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul, Zanzibar.

Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Zanzibar,

May 22, 1873.

No. 16.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, May 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that the 24th instant was observed here as a holiday, and the large flag hoisted, as usual, over the Agency. In thus marking the occasion we were joined not only by the other foreign Consuls, but also by his Highness Seyd Burgash, who dressed his ships and fired a salute of twenty-one guns at noon.

In the course of the day I was visited by the various Consuls.

His Highness, in order to show that he perfectly appreciated the private friendship that still fortunately subsists between us, notwithstanding the antagonism of our policy to his own in Slave Trade matters, sent a present of fruits and cakes to be placed on the table in the evening, when the chief European and American residents dined at the Consulate, and came with his suite this morning to offer his congratulations.

I take this occasion to mention the good taste and feeling displayed by his Highness.

I ought also to mention that occasion was taken of the congratulatory visits of the chief native merchants to impress strongly upon them that the Slave Trade was ruined, and that they had better accept the position, and although directly not implicated in slave-dealing, look upon the men who have to do with it as ruined, and the articles that purchase slaves as unsafe investments in which to speculate.

No. 17.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, May 29, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," which with the boats has hitherto so efficiently maintained the blockade against the Slave Trade between Quiloa and the Southern Coast with Zanzibar, entered harbour yesterday, and having re-fitted two of her boats, will proceed south again to-morrow to take up her station as formerly.

Captain Bateman brought before me the master and owner of a dhow detained at Quiloa and that had been sent into port the day before under a prize crew.

From the master of this dhow I ascertained that there are thousands of slaves in Quiloa now ready for shipment ; that since the 1st May prices have fallen 50 per cent. in the market there owing to our movements ; that there are large dhows ready to carry them, only awaiting a favourable occasion, and among these vessels is a bugala, the property of one of the Sultan's sisters, that can take 400 easily, and another owned by the old Wuzeer Seyd Suleeman-bin-Hamed, capable of taking at least 300.

I have warned his Highness that he must be prepared to see these large vessels captured and dealt with like any other notwithstanding the distinguishing flag they presume to carry as a mark that they belong to his family, and that in the transport of slaves I could recognize no privilege, and had instructed Captain Bateman accordingly.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, May 31, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that, availing myself of the invitation of Captain Malcolm to accompany him on the hurried visit he proposed making to several of the northern ports within the Sultan's dominions, I went on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton" on the 4th April.

2. The first place touched was Pangani, where we landed the same afternoon. We were there well received by the Arab Governor, and afterwards walked about in the bazaars conversing with the people. The trade of Pangani consists of ivory, grain, ghee, timber, molasses, and cattle. Caravans here set out that explore the regions to the north-west as far as the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, and the Baringo Lakes. Shorter trips are made to Jagga and the country near Kilimanjaro and the neighbouring hills of the Wasegna that overlook the Masai Plains. Pangani, therefore, holds an important place in the commerce of Zanzibar; there we find an Indian Colony that consists of thirty Bhattias, three Khojas, and one Bohra, in whose hands the export and import trade is chiefly held while Suahelis conduct the ivory caravans that go inland. I was pleased to learn that whereas formerly no caravan having less than 600 muskets for its protection could safely pass the Masai country that lays right in the way to the lakes, now smaller bodies with from 50 to 100 guns can go through safely and return laden with ivory.

3. Unlike the more southerly Unyamwezi route, however, all the ivory has here to be carried by the caravan itself, there being no tribe in the line of march that will take service to the coast for pay, and this not being a slave-producing region in the interior.

4. The country outside Pangani, including the Mountains of Ushambala, has for several years been the theatre of a slave-hunting war, carried on by one village against another, the captives being sent to the markets of Pangani, Tanga, or other coast villages for sale. In this way vast, and until lately, well-peopled districts have become barren wastes, or inhabited by the few straggling remains of the former industrious agricultural population.

5. Although this slave-hunting has now almost exhausted itself I ascertained that it still goes on to a certain extent, a village not far distant from Pangani having been attacked the previous day to our arrival, and the captives, thirty-five in number, carried off to Tanga by the Wadigo. On a former occasion I urged the Governor to do what he could to stop this state of things, but the Sultan's power can hardly be said to extend beyond the immediate vicinity of the towns.

6. The Pangani River, although perennial and of considerable size, is not navigable above a very limited extent from the ocean. The lower part is, however, a rich field for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, which there grows luxuriantly.

7. The next point touched at being Mombasa, I need not delay with the mention of a town so recently described by Sir Bartle Frere. While there my attention was called to the holding of slaves by Indians, on which subject, as it then came before me, I have the honour to forward a few remarks in Inclosure 1.

8. Passing Melinda, which is one of the richest corn-producing regions on the coast, we proceeded to Mogdeesho, a Somali town north of the Equator, the natives of which are reputed the most dangerous on the whole coast to Europeans. I was here struck with the considerable export of corn that went on, proving how very rich the country must be behind the barren ridge of sand and rock that skirts the coast, extensive and rich plantations being found on the banks of the river that passes Ahmed Yoosof's country at Geledi. Unfortunately we could not land and meet the elders of the place, the principal of whom is styled a Sultan, and also an Imam of religion.

9. The flag of the Sultan of Zanzibar was displayed on our arrival, but he has neither influence nor power. The town is evidently worth a careful study; there are many buildings and towers with curious inscriptions, of which at Brava I have seen specimens well cut in an Arabic character more simple than the Kufic, but quite illegible to the people now. Being unable to land here on account of the surf, we sailed on our return voyage the same day, passing Merka, which seemed also a very considerable and thriving town. There were nineteen dhows at anchor laden with grain, which they had shipped here.

10. At Brava we anchored and landed. Although here received without any

deference, there was nothing in the behaviour of the Somali or town-people objectionable, and I soon found that being able to converse freely with them in person, and without an interpreter, I had no reason to fear a misunderstanding. On the contrary, we arranged a party for next day to cross over the hills and into the Somali plains. In conversation with the natives, on this excursion, I gained much information that at a formal meeting in town they never would have given; nor had we the smallest reason to suspect the people of the treachery usually ascribed to them, for some of our party overcome by heat and fatigue fell behind, and did not return until sunset, when they came straggling in; and another, unacquainted with a word of the language, was brought back safely the following morning from the endless plain on which, after spending the night alone, he had again set out in search of the sea-coast, but in the wrong direction. For notes on the Somali Slave Trade I beg to refer to inclosure marked No. 2 herewith forwarded.

11. After Brava we anchored at the mouth of the River Juba, but finding the bar impassable, proceeded to the harbour south of Cape Bissell, known to the natives as Kismayo, although that name has been transferred on the Admiralty charts to an island further south, to which it does not apply. This is a harbour first brought to notice by His Highness Seyyid Majid, and here there are two distinct settlements of Somalis, both foreign to this part of the country. These live near the mouth of the River Juba, where good pasture is found for cattle. Although at present the trade of Kismayo is insignificant, there can be little doubt in time it will rise to importance as the natural harbour for the River Juba, which possesses so very bad an approach at its mouth, and from the fact that north of this is no other refuge to be found on the whole of the Somali coast available during the monsoons.

12. Here, as at Brava, having special objects in view besides forming a collection of the rare vegetation, I again set out with the people upon a long walking excursion that occupied the whole day. Nor did I find any difficulty either among the Somalis in the village or outside its limits. The information collected here bearing upon the reported captives in the Galla land I have thrown into the inclosure No. 3.

13. After Kismayo we visited the Shamba River, a mere creek of the sea, and the Tola River, which although larger is nothing more, and thence came back to Zanzibar without communicating at any other spot along the coast.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 18.

Memorandum on Slave-holding by Natives of India settled on the African Coast.

IT is well known, and has been often reported to Government, that Indian traders residing at the coast towns distant from the head-quarters of the British Agency still hold domestic slaves, as did their countrymen in Zanzibar previous to the measures taken by Colonel Rigby for the abolition of slavery among them.

During the very hurried visit paid by me to Mombasa in Her Majesty's ship "Briton," immediately after the departure of his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, I took the occasion of a slave having sought refuge on board the ship I was in to investigate in a preliminary way this matter and arrange the means for organized interference that will put an end to the practice as effectually there and elsewhere on the coast as here.

I ascertained that in Mombasa there are 31 Hindoos, 131 Bohras, besides a considerable body of Scindi residents, and that amongst both the latter slave-holding is pretty general. Although I could not at the time ascertain that any of the Banians held domestic slaves, I doubt not that a full inquiry will show that they are, if to a less extent, also implicated.

With only a few hours and no staff whatever at my disposal it was clearly impossible to attack successfully an institution such as this, but I determined on the first possible occasion to collect the fullest particulars of those who own slaves, where they reside, and how they are employed, with a view to a personal visit, when, with the necessary time at disposal the offenders may be fairly tried and punished if found guilty.

I called the owner of the slave who claimed my protection on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," but he did not appear until arrested at my request through

the Arab authorities, when he confessed the fact of owning not only this one slave who came off, but also others whom I secured. As the man was a native of Scinde, who had come here not many years ago, there could be no doubt of our jurisdiction. I accordingly ordered him to appear in Zanzibar, which he has not done. I shall, therefore, take steps to have him seized and his property confiscated, following this at the same time by giving freedom to all slaves found in the possession of other Indians there, of whom I am now being provided with a list.

There can be no doubt, as I have before stated in official reports, that slaves are very generally held by Indians at the coast towns, but in making this strong statement I would not wish to be understood to imply that the Indians, as a class, are slave-dealers who enter into the traffic as a commercial speculation; on the contrary, they are, I believe, as free of this as any part of the trading community. With their European and American fellow-traders, they are interested in the sale of Venetian beads, English and Swiss prints, and American cottons, and would willingly see the disturbance in trade that must for a time follow the stoppage of a large branch of commerce averted or lessened; but except at Quiloa itself I have no reason to think that Indians do more than purchase slaves for house use, or accept them in pledge for debts.

I have most carefully investigated the loose accusations of a more sweeping nature made against the Indian traders as a class, and find them to rest on no firmer foundation than that the local capital in trade here is Indian, and goods pass through their hands, but that with the exception of the petty traders at Quiloa, the Indians are as free of all criminality in the slave traffic as a branch of commerce as the European and American merchants who bring out goods that are used not alone in Slave Trade, but in the varied commerce of Zanzibar.

The holding of domestic slaves by Kutchees when out of sight of the Agency is, however, a known fact, and one easily remedied, the first time a vessel is placed at the disposal of the Agent.

At the present moment, with only two vessels on the station, it would be injudicious to withdraw one for such a purpose when they are performing so well the duty they have taken in hand of blockading the Slave Trade of Quiloa; but I have the thorough support of Captain Malcolm in the course I have proposed, and that officer will, I know, place his ship at my disposal on the earliest occasion, nor should I desire to have a more intelligent officer to co-operate with on such a duty.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 18.

Memorandum on the Somali Slave Trade.

THE southern Somali towns of Brava, Merka, Mogdeesho, and Worsheikh, commonly known as the "Benadir," or the "Harbours," from being the only points at which native vessels are able to call along this part of the coast, have been long marked as chief places at which slaves are yearly landed in thousands; and the general belief has been that so barren a country and so wild a race as the Somalis do not require slaves, all taken there being destined for reshipment to Arabia and elsewhere.

That this was to a considerable extent at one time done, there can be no doubt; but it is equally certain that at present a large part of the slaves now taken to the Benadir are retained, and used as slaves in the interior of the Somali land itself.

On the occasion of my recent visit, I was much struck with the development of the grain trade from Merka and Mogdeesho, at each of which places we found nineteen or twenty good-sized native vessels laying at anchor, some fully laden, and all with bags ready to load with native grain. Many other vessels, provided with empty bags, were also communicated with on the voyage there. To this must be added the enormous amount of orchilla weed, which, until very lately, was exported from those places, and crops of the best kind of sesam oil-seed, that forms a very important item in the Zanzibar trade, not to mention ox-hides, that, arriving from the Benadir in great numbers, constitute one of the chief exports of the latter place.

A country producing these valuable and varied products may well demand slaves, and pay for them, when the Somali men themselves would seem to be so averse to manual labour—the females alone working in the fields.

A comparison, however, of the average prices of slaves ruling at Muscat and on the Somali coast will show that the export from the latter could not have been effected of late years, unless at a loss. I therefore reported, in 1871, that, in my opinion, the Somali land retained at least 3,000 slaves yearly—a number that I am now convinced was far below the truth; that, in fact, the demand for slaves in that country itself has been one of the chief supports of the Quiloa Slave Trade, as the transport thither was so profitable and, at the same time, so easy, while the Sultan issued passes in favour of any one who applied, securing the cargo as far as Lamo.

Once at Lamo, there is no difficulty, if ships are known to be in the vicinity, in moving the slaves for a considerable distance by water behind the island, when a short voyage took them to Brava, or elsewhere, as information led the owners to think the boats of our cruisers were stationed.

While the feuds subsisted between the Somalis of the north of the Juba with their rivals (new settlers at Kismayo, to the south of that river), many captures of slave-vessels were made by our cruisers, as the disposition of the boats was not known to the Lamo traders; but now, the land communication being open, intelligence is speedily passed to Lamo when the boats of Her Majesty's cruisers have taken up any one station.

This year, knowing that greater difficulty would be met with, the land route, which I before informed the Government would be a resource to which the Arabs would fall back when the sea became too dangerous, has been tried; and, at the time of our visit to Brava, in April, one caravan had already passed, having marched through Kismayo and Brava to Mogdeesho.

As there is every reason to believe that the present enormous demand for slaves in Somali land itself is but of comparative recent growth, it seems the more necessary at once to call attention to it, and to take means for its suppression.

The Somalis are a cruel treacherous race; described to me, by those who have been among them, as the very worst of all slave-masters, and who, from their behaviour generally to Europeans, although to me personally they were not uncivil, do not deserve the smallest consideration.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 3 in No. 18.

Memorandum of Inquiries at Brava and Kismayo regarding the reported White Captives in Galla Land, South of the River Juba.

AS-directed by the Government of India I took the first occasion of a flying visit to Brava and Kismayo to make inquiries regarding a rumour that reached Zanzibar through two French gentlemen who had ascended the River Juba, and reported a story they had heard of white captives in Galla Land south of that river.

My facilities during the very short stay at either place were perhaps greater than those usually afforded to a mere passer, and if not conclusive I look upon the information obtained as greatly strengthening the conclusion that this rumour is without foundation.

When at Brava, in company with three gentlemen from the Cape of Good Hope, fellow-passengers on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," I crossed the sand-hills and entered the plain beyond, attended by some Somalis who had travelled recently to Genana, Berdera, and other parts of Somali Land. I questioned them, not in a formal manner, but in course of conversation, to pass the time occupied on the march, and besides inquiries regarding Slave Trade, geography, and other matters, touched upon the subject of captives.

All knew well the story of the "St. Abb's" captives in Somali Land, as it seemed to me entirely through the numerous inquiries made, but not one gave the smallest hint of captives south of the river, among the Gallas.

At Kismayo, under equally favourable circumstances I collected no other information unless from the man who accompanied the French gentlemen who first spread the report, and he said he had heard the tale, but that the captives were reported to be very far distant from Berdera.

As this man, although a Somali, was a foreigner in this part and has never travelled far from the river, and as no one either at Brava or Kismayo seemed to

know anything of the story, I venture to think it has no foundation, the more so as the original informer proves to be a Somali who had been to Bombay, Aden, &c., where he possibly first heard of prisoners in Somali Land, which he afterwards confounded so as to give rise to the story that there were others in the Galla country as well.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 19.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, May 31, 1873.

I THINK it my duty to bring before your Lordship's notice, in a separate letter, the very efficient course adopted by the naval authorities on the station for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

So thoroughly indeed have the steps taken achieved the object aimed at, that whereas in former years over 4,000 slaves have usually been imported here by the end of May, this season only two small cargoes have been entered at the Custom-house—one with nineteen and the other with two slaves on board, both from Bagamoyo, a coast village almost within sight of the harbour. From Kilwa not a single slave has yet escaped, and the Arab owners, driven to desperation, are selling off the strongest ones at very reduced prices to speculators, who propose attempting their transport by land.

Again, during the past thirty-one days, instead of the wholesale exportation of past years, I have only one cargo of thirty-seven slaves to report as escaped from the island, and that only destined for Pangani—a neighbouring town on the mainland. The Sultan's Custom-house has in fact only realized in slave duties during the month, 116 dollars, against a sum of 8,290 dollars drawn from the same source as duties for 4,145 slaves imported during the same month of 1872.

Such striking results as these have not, however, been attained without considerable strain on both Her Majesty's Navy and this Agency. The Senior Naval Officer, Captain Malcolm, of the "Briton"—at first alone on the station until rejoined by Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," Commander Bateman, on her return from escorting Her Majesty's Special Envoy to Ras Hafun—has by a well-planned disposition of every available boat, and the skilful management of the slender means at his disposal, paralysed the Arabs, who fear at every town the sudden appearance either of the ships or one of their boats—to such an extent, indeed, that the weakness of the fleet is matter of public disbelief.

I should, however, fail in my duty when speaking of the means concerted to bring about so startling a result, did I not also bring before your Lordship's notice, the energy, endurance, and high moral courage displayed by the junior officers and men of Her Majesty's Navy—upon whom the toil of carrying out these measures has devolved—short-handed and throughout a rainy season all have patiently done their duty in open boats without even the excitement of active resistance or the incentive of prize captures, whilst Her Majesty's ships have at no previous time, and with such reduced crew, without even boats in case of accident, ventured into such intricate channels and dangerous waters upon this difficult and imperfectly surveyed coast.

Whilst placing on record my firm conviction that the efforts of the officers and men of Her Majesty's two ships on the station—the "Briton" and "Daphne," are well deserving of special recognition, the more so indeed as they have by their display of zeal and energy destroyed their chances of prize-money, I must not at the same time neglect to award to the Agency and Consular staff under my orders their justly earned share of credit for the active, intelligent, and cheerful manner in which they have at all times assisted in the performance of the special duties entailed by the measures lately adopted, and which, added to a daily increasing press of Court cases, both European and native, bankruptcy work, work in connection with Her Majesty's Navy, slave prosecutions and the customary office routine, has rendered it imperative of late for us to devote our whole energy and time to the Government service.

I trust, however, your Lordship will not draw as a conclusion from the above Report, that the present strain on the limited resources of Her Majesty's Navy on the station and on this Agency can be long continued without additional naval strength. Good sailing and thorough sea-going boats of larger dimensions than the ships are now provided with are a more urgent need than additional vessels, although in order to keep up the blockade of Kilwa, Zanzibar, and Lamoo, as at present one vessel at the very least will become a necessity; and it must be borne in mind that the entire coast to the south, Mozambique and Madagascar, has been left totally unwatched, and as a consequence, although to

march large gangs of raw slaves by land to opposite Zanzibar might be a difficult matter, and one of which, sooner or later, this Agency would gain intelligence, yet, were the same slaves shipped from the coast a few miles south of Kilwa at the present moment, it is probable they would escape to sea without meeting any of our cruisers or boats until again nearing the land.

And in conclusion, I must also urge upon your Lordship, that with the many duties pressing on this Office in connection with the steps now being taken, it is impossible to visit the coast towns or make that Consular inspection of the Indian community, which is at the present moment so urgently needed, both to protect our subjects at such a crisis from Arab oppression, and at the same time to thoroughly up-root any slave holding prevalent amongst them, unless a vessel is appointed for the due performance of such a duty, which is one incompatible with effective cruising for the suppression of the Slave Trade,

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK

No. 20.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 4, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Captain Malcolm, Senior Naval Officer on this station, returned from a cruise to the Northern Ports on the 31st May.

On this occasion, Captain Malcolm touched at Lamoo, Brava, and Magadoxa, and reports that at the former town he was placed in possession of six slaves supposed to be the property of British Indian subjects, and two more escaped to his boats, claiming protection under the plea they were also held by Kutchis. These cases will be carefully inquired into, and the alleged slave-holders severely punished, should they be proved guilty.

At Brava, Captain Malcolm was surprised to find the inhabitants insolent and overbearing. On inquiry being made, it appeared a report had travelled down that, on the occasion of the "Briton's" previous visit to Magadoxa, when I was on board, an interpreter had been insulted and spat upon by the Somali, and as no redress was demanded, the opinion had been circulated that we were glad to slur over the incident. Captain Malcolm, on questioning the interpreter, found that he had actually been so insulted, but fearful of consequences, had carefully concealed the fact from all on board.

Fearing the results of such a mischievous rumour, and bad impressions upon the coast inhabitants, in order to insure respect to Englishmen, and more especially induced by the fact of having under-manned boats engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade, Captain Malcolm deemed it his duty to steam at once to Magadoxa. On his arrival, after placing the "Briton" in such a position that the town lay at the mercy of her guns, he landed alone on the beach, having previously dispatched an Arabic letter to the Elders, summoning them to appear and account for the insult offered to the interpreter. After some delay, the Elders attended, numerous accompanied, and (before two Interpreters and a Frenchman conversant with the language) made a most ample and thorough apology, promising to do their best to discover the offenders.

Captain Malcolm assured them that the next time any insult was offered to any English subject, a simple apology would not be sufficient, but such measures would be adopted as Magadoxa would long remember, and only left after showing the natives that Her Majesty's ships were in stern earnest.

I have the honour to inclose copy of Captain Malcolm's despatch on the matter, and he is, I am glad to say, of opinion that this will create the best possible impression on the lawless inhabitants of Brava and Magadoxa.

Off. Lamoo, two dhows were captured (unfurnished with the Sultan's Pass) by the "Briton's" boats; after careful investigation, Captain Malcolm being convinced of their being engaged in the Slave Trade, they were directed to be destroyed by a Committee of Officers, and the cases brought before me in the Vice-Admiralty Court; these I shall have the honour to forward in detail with their condemnations in a future letter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Captain Malcolm to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

"Briton," at Magadoxa, May 20, 1873.

WHEN you took a passage in this ship to visit some ports on the East Coast of Africa in April last we were at Magadoxa on the 11th April, but did not land as there was a surf, and because we had no encouragement to do so from the people, we neither heard nor suspected that our messenger Mahomed bin Ali bin Hassan had been insulted.

On the 13th April we touched at Brava, remaining there until the 15th April. I am right when I say that we were struck with the civility and friendliness, almost cordiality, of our reception.

2. When I arrived at Brava on the 18th May Lieutenant John E. Blaxland informed me that the people were not friendly, almost threatening in their demeanour. On going on shore I remarked the change, was informed that the Chiefs and people of Magadoxa were boasting that they had not allowed us to land, and had spat upon and defiled the messenger of the English. I saw a headman from Magadoxa who said such was the report on the coast. I then asked Mahomed bin Ali bin Hassan if they had spat on him and insulted him. He said it was true, but had not told me as he did not wish to make a quarrel.

3. I felt if I allowed this to pass no white man's life would be safe amongst the Somali or Benhadi, as they are sometimes termed; that our boats might be attacked and a serious conflict might occur, as amongst these Somalis, who are treacherous and full of cupidity, allowing an insult to pass unnoticed is sure to lead to further and greater insults being offered; in fact, this is almost an axiom, and applies to other countries beside that of Benhadi.

I therefore determined, as my cruising for the suppression of the Slave Trade would admit of it, to go to Magadoxa and settle the affair on the spot.

4. On my way up I wrote the letter for Iman Mahamoud, of Magadoxa, a copy of which I inclose. As there is some difficulty in writing English, so as to make the meaning clear to a native mind, I have had to use the expressions I thought the Iman could best understand, which I think he did.

5. On arriving at Magadoxa I took up a position as close to the principal gate and the Iman's house consistent with safety to the ship, that I could, and sent a cutter manned and armed under Lieutenant Arthur S. Philpotts, to land Mahomed bin Ali bin Hassan, telling the latter to let the Iman and the headman know that this was not a formality but a demand—it would be the wisest earnestly to weigh before refusing compliance.

When I considered that they had had time to decide, I went to the strand myself; as soon as a party of armed Somali came down, I landed amongst them, making the boat lay off. Two of the headmen were of this party, and wanted me to go and see the Iman.

I said the Iman must come to me to ask pardon; then another party with the brother of the Iman and some other relations came. They said he was at the gate of the town waiting for me. I replied they all knew my conditions, and the Iman must come here to the water's edge to me; they had gloried in insulting us, and now they should as publicly demand pardon, and promise in future to behave better to all white men, as we intended stopping these insults. They then urged:—"The Iman only remains at the gate of the town to prevent the people from coming out, and your life might be in danger." I replied, "If I feared you, I would not come alone amongst you to make you ask pardon, and to the beach publicly the Iman and all of you shall come, and there you will hear my terms." On this they said: "A captain always visits an Iman." I replied, "This captain will not do it, and the Iman must come to him to the water's edge."

On this they went away, and after some time the Iman came down, accompanied by his chief men and a large body of people, armed with spears, &c. I told him the same as what was contained in the letter, the interpretation of Mohamed bin Ali bin Hassan being checked by others and myself.

He publicly, before his people, apologized. I demanded the men who spat on my messenger, to punish them publicly on the beach before all the Somalis. He said they were not known, but he would use every endeavour to find them and be loaded with chains, and that all who insulted white men should be so treated. I asked him did he promise this on his word as a King before everyone? He said he did. I said I would accept this and should be here again, I then would visit him, but it would be a day they

would have cause to remember if I ever had to return on an errand like that of this day. I then said "he might go," and called my boat in and went on board.

6. I did not wish to press the matter further as I thought my ends had been gained, but I felt I was near the kindred and abettors of the men who murdered Baron von der Decken, and others, who in this very town poisoned Mr. Kenzilbach, and who, if an European comes to trade, imprison him, and I hope that in future they will be more civil, and, from fear, less treacherous.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

No. 21.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, June 5, 1873.

ON receipt of your Lordship's orders,* which reached me on June 2, I asked for an interview with His Highness Seyd Burgash, at which I desired his Council might be present.

By appointment on the following morning, the 3rd, I went to the palace unattended, but with your Lordship's orders in my hand, and was met by His Highness and a Council of the most influential men of rank, whose names are marginally noted.†

After reading the first paragraphs of your Lordship's instructions, I explained to the Sultan and his advisers what a blockade implied, and particularly pointed out that it would affect not his vessels alone, but our own, together with those under the French, German, American, or other flags; and that from the day the blockade was established, no ships whatever would be allowed to communicate with the Island, and no cargo but any previously shipped permitted to be taken away.

His Highness objected that this was not the way to make a Treaty—by force. I explained that many Treaties were only signed when one of the parties concerned had been subdued, but none the less was a Treaty under such circumstances considered binding, and I instanced the late French war as a case in which a complete Treaty was only obtained after the siege of Paris, remarking that the blockade of an island was a process similar to the siege of a town; however, I must assure His Highness that I had not come to discuss but to dictate, and that it remained for him either to accept the present terms in their full integrity, and in anticipation of the arrival of the fleet, or to subject his people to the ruinous results of a rigorous blockade. On this occasion I hoped sincerely the Council would not commit the dangerous fault of misdirecting the Sultan. I had requested the presence of its members for the express purpose of placing responsibility on their shoulders, lest at any future time it should please them to turn on their Chief and accuse him of want of foresight in not yielding at such a crisis, when further resistance became almost a criminal act. What had now taken place arose solely from the error they themselves had committed in advising His Highness to reject the advice of Sir Bartle Frere, and I knew well, if once the blockade were established, unless their personal assistance at this interview was not a matter of public notoriety, they would be the very first to shift all blame upon the Sultan.

Knowing their hopes of causing delay, I clearly assured them that what I came armed with now was an ultimatum, and non-acceptance involved war, that was, a blockade; such war only as England could carry on with so defenceless a State as Zanzibar, and with whose Ruler, moreover, she was in friendly relations on all matters save the one exception of the suppression of the Slave Trade.

This last remark closed the interview, and on my return I furnished the Sultan, at his request, with a copy in Arabic of your Lordship's orders (as far as I had read them at my visit), and I also annexed a formal demand for the speedy signature of the Treaty.

The same evening His Highness intimated a wish to call upon me at the Agency, but having guests in the house at the time, and feeling more at freedom to address the Seyd under his own roof, I suggested my going to the palace.

On my arrival there the complete change which had taken place in the policy of His Highness was evident in a moment. His councillors were no longer silent, but, accepting

* See No. 45 of Papers respecting Sir B. Frere's mission to Zanzibar, laid before Parliament in 1873.

† Seyed Suleiman bin Hamed, Seyed Hamed bin Suleiman, Mahommed bin Abdullah el Shagsi, Mahommed bin Mahommed Ba Kashmir.

the responsibility I had forced upon them, entered into a keen discussion, which lasted upwards of an hour and a-half, and was directed to discover, in the first place, whether there was any flaw in my powers to act, and in the second whether I held authority, as Sir Bartle Frere did, to modify the terms or text of the Treaty.

I kept constantly before the Assembly my actual position. I had a simple message to communicate, without discussion of its merits; two alternatives were before them, acceptance of the Treaty or refusal, by allowing time for the arrival of the fleet, and I warned them that, on learning the non-compliance of His Highness with the request of Her Majesty's Government, the Admiral would know what steps to adopt, irrespectively in every way of anything I might wish to say on the subject.

Throughout this interview the greatest courtesy and deference was shown to me, and conversation was open and unreserved on both sides. I left thoroughly convinced that, but for some unforeseen incident, my object was gained, and the more so that I had placed the position clearly before His Highness' secret and powerful advisers, and, as I believed, convinced them of the extreme danger of further delay.

Fearing a protracted discussion, I now returned a transcript of the Treaty (carefully preserving an exact copy for my guidance), with the additional clause inserted, and such alterations as to dates and names as was manifestly needed, and informed the Sultan that the only answer required was his consent to sign such amended Treaty, any other reply would not delay our action for a moment.

I was subsequently asked to come in the evening. All the Council, including the three Matawah and some others of the Al-bu-Sacedi, who had not been present before in the discussion of the question, were with the Sultan, who opened matters by saying that they wished for some explanatory information, but that a final answer should be given me before leaving the palace.

The additional clause inserted in the 1st Article of the Treaty I had rendered, so they said, so as to make it obligatory on the Zanzibar Government to effect the complete suspension of the Traffic, and it was an open matter, should there be an evasion of the new law, to throw blame on them from the one fact that in such an instance the trade had not been successfully suppressed; they might be free from all guilty connivance, and might have used all means at their disposal to anticipate and stop shipment, but still the fault, and perhaps its punishment, might fall upon them.

I informed His Highness that I conceived the aim of this additional clause to be the insurance of a guarantee that His Highness would be bound to use his utmost endeavours to stop the trade, and was rendered necessary because this was a Treaty, not granted from conviction of justice or friendship, or an alliance of feeling, but enforced as a matter of expediency by proceedings equal to war, and such a clause was necessary to prevent his saying, "You have got your Treaty by force; enforce it yourself, I will do nothing."

The Sultan replied that he accepted the full meaning, and only wished to guard against the possibility of such an eventuality as he had just alluded to, and after some discussion on this head, I consented to add to the insertion directed by your Lordship, which runs as follows: "The Sultan engages to take effectual measures within all parts of his dominions to prevent and suppress the same"—the words "to the utmost of his powers."

His Highness then proceeded to ask what position an old domestic slave would be in now, if accompanying his master to the coast? I replied, that to my apprehension, he would be exactly on the same footing as slaves now are who travel with their masters to Aden, Mecca, Bombay, or elsewhere. If he goes of his own free will no fault can be found.

The next question put was an inquiry how slaves would be regarded who might escape to the mainland. I said, that as runaway slaves, they could not be touched or returned to Zanzibar under the new Treaty, unless guilty as criminals by any Act, such as theft, which would bring them under the law.

"Now I understand," said the Sultan, "you may consider the Treaty signed, and to-morrow I will name my agent, and I will ratify the deed with my own hand."

Inclosure in No. 21.

Dr. Kirk to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Sir,

Zanzibar, June 3, 1873.

AT the interview I had with your Highness this morning, I had the honour to inform you that a communication had reached me from Lord Granville, in which I am

ordered to demand your Highness' acceptance and signature to a Treaty, similar in purport to the Treaty which was presented to you by his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, on inserting in the first Article one additional clause.

Your Highness thereupon desired me to furnish you with a copy of the extract from Lord Granville's despatch, which was then read to you.

I have now the honour to forward a copy and an Arabic translation of that portion of his Lordship's letter which it is, as yet, my duty to lay before you, and to require your Highness' immediate compliance therewith.

You will be pleased to observe, that on the arrival of Admiral Cumming, failing the receipt of your favourable reply, the naval officers hold instructions to establish the blockade of the Island of Zanzibar, and enforce it according to the Law of Nations.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 22.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday afternoon His Highness Seyed Burgash ratified the new Treaty for the total abolition of the Slave Trade in his dominions which had been signed by Seyd Naser bin Saeed the same day on his behalf, and by me on the part of Her Majesty the Queen.

I shall await your Lordship's orders and directions in what way the copy I retain for His Highness will be ratified on the part of Her Majesty, and whether any formal powers are needed before doing so.

The copy ratified by His Highness I shall send to London by the first safe occasion.

No. 23.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE decided on availing myself of the offer of Captain Malcolm, the Senior Officer on this Station, and sending the new Slave Treaty, in original, signed on the part of Her Majesty by me, and ratified by His Highness Seyed Burgash, by the hand of Lieutenant Augustus Hamilton, R.N., who has been detached from his vessel, Her Majesty's ship "Briton," for this special duty.

Lieutenant Hamilton is an officer highly recommended by Captain Malcolm, and one who has been engaged in keeping up that effective boat blockade of the coast against the Slave Trade which has been the principal means of forcing His Highness to yield now to our demands, without awaiting the more hostile measures that otherwise would have become necessary.

I trust the course now followed in insuring the safe arrival of this valuable deed will be approved.

No. 24.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday afternoon, in accordance with the IIInd Article of the Slave Treaty signed on that date, the public slave-market in Zanzibar was cleared by order of His Highness Seyed Burgash, and closed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 25.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the new Slave Treaty, signed and ratified on the part of the Sultan yesterday.

I have for safety placed it in the hands of Lieutenant Hamilton, R.N., who will deliver it on arrival to your Lordship, and I trust that the course followed will meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

In the name of the Most High God.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness the Seyed Burgash-bin-Saïd, Sultan of Zanzibar, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have appointed as their Representatives to conclude a new Treaty for this purpose, which shall be binding upon themselves, their heirs, and successors, that is to say, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland has appointed to that end John Kirk, the Agent of the English Government at Zanzibar, and His Highness the Seyed Burgash, the Sultan of Zanzibar, has appointed to that end Nâsir-bin-Saïd, and the two aforesaid, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The provisions of the existing Treaties having proved ineffectual for preventing the export of slaves from the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Sultan above named agree that from this date the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease. And His Highness the Sultan binds himself, to the best of his ability, to make an effectual arrangement throughout his dominions to prevent and abolish the same. And any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves, after this date, shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such naval or other officers or agents, and such Courts, as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of her Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

His Highness the Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for the buying and selling of imported slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness the Sultan above named engages to protect, to the utmost of his ability, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or to reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall be prohibited from possessing slaves and from acquiring any fresh slaves in the mean time,* from this date.

* The words "in the meantime" are redundant here. They were connected in the original English draft and in my translation, from which they are copied, with the sentence "from and after a date to be hereafter fixed."—G. P. B.

ZANZIBAR.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Zanzibar as soon as possible, but in any case in the course of the 9th of Rabîa-el-Akhir [5th of June, 1873] of the months of the date hereof. In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed their seals to this Treaty, made the 5th of June, 1873, corresponding to the 9th of the month Rabîa-el-Akhir, 1290.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Political Agent, Zanzibar.
(L.S.)

The mean in God's sight.
(Signed) NASIR-BIN-SAID-BIN-ABDALLAH.*
With his own hand.

We have looked into and considered this Treaty, and we agree to it and accept it; and we confirm everything which it sets forth in all its provisions and articles. And we confirm the same on behalf of our heirs and those who may succeed us, giving our firm bond and covenant, and our faithful word, to carry out all that is set forth in the body of this written document, and to avoid as much as possible everything that contravenes it, and to the best of our ability not to transgress its provisions and conditions. In confirmation of which we hereto affix our seal and our signature with our own hand this 9th of Rabîa-el-Akhir, 1290 [5th June, 1873].

Approved by
The poor, the unworthy.
(Signed) BARGHASH-BIN-SAID-BIN-SULTAN.
Written by his own hand.
(L.S.)

Translated by
(Signed) GEORGE PERCY BADGER.
June 30, 1873.

No. 26.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report, that letters have been received from Lieutenant Cameron, of the Livingstone Expedition to East Central Africa, dated the 22nd May last, at which time he had reached Roheneka, in Usegara.

Both he and his companion, Dr. Dillon, were well, and the party in good spirits, awaiting the arrival of Lieutenant Murphy with the second detachment, which must have joined them two days after writing.

In Lieutenant Cameron's note he states that Lieutenant Murphy was suffering from fever when last he communicated with him; and Mr. Moffat delirious, and supposed to be dying.

I regret to say that the native who brought down this note tells me, that when he passed the second party, one of the Europeans was dead, and he saw the grave on the roadside, two days' march beyond Simbamweni. The remaining European of this party, who there can be little doubt must be Lieutenant Murphy, seemed well, but gave no letter to the Arab caravan as they passed.

My informant states, that it is eleven days since he passed the second party, and that they would join Lieutenant Cameron in two days' time after he saw them.

Although it was Mr. Moffat who was supposed to be dying, there is no absolute certainty of the event having occurred; yet, taking Lieutenant Cameron's information, in conjunction with the unhesitating manner in which the native stated the above as things which he saw, there can remain but little doubt that Mr. Moffat is the one who died.

At the same time it may be prudent not to circulate the news as official, until letters have placed it beyond doubt.

I would therefore suggest that, in so far, this may be considered confidential.

* No seal is appended, to this signature. The defect is made good by the signature and seal of the Sultan to the ratifications following.—G. P. B.

Nothing was known at Unyanyembe of Dr. Livingstone's movements, and the Mirambo war still continued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 27.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 3, 1873:

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of Décrees, with the necessary accompanying papers in each of two cases tried before the Vice-Admiralty Court here.

These captures were both made by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," near Lamo. They are devoid of all individual interest, and, slave-dealing being apparent, I had no hesitation in making decrees of condemnation accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 27.

Case No. 6 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar ship or vessel, her name and that of the master unknown, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against four male slaves named Eureka, Mabrake, Hamissi, and Hamadi, seized as liable to forfeiture by George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," before John Kirk, Esquire, Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 2nd of June, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared the above-named George John Malcolm, Esquire, captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which sets out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar vessel, her name and that of master unknown, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, taken by the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and approved of by the Court; also four male slaves named Eureka, Mabrake, Hamissi, and Hamadi, were seized in the port of Lamo on the 21st day of April, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal slave transport in contravention of the Treaty existing between Zanzibar and Great Britain, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also four slaves to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly; and, as by certificate annexed, it appears the vessel was destroyed on the 15th May, 1873, after due survey and consideration, by order of George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," which course is approved.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 2nd day of June, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Lamo dhow (her name and that of master unknown), her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against four male slaves seized by Augustus Maitland Ronald Hamilton, Esquire, Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

Appeared personally George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that, on the 28th day of March, 1873, whilst at Mombasa,

he sent two boats under orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, Augustus Maitland Ronald Hamilton, Esquire, Sub-Lieutenant, being in charge; that, upon the return of the boats, on the 14th May, 1873, the said Augustus Maitland Ronald Hamilton, Esquire, Sub-Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had seized, on the 21st April, 1873, near Lamo, a native vessel without colours, said to belong to the Port of Lamo, having on board two male slaves, and later two more appeared, not being domestics, in contravention of the Treaties between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, whereupon Augustus Maitland Ronald Hamilton, Esq., Sub-Lieutenant, reported the circumstances to him. After mature examination he agreed with his report, had the dhow surveyed by competent officers, and she was destroyed in accordance with that report by Augustus Maitland Ronald Hamilton, Esq., Sub-Lieutenant, on the 15th May, 1873, and he forthwith made oath that there were no papers found on board.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

On the 31st day of May, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, and*
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

I, the undersigned Augustus Maitland Ronald Hamilton, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" pinnace, do hereby certify that on the 15th day of May, 1873, a survey was held on board the dhow (name unknown), detained by me on the 21st of April, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and the surveying officers having reported that she was unfit to proceed to Zanzibar, as from the report of survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said dhow has been destroyed by the order of Captain George John Malcolm, of Her Britannic Majesty's ship "Briton," on this day.

(Signed) A. M. R. HAMILTON, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain and Senior Officer,*
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

Report of Survey on Dhow (name unknown).

In pursuance of orders from Captain George J. Malcolm, Her Majesty's ship "Briton," Senior Officer East Coast of Africa, dated 14th May, 1873, as proceeded on board the dhow (name unknown), captured by Augustus M. R. Hamilton, Esq., Sub-Lieutenant, on the 21st April, 1873, and now lying at anchor at Kilindini-Manda Reach. After a strict and careful survey we are of opinion that it is not practicable to take this dhow to Zanzibar. She cannot possibly work up against the south-west monsoon, particularly with the strong currents running to the northward, nor will she bear towing against the heavy sea which exists in this monsoon.

Given under our hands on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," at Kilindini, this 15th day of May, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN FELLOWES, *Senior Lieutenant.*
ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, *Lieutenant.*
JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain and Senior Officer,*
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

We, the undersigned officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule 2 of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, the dhow rigged vessel (name unknown), detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on the 21st of April, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet.
Length on upper deck outside of plank at stem to outside plank at sternpost ..	74·3
Main breadth to outside plank	20·7
Girth of ship under keel at main breadth from upper deck on one side of ship to the upper deck on the other	29·5

TONNAGE.

	Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck	84·6
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or round-house, &c.	None.
Total	84·6

Signed this 15th day of May, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN FELLOWES, *Senior Lieutenant.*

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, *Lieutenant.*

JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved,

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain and Senior Officer,*
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

Case No. 7 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

- Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar ship or vessel called the "Fathulheir," whereof Wakate was master, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, and also against one male slave named Farjala, seized, as liable to forfeiture, by George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 2nd day of June, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared the above named George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which sets out the circumstances under which the Zanzibar vessel "Fathulheir," owned by Islam, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, taken by the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and approved of by the Court; also one male slave, named Farjala, was seized between the islands of Manda and Lamo on the 14th day of May, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence on both sides, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal slave transport, in contravention of the Treaty existing between Zanzibar and Great Britain, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, furniture and cargo, and also one slave to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly, and as by certificate annexed it appears the vessel was destroyed on the 15th May, 1873, after due survey and consideration by order of George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," which course is approved; and whereas it has been reported that the cargo consisting of rough wood was utterly worthless, we approve of its destruction.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto, this 2nd day of June, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK,

Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Mambrue dhow called the "Fathulheir," whereof Wakate was master, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, and also against one male slave seized by Arthur Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

Appeared personally George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that, on the 21st day of April, 1873, when off Kuyo Island,

he sent the jolly boat under orders to join the pinnace and to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, being in charge; that upon the return of the boats, on the 14th May, 1873, the said Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had seized, on the 14th May, 1873, near Manda Island, a native vessel, without colours, said to belong to a certain individual named Selam, of Mambrue, having on board one male slave, not a domestic, in contravention of the Treaties between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, whereupon Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, reported the case to him. After careful inquiry he came to the conclusion that the case of the slave Farjala, he being for sale, was in contravention of the above Treaties. On the 15th May, 1873, he caused the dhow to be carefully surveyed by competent officers, who reported her as unfit to make the passage to Zanzibar. He, therefore, ordered her to be destroyed on the same day, in accordance with the report made by Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, and he forthwith made oath that there were no papers found on board.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

On the 31st day of May, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, and*
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

We, the Undersigned, officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, the dhow rigged vessel "Fathulheir," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on the 15th day of May, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at sternpost..	Feet.
Main breadth to outside plank	14.6
Girth of ship under keel at main breadth from upper deck on one side of ship to upper deck on the other	23.7

TONNAGE.

Tonnage under tonnage deck	Tons.
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or roundhouse ..	37.2
Total	37.2

(Signed) JOHN FELLOWES, *Lieutenant.*
A. M. R. HAMILTON, *Sub-Lieutenant.*
JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain and Senior Office,*
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

I, the undersigned Arthur Phillpotts, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" pinnace, do hereby certify that, on the 15th day of May, 1873, a survey was held on board the dhow "Fathulheir," detained by me on the 14th day of May, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade. And the surveying officers having reported that she was unfit to proceed to Zanzibar, as from the report of survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said dhow has been destroyed by order of Captain G. J. Malcolm, of Her Britannic Majesty's ship "Briton" this day.

Signed this 15th day of May, 1873:

(Signed) ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, *Lieutenant.*

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain and Senior Officer,*
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

Report of Survey on Dhow "Fathulheir."

In pursuance of orders from Captain George J. Malcolm, Her Majesty's ship "Briton," Senior Officer East Coast of Africa, dated 14th May, 1873, we proceeded on board the dhow "Fathulheir," captured by Arthur Stevens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant on the 14th May, 1873, and now lying at anchor at Kilindini, Manda Reach. After a strict and careful survey we are of opinion that it is not practicable to take this dhow to Zanzibar. She cannot possibly work up against the south-west monsoon, particularly with the strong currents running to the northward, nor will she bear towing against the heavy sea which exists in this monsoon.

Given under our hands on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," at Kilindini, this 15th day of May, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN FELLOWES, *Senior Lieutenant.*

A. M. R. HAMILTON, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved,

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain and Senior Officer,*
East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

No. 28.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 3, 1873.

LIEUTENANT HAMILTON of Her Majesty's ship "Briton" arrived in London on the morning of the 29th ultimo, and deposited in this Office the Treaty which you signed on the 5th ultimo with His Highness Seyed Burgash, by which he engages to put a complete, and so far as practicable, immediate stoppage to all Slave Trade within the Zanzibar dominions.

I fully approve the course which you adopted in sending home Lieutenant Hamilton with this Treaty, and have to express to you the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the able manner in which you have carried out the instructions contained in my telegram of the 5th ultimo, without having recourse to the stronger measures therein mentioned.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

GRANVILLE.

No. 29

Viscount Enfield to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 17, 1873.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to inform you that his Lordship approves the steps taken by you on the trial of one Arnasallo, a native of Madras, convicted of slave-dealing, as reported in your despatch of the 22nd of May.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

ENFIELD.

No. 30.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 10, 1873.

I HAVE already had the honour to report, that the same day as that on which the Treaty was signed by His Highness for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and closing of the public slave markets throughout his dominions, the market that here has so long been one of the institutions of the place, and that only a few months ago was removed from the site it had so long occupied, was cleared by messengers sent from the Palace.

2. On the day following, namely, the 6th June, certain Arabs collected in the space

that lately had been put in order for the public sale of slaves, and would have made some demonstration, but on arrival of His Highness' soldiers they quietly dispersed; thus, as regards the town of Zanzibar, that part of the new Treaty has been given full effect to.

3. It was not, however, until the afternoon of the 8th June that the general Proclamation was published by His Highness. I have the honour to annex a copy, in Arabic and English, of this document as it first appeared. On seeing this I at once pointed out to the Sultan that the word "Bagham" could not stand; that in the Treaty no such limitation was mentioned, and we should hold by the clearly-expressed meaning of that document.

4. I reminded His Highness of the conversation before he signed the Treaty, when, in presence of the Council, he asked me what would be the position of runaway slaves escaped to the coast. I told him plainly, that in no case could the recovery of a slave who had escaped beyond sea simply as a slave be recognized, but that if he were otherwise a criminal it would only be in the interest of society that he should be seized, and I told him, that while it would not be our object to throw difficulties in the way of slaves moving about in vessels when they did so of their own free will, that any such limitation as he had without warrant introduced, must open the way to future loss to his subjects and misunderstanding with himself. The notice was at once recalled and the objectionable word removed.

5. When re-posted a large crowd assembled at the Custom-house, and read it, not without emotion, but the public have accepted the situation, and know that the final Act has been that of their Chiefs and not of the Sultan individually.

6. I should explain that this word is not pure Arabic, it is probably not to be found in any dictionary, being used in Oman for a barbarian; perhaps in Arabic it would be represented by "ajem." It is a term of contempt, and implies that the person so named cannot speak the language. In English we have no equivalent, and in Suaheli it is represented by "jinga," which, like Bagham, is used only in speaking of slaves who have not learnt Suaheli.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

From Burgash bin Saeed.

To all our Subjects who may see this, and also to others, may God save you.

KNOW that we have prohibited the transport of raw* slaves by sea in all our harbours, and have closed the markets which are for the sale of slaves through all our dominions. Whosoever, therefore, shall ship a raw* slave after this date, will render himself liable to punishment, and this he will bring upon himself. Be this known.

Dated 12 Rabi el Akhr, 1290 (June 8, 1873).

No. 31.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 23, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of decree of condemnation, with accompanying papers, in the case of a slave vessel seized near Kokotoni by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" on the 14th June.

The trial of this case presented unusual difficulties, from both the lads, almost children, having been induced on board the vessel under false pretexts for the purpose of being sold in Pemba.

Both told the captors they had been purchased at Quiloa only a month ago, and were being taken to Pemba,* but I at once pointed out that this was utterly false, the dialect in which one of them spoke being that of the north of Zanzibar Island, a circumstance that might have been noted by the ship's interpreter had he been an intelligent person.

* "Bagham." The amended Proclamation omitted this word.

It was eventually shown that one of the children was free, the son of a free man, and had gone from home not knowing he was being kidnapped, but to escape from his father, who wished him to begin to learn his trade and to assist him at work; the other was a domestic slave of some one who had gone to Arabia, and did not belong to the dhow owner.

I have caused inquiries to be made for the captain, who had been allowed to escape from the officers of the boats when the dhow was taken, and I have pointed out to Captain Bateman the necessity now of being very particular in impressing on his officers the importance of bringing in the captain or slave-owner in every case.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 31.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Case No. 8, 1873.

Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," Captors, *v.* Native Vessel, name unknown, owned by one Baia, of Zanzibar.

Decree.

In Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the native vessel, name unknown, whereof Baia was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against two male slaves, named Ali and Ida, seized as liable to forfeiture, by Richard S. Bateman, a Commander in Her Majesty's Navy, and Commander in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, personally.

APPEARED the above-named Richard S. Bateman, Esq., R.N., commanding Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a native vessel, name unknown, of which Baia was master, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, taken before condemnation by the captors; also two male slaves named Ali and Ida were seized near Kokotoni on the 14th day of June, 1873; the said Judge having heard the evidence, having found sufficient evidence that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal Slave Trade, in contravention of Treaties between Great Britain and Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the slaves Ali and Ida, to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony thereof I have signed the Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereunto this 18th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

In Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against a native vessel, name unknown, of which one Naser was said to have been master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against two slave boys named Ali and Idi, seized by Percy Hockin, Esq., R.N., Acting Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne."

APPEARED personally, Richard Sacneverell Bateman, Esq., a Commander in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," made oath that, on the 14th of June, 1873, on the return of the pinnace and whaler from detached service, Sub-Lieutenant Marcus MacCausland, informed the deponent that, on the 5th June, 1873, being anchored to leeward of the Tumbat Island in the pinnace to watch Kokotoni, he observed a dhow standing out from Kokotoni, and going towards Hog Point; on seeing the boat she altered course; that he sent the whaler to board her

in charge of Mr. Hockin, Acting Sub-Lieutenant, and he returned with two boys, who stated that they were slaves, and had been bought at Zanzibar within the last fortnight, taken to Manda, and then shipped; that they did not know where they were going, nor the name of their master; that he took the boys on board the pinnace, and they again told the same story as related above; that he then landed the crew, seeing no cause to detain them, and the dhow being unseaworthy, and having no papers or cargo, he measured and destroyed her the same day; that he made a prisoner of the captain, with a view to taking him to Zanzibar, but he made his escape at low water to Tumbat Island, where it was impossible to find any traces of him.

The deponent also made oath that no papers were found on board the vessel.

June 16, 1873.

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander.*

The deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, and Her Majesty's
Consul at Zanzibar.*

I, the Undersigned, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding the boats detached from Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do certify that, in exercise of the authority vested in me, I did, on the 5th day of June, 1873, being off Tumbat Island, detain the dhow, whereof Naseem is master, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade.

And I further certify that she had on board at the time a crew of five persons, no passengers, and two male and no female slaves.

And I further certify that the dhow, at the time of her detention, was unseaworthy.

(Signed) MARCUS MAC CAUSLAND, *Commanding the Boats
detached from H.M.S. "Daphne."*

Signed this 14th day of June, 1873.

Approved,

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander.*

June 14, 1873.

Certificate of Papers found on board the Prize.

I, the Undersigned, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding the boats detached from Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do hereby certify that, in exercise of the authority vested in me, I did, on the 5th day of June, 1873, being off Tumbat Island, detain the dhow, whereof Naseem is master, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for the Slave Trade.

And I further certify that she had no papers on board.

Signed this 14th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) MARCUS MAC CAUSLAND, *Commanding the Boats
detached from H.M.S. "Daphne."*

Approved,

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander.*

June 14, 1873.

Certificate as to Money and Valuables found on board the Prize.

I, the Undersigned, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding the boats detached from Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do hereby certify that the following is a correct account of all monies and valuables found on board the dhow detained by me on the 5th day of June, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade.

No monies or valuables.

Signed this 14th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) MARCUS MAC CAUSLAND, *Sub-Lieutenant, Commanding
Boats detached from H.M.S. "Daphne."*

41.

Approved,
(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander,*
H.M.S. "*Daphne.*"

June 14, 1873.

I, the Undersigned, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding the boats detached from Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do hereby certify that there were no equipments on board the vessel.

Signed this 14th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) **MARCUS MAC CAUSLAND**, *Sub-Lieutenant, Commanding
Boats detached from H.M.S. "Daphne."*

Approved,
(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander,*
H.M.S. "Daphne."

June 14, 1873.

I, the Undersigned, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding the boats detached from Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do hereby certify that, on the 5th day of June, 1873, I destroyed the dhow detained by me that day, on the ground of her being unseaworthy.

Signed this 14th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) **MARCUS MAC CAUSLAND**, *Sub-Lieutenant, Commanding*
Boats detached from H.M.S. "Daphne."

Approved,
(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander,*
H.M.S. "Daphne."

June 14, 1873.

We, the Undersigned, officers of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do hereby certify that we have carefully measured, in the manner prescribed by Rule 2 of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the vessel detained by Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," on the 5th June, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

Length on upper deck, from outside of plank at stem, to outside of plank at stern-post ..	45	6
Main breadth to outside of plank	12	0
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth, from the upper deck on one side of the ship, to the upper deck on the other	30	0

Tonnage under tonnage-deck	501 $\frac{1}{2}$
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage-deck, if any, naming them; poop or round-house, &c.	Nil

	Length.	Breadth.	Height.
Poop	..	..	..
House	..	..	..
Total	..	..	..

501
 54

Signed this 14th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) **MARCUS MAC CAUSLAND, Sub-Lieutenant.**
JOSIAH FITHON.

Approved by me, this 14th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) **RICHARD S. BATEMAN**, *Commander.*

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, June 23, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival here, on the 15th instant, of Rear-Admiral Cumming, C.B., in Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow." There were at the time in harbour the "Briton," "Wolverene," and "Daphne," and Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," has since arrived from Ceylon.

On the 17th June I called on His Highness Seyd Burgash, accompanied by Admiral Cumming, the Consular Staff, and upwards of sixty Officers of the Fleet, and informed the Sultan, that the Treaty being signed, the ships of Her Majesty's Navy, instead of proceeding to blockade the island, as they would have done, had he not acceded, were ready to co-operate with him in the execution of it, by seizing all vessels having slaves on board.

At Admiral Cumming's personal invitation, His Highness, escorted by the Chiefs of the place, returned the visit on board Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," when he was received with all honour.

His Highness gave an invitation to the Admiral, myself, and Officers of the Navy, to dine at the Palace, which was politely declined, and without giving offence.

I have the honour to inclose copy of correspondence that has passed between this Office and Admiral Cumming, relative to the signature of the Treaty. I have also, as required, furnished a copy of your Lordship's Instructions of May 16.

Admiral Cumming has, I am glad to report, taken the occasion publicly to acknowledge the successful manner in which the officers and men of the only two ships on the station performed the arduous duties required of them between the 1st of May this year, and the signing of the new Treaty.

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

Dr. Kirk to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, June 11, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, that on the 2nd June I received orders, dated the 16th of the previous month, from the Foreign Office, directing me to present to His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, a Treaty similar to that before submitted by his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, and to demand his signature thereof.

In event of his declining to sign, or delaying compliance, I was further authorized to inform him, that on arrival of your Excellency, the fleet would at once blockade the island, according to the law of nations.

I need not trouble your Excellency with an account of the various meetings that ensued between the Sultan and myself, all of which have been fully reported to the Foreign Office, and to the Indian Government; but I am glad to be able to state, that in the end I succeeded in inducing the Sultan and his Council to yield, and that the Treaty was signed, with the additional clause required, on the 5th of June.

Instructions, in conformity, have been sent by His Highness to the various coast stations; and here the provisions have been at once put in force.

The new Treaty provides, first, that the transport of slaves by sea, shall for ever cease; and all vessels so engaged be liable to capture and condemnation. All former limits as those within which the people of Zanzibar were enabled to trade in slaves, and transport them by sea, are therefore abolished, and a slave-vessel is prize when and where found.

This will clearly not forbid people who are slaves in the island from going to the coast of their own free will, and on business; but the forcible removal of slaves by sea is entirely illegal; and even a runaway slave, who may have escaped to the mainland, cannot be brought back legally to Zanzibar simply as a slave, although his status both here and on the coast would still be slavery.

The IInd Article of the new Treaty provides that all slave-markets for the public sale of slaves shall be closed throughout the whole of the Sultan's dominions.

The IIIrd, that the Sultan will protect freed slaves.

In the IVth, we are bound to stop all slave-holding by Indians under our protection.

The Vth provides that this Treaty shall be ratified at the earliest possible time.

The Treaty having been signed on the 5th June by myself, on the part of Her Majesty, and on that of His Highness, by Nasser bin Saeed, the Wuzee, was ratified the same day by the Sultan, under his hand and seal, as binding on himself, his heirs, and successors.

In sending to Europe a document of such moment, I was glad to be afforded the occasion of requesting Captain Malcolm to detach one of his officers specially for this purpose, as it is to the active co-operation of that intelligent officer, and the thorough manner in which those under his command, both in his own vessel, and Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," have done their duty, that I am greatly indebted for having been able to convince the Arabs of the utter hopelessness of further opposition to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

Inclosure 2 in No. 32.

Rear-Admiral Cumming to Dr. Kirk.

Sir, *"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, June 16, 1873.*
 I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, informing me of your having succeeded in inducing His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar and his Council to yield, and sign the Treaty which you were directed to present by Her Majesty's Government.

It affords me great pleasure to hear that your endeavours have met with such signal success; and also that the services of Her Majesty's ships under my orders have been so highly appreciated by you.

I have caused the expression of your satisfaction to be made known to the officers and men concerned.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) A. CUMMING.

No. 33.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord, *Zanzibar, June 26, 1873.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two Decrees, with accompanying papers, relating to captures made by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

On the 23rd instant I had the honour to inform your Lordship that I had condemned a slave vessel seized by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," engaged in transporting kidnapped slaves from Zanzibar to Pemba. Again, in the case marked No. 9, a similar offence has been detected, while in No. 10 the owner of a slave, with the knowledge and connivance of the owner of the vessel, was simply removing him from Zanzibar to Pemba, in contravention of the Treaty of the 5th June, 1873.

I regret to have to report that while in case No. 8, already sent, captured by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," the captain of the dhow who kidnapped the slaves, was allowed to escape for want of due precaution taken by the Naval Officers here, the criminal has again evaded justice with the full sanction of the capturing officer, who placed him on shore at Pemba, on his giving a written acknowledgment, in Arabic, that he gave up his dhow rather than come and contend the case in Court.

I have pointed out that so open a departure from the rules can only be excused while the work of Slave Trade repression is being carried on with inadequate boats; but that if continued, it will be necessary to take further notice of it, as the loss of a dhow, perhaps not owned by those on board, has little influence in checking the traffic in slaves in comparison with the personal punishment of the culprits.

By the new Treaty His Highness has bound himself to punish offenders, and I have never found him slack to do so. It is most important, therefore, in all cases that the captain of the dhow should appear in Court alike for the defence as to undergo punishment if proved guilty.

The limited traffic in slaves carried on from Zanzibar to Pemba is now being actively watched by boats of the ships of war; on my information that slaves are collected near Kokotoni, ready for shipment, and His Highness has imprisoned, on information quite apart from any received from me, one of the chief Arab proprietors of that district,

convicted of harbouring slaves for the purpose of shipment to Pemba, where labour is now in high demand.

The owner of the slave in case No. 9 has been put in prison by His Highness, on receiving a report of the proceedings that led to the condemnation and destruction of the dhow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 33.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Case No. 9 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court, at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar vessel called the "Hassara," whereof Mohammed bin Ali was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against the two male slaves, named Sudi and Sangama, seized as liable to forfeiture by John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, in command of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton." Before John Kirk, Esquire, Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 24th June, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration, hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar vessel, named the "Hassara," owned and commanded by Mohammed bin Ali, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate, annexed, taken before condemnation by the captors; also two male slaves, named Sudi and Sangama, were seized near the Island of Pemba, on the 13th day of June, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence produced by the captors, having found sufficient proof that the vessel, at the time of her seizure, was engaged in the illegal transport of the slaves Sudi and Sangama, in contravention of Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the two slaves, Sudi and Sangama, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly: And, whereas it has been shown that the vessel could not be brought into Court, and that it became necessary to destroy her, and that the cargo, passengers, owner, and crew, were landed at Pemba; we approve the same, unless, in so far as regards the landing of the owner, for whose safe custody and production in Court the captors were responsible.

In testimony whereof I signed the present Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto, the 24th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court, at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar dhow or vessel called the "Hassarah," whereof Mahommed bin Ali was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against two male slaves, named Sudi and Sangama, seized by John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

APPEARED personally, George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that on the 7th day of June, 1873, whilst at anchor in Zanzibar Harbour, he sent one boat under orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade, on the East Coast of Africa, John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant, being in charge, that upon the return of the boat on the 21st day of June, 1873, the said John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had detained, near Chak Chak Bay, Island, of Pemba, on the 13th day of June, 1873, a Zanzibar vessel, said to belong to Mahommed bin Ali, of Pemba, having on board two

male slaves not domestics, in contravention of the Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, whereupon John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant, seized her for the purpose of bringing her to Zanzibar, but as she could not fetch, he, after mature consideration, destroyed her on the 18th day of June, 1873, and finding the cutter would be overloaded, he landed on the same day for the safety of his boat, all except the two slaves, and he forthwith made oath that the only paper found on board was a pass relative to the crew and passengers from the authorities at Zanzibar.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

On the 21st day of June, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit,

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.*

On the 21st June, 1873, the above affidavit was filed in Court.

Report of Survey.

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby certify that at Pemba, on the 18th June, 1873, we held a strict and careful survey on the dhow "Hassara," with regard to the possibility, against the strong current and south-west monsoon, of taking her to Zanzibar. Having for nearly three days, *i.e.*, from 14th to 16th June, attempted to beat the "Hassara" to windward, and having been drifted from one end of Pemba to the other, and fearing to be carried to the northward, whence we should not have been able to return at all, we stood in for an anchorage.

We consider her as unfit for the passage, she being also leaky and the sails old and torn, we therefore condemn her to be destroyed, and destroyed her accordingly on same day.

Given under our hands, at Pemba, this 18th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, *Lieutenant, in Command of Cutter on detached Service.*

HY. EDDY, *Gunner's Mate, and Coxswain of Boat.*

Approved,

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

"*Briton*," Zanzibar, June 21, 1873.

Certificate of Admeasurement.

I, the Undersigned Officer commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" 2nd cutter, do hereby certify that I have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the "Hassarah" dhow detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" 2nd cutter, on the 13th day of June, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and I certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Ft.	in.
Length from outside of plank at stem, to outside of plank at stern-post	67	8
Main breadth to outside of plank	21	9
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth, from the upper deck on one side of the ship, to the upper deck on the other	37	3

Tonnage.

	Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck	106.9
Closed-in spaces above tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or round house, &c.: ..	11.6
Poop:—length, 18.7 feet; breadth, 18.3 feet; height, 3.4 feet	118.5
Total	118.5

Signed this 13th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, *Lieutenant.*

Approved by me, this 21st day of June, 1873, at Zanzibar.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

ZANZIBAR.

Certificate as to the Destruction of the "Hassarrah."

I, the Undersigned, J. E. Blaxland, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" 2nd cutter, on detached service, do hereby certify that on the 18th day of June, 1873, I directed a survey, to be held on board the native vessel "Hassarrah," detained by me on the 13th day of June, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged on the Slave Trade, and that the Surveying Officers having reported that she is unfit to proceed to Zanzibar, as from the Report of Survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said vessel has been destroyed by my orders.

Signed this 18th day of June, 1873.

(Signed)

J. E. BLAXLAND, *Lieutenant.*

Approved,

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

"Briton," Zanzibar, June 21, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 33.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Case No. 10 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar vessel called the "Bara Salam," whereof Mashano was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against the slave boy Faraji, seized as liable to forfeiture by John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, and in command of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton." Before John Kirk, Esquire, Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 24th June, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn Declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar vessel, named the "Bara Salam," owned by Haji Osi, of which Mashano was captain, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed, taken by order of the Court condemnation, also one slave boy named Faraji, were seized near the Island of Za on the 10th day of June. I, the said Judge having heard the evidence on both having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal transport of the slave Faraji, in contravention of Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the slave Faraji, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree and caused by seal of office to be affixed thereto the 24th day of June, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK,

Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar dhow or vessel called the "Bara Salam," whereof Mashano was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against the slave boy Faraji, seized by John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

Appeared personally George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that on the 7th day of June, 1873, whilst at anchor in Zanzibar Harbour he sent a boat under orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant, being in charge;

that upon the return of the boat on the 21st day of June, 1873, the said John Edrie Blaxland, Esq., Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had detained on the 20th day of June, 1873, near Mungopani Point, Island of Zanzibar, a native vessel under Zanzibar colours, said to belong to Hardusee of Pemba Island, having on board one male slave not a domestic, in contravention of the Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, whereupon John Edrie Blaxland, Esquire, Lieutenant, brought the vessel to Zanzibar for adjudication; and he forthwith made oath that the only paper found on board was a certificate relative to the crew from the authorities at Zanzibar.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

On the 21st day of June, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit,

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.*

On the 21st June, 1873, the above affidavit was filed in Court.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.*

Certificate of Admeasurement.

We, the Undersigned, officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd Section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the Zanzibar dhow "Bara Salam," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" second cutter as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and do certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Ft.	in.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem, to outside of plank at stern-post ..	47	5
Main breadth to outside of plank ..	17	6
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth, from the upper deck on one side of the ship, to the upper deck on the other ..	31	5
<i>Tonnage.</i>		
Tonnage under deck ..	51	53
Closed-in space above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop, round house, &c. :		
Poop :—length, 13 feet; breadth, 11·5 feet; height, 3·8 feet ..	5	68
	57	2

Signed this 23rd day of June, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN FELLOWES, *Lieutenant.*
HORACE R. ADAMS, *Sub-Lieutenant.*
JAMES F. FOOT, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved by me this 23rd day of June, 1873, at Zanzibar.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

"Briton," Zanzibar, June 24, 1872.

I hereby certify that, as per Decree dated 24th June, 1873, of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, the dhow "Bara Salam" was broken up and destroyed this day.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

Approved,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.*

No. 34.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 3, 1873.

IT has been my particular duty, since the Treaty was signed, to make myself fully acquainted, not only with the movements of the slave traders and the measures adopted in order to evade the law, but to be particularly informed as to how the Sultan acted up to the additional clause that binds him to give his active and efficient co-operation toward

• carrying out the objects in view, namely, the complete suppression of the Slave Trade throughout his dominions, the prohibition of all public sale of slaves, and securing to freed slaves their newly-acquired rights.

It is, my Lord, with much satisfaction that, as the result of my diligent inquiries, not in town only, but by the reports of secret agents along the coast, that hitherto the Traffic may be said to have been closed, notwithstanding the fact that there are at Quiloa about 4,000 slaves now offered for sale at the reduced rates of from half a dollar to three dollars apiece. Some have been moved by land to Dar-es-Salam, but the losses I am told have been great; on this, I shall, however, be in a position soon to report fully as well as on the route difficulties, and on the undertaking generally as a commercial venture. I am, however, now of opinion that by land few slaves can be profitably taken, and that the bulk of those on hand at Quiloa will scatter in the neighbourhood and become settlers outside the town; any how, the losses sustained by every one, directly or indirectly concerned in the Traffic, have been such as will, I hope, prevent any new slave caravans being fitted out at Quiloa, or the traders from finding credit among the merchants here, whether European, American, or Asiatic.

One manifest result of the present stoppage of the trade in slaves is shown by the cases that now appear in the Consular Court. Beads and cloth that before were accepted without question, are now subjects of litigation on sample, quality, time of delivery, and a thousand other objections that, while the Slave Trade flourished, no one looked to; this indicates the firm conviction among the merchants that these sorts of goods will now entail a loss, and proves how widely all classes of the commercial community were indirectly profiting by and tacitly sharing in the Slave Trade, which, however, in its truly criminal form, was carried on by none but the Arabs, Johanna men, and Suahelis.

It is not, however, to be imagined that smuggling and contraband Traffic in slaves is at an end; this will doubtless continue to a greater or less extent so long as slavery is an institution of the coast and of the islands, and, on so difficult a coast, ways and means will be found to evade the greatest vigilance, whether on our part or that of the Sultan.

From the 1st of May, when the Sultan issued his Proclamation allowing his people to transport slaves as usual until the signing of the new Treaty made such transport illegal and the vessels so engaged liable to capture and condemnation, that branch was paralyzed, while smuggling to a limited extent continued in defiance of the unusual efforts of our ships of war. Several cargoes have been taken to the Somali Coast and others to Pemba, one or two have succeeded in setting out to Arabia. The legitimate trade in slaves that ought to have commenced after the 1st of May was undoubtedly stopped far more by the action of the Agency than by anything done by the boats of our vessels. The Custom-house being administered by British Indians, each one was warned by me, without notice to their Chief here in the town, that if any one compromised himself in the least in respect to the Slave Trade, although acting under the Sultan's orders, he would be arrested and brought to trial. Left uncertain what was meant by this, they referred the matter both to myself and the Customs Agent, but no action was arrived at before orders to insist upon His Highness signing the new Treaty had been received.

In regard to the part His Highness has played since concluding the Treaty, it gives me still greater pleasure to be able to report that hitherto he has done all that one can possibly ask. He has in all cases of attempted breach of the new law acted without informing me, and in so decided and summary a manner as to make his people say they care little for the English who interfere after the crime is committed, in comparison now of their own Sultan, who punishes them for attempting to do so.

In one instance that took place very lately His Highness, without notice to me or even informing me of what he had done, imprisoned one of the Arab Chiefs living near Kokotoni for harbouring slaves evidently intended for shipment to Pemba.

I have studied to make it apparent to His Highness that since signing the Treaty it is to us he ought to look for aid and support, as with this Treaty binding him to give his active assistance our interests and his are intimately united so long as he acts faithfully up to the spirit of its provisions. His Highness, however, fears much the effects of his former stubborn conduct. I would, therefore, strongly counsel the adoption of a liberal yet very firm policy in dealing with him at the present time. The past misunderstanding with England has almost lost him the Mombas districts. The slave population are not under their masters as they were before, and there are many signs of a rapid and internal change that needs a strong Government to direct it in proper channels. Trade is depressed as Zanzibar trade never has been before, all influences combining to weaken the Sultan's hands; and without his Government is supported the new Treaty will become a dead letter, which with our ships alone it is impossible to enforce without further ruin to legitimate commerce.

The action of our Navy in slave suppression has always its serious attendant evils, and any check applied from on shore, whether through the Agency or the Sultan's Government, is ten times more efficient.

Such, my Lord, is my experience of the first month in which the new Treaty has been in operation, and so far I am enabled to report favourably, and with a strong hope that it will prove sufficient and attain the object with which it has been framed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 35.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 3, 1873.

BY the last mail I took occasion to mention the assistance rendered by Captains Malcolm and Bateman, with the officers and men under their command, in the two ships "Briton" and "Daphne," left on the station after the departure of Sir Bartle Frere.

Since then, Rear-Admiral Cumming, C.B., has arrived in Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," together with the "Wolverine," "Nimble," and "Magpie."

I take the present occasion to convey to you my high sense of the value of the hearty co-operation afforded by Rear-Admiral Cumming, not at this time only, but also on the two former occasions he has, within the last year, visited this part of the station.

On none of these occasions, when in personal contact, or during the course of official correspondence, could I have desired a firmer or more willing support than has been accorded to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 36.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 23, 1873.

I TRANSMIT, herewith, Her Majesty's ratification of the Treaty recently signed by the Sultan of Zanzibar and yourself, for the suppression of the Slave Trade within his dominions.

You will deliver this document to His Highness, together with the inclosed letter,* of which a copy is annexed for your information, and you will, at the same time, request His Highness to affix his signature to the English version of the Treaty which accompanies this despatch. You will also yourself sign the English version, and return it thus signed and sealed to this office.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the able manner in which you have conducted the difficult negotiations which have led to the signing of this Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 37.

Earl Granville to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 23, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government learnt with satisfaction from the Treaty which was signed by Your Highness on the 5th of June that Your Highness had agreed to co-operate fully and to the best of your power with Her Majesty's Government in the endeavour to put an end to the Traffic in slaves within your dominions.

The ratification of the Treaty by Her Majesty the Queen will be delivered to you by Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General in your dominions, and it only remains for me to express to you the warm interest which Her Majesty takes in the welfare of your House, and in the prosperity of the countries over which you rule.

* I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 9, 1873.

I HEREWITH have the honour to forward copy of Decree and papers connected with the case of a native vessel seized by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," near Kokotoni in the north of Zanzibar Island, on the ground that there was on board at the time a slave being transported for sale, and also that the master of the vessel had concluded an agreement, whereby he was about to ship thirty slaves from Pemba, where the vessel was bound under a charter to bring back cocoanuts on the return voyage.

The circumstances under which this vessel was captured were these: I had learnt, as I have already reported to your Lordship, that slaves were being collected at the north of Zanzibar for shipment to Pemba, where there is a demand for labour at present, owing to the very high prices of slaves, since the estates of Zanzibar were ruined by the hurricane of last year.

I communicated the details of the information obtained to Captain Malcolm, and requested him to take steps to stop the traders *en route*. For this purpose, having sent his boats to the neighbourhood from which shipments would be made, he proceeded in the vessel himself, and anchored at the north-west point.

The dhow now condemned having been seen hovering off, and on some time, raised a suspicion that she was about to carry the slaves known to be ready for shipment on shore, and when boarded had one slave, who said he was being taken for sale to Pemba.

The vessel being detained, a Prize Officer at once communicated with me, and asked to be allowed, as evidence seemed to his mind strong, to destroy the vessel before bringing the case into Court.

This I decidedly refused, informing Captain Malcolm that he would be quite without excuse if he did so. The prize was accordingly towed into port.

At the time of trial, it was clearly proved that, in so far as the slave found on board was concerned, the dhow owner had been deceived by the master of the slave, who passed his slave off as a free man.

This was clearly established by the small amount of passage-money paid the vessel on his account, being only a fraction of that charged for smuggling slaves since the late Treaty has been concluded. The amount per head now offered for taking slaves from the north of Zanzibar to the south of Pemba, distant only a few hours' sail, being 3 dollars.

Thus, had the case rested on the presence of this one slave alone, the vessel must undoubtedly have been released, as there existed no reasonable ground to believe that, in this instance, the owner, or his agent the captain, had a criminal knowledge, having themselves been deceived.

At the same time it was proved conclusively by several witnesses examined in the native language by myself, first apart, and again cross-examined before each other, that not only had five slaves been taken to the vessel the previous night and relanded in the vessel's own boat, but that they had been relanded simply because there were twenty-five others not ready for shipment, and as unsafe to keep them on board while the boats of our cruisers were known to be in the immediate vicinity.

It was further established to my satisfaction, that those five slaves were to be marched to Ras Noongwe, a point still further north than where the vessel lay, and nearer to Pemba, and that there the vessel would ship the thirty slaves it had been agreed to carry.

It was not before I had fully examined all the witnesses, to which, in this case, the greater part of two days had been devoted, that I felt fully justified in declaring sentence of condemnation, but this hesitation was due to the necessity of showing clearly, to both parties in the cause, the importance of formal and legal proof being produced in Court, rather than doubt in my own mind, for I had at an early stage been convinced that the captain of the vessel fully intended carrying slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Case No. 11 of 1873.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar vessel called the "Il Mahmoud," whereof Khalfan bin Abdulla was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against one male slave called Uledi, seized as liable to forfeiture as being engaged in the Slave Trade by Alexander R. C. Hood, a Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, before John Kirk, Esquire, Judge, in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 7th day of July, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar vessel called "Il Mahmoud," of which Khalfan bin Abdulla was master, of the description and measurement specified in the annexed certificate taken by order of the Court after condemnation, also one slave named Uledi, were seized near Kokotoni in the Island of Zanzibar on the 22nd day of June, 1873, the said Judge has heard the evidence on both sides, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the Slave Trade and about to carry a cargo of slaves from Zanzibar to Pemba, does adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the one slave named Uledi, to have been lawfully seized and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and does condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree and have caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 7th day of July, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK,

Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Arab dhow or vessel called the "Il Mahmoud," whereof Khalfan bin Abdulla was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against one male slave called Uledi, seized by Alexander R. Cockburn Hood, Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

APPEARED personally George John Malcolm, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that on the 18th day of June, 1873, whilst at anchor in Zanzibar harbour he sent one boat under orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, Alexander Rutherford Cockburn Hood, Sub-Lieutenant, being in charge; that upon the return of the boat on the 25th June, 1873, the said A. R. C. Hood, Sub-Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had detained near Salley Island on the 22nd day of June, 1873, an Arab dhow or vessel called the "Il Mahmoud," said to belong to Ali bin Salem, having on board one male slave, not a domestic; that she was found fitted ready to transport slaves, and that she was only awaiting a favourable opportunity when the supercargo and captain thought no man-of-war's boats were present to ship them somewhere between Kokotoni and Hog Point, Island of Zanzibar, in contravention of the Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade; whereupon A. R. C. Hood, Sub-Lieutenant, seized her for the purpose of bringing her to Zanzibar, and as she could not fetch he anchored her off Morna Island until she could be brought to Zanzibar, where she arrived on the 30th June, 1873; and he forthwith made oath that the only papers found on board were articles of agreement dated 16th June, 1873, and three native letters.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

On the 1st day of July, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK, Political Agent, and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

ZANZIBAR.

Certificate of Admeasurement.

We, the undersigned officers of Her Britannic ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd Section of the "Merchant Shipping Act, 1854," the Zanzibar dhow "Il Mahmoud," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" whaler, as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at stern-post ..	Feet.	78·5
Main breadth to outside of plank	..	19
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	..	38
Tonnage—	Tons	
Tonnage under tonnage deck	..	114·7
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop, round-house, &c.—		
Poop: length, 22·9 feet; depth, 8 feet; breadth, 16·2 feet..	..	29·5
Total	..	144·2

Signed this 26th day of June, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN FELLOWES, *Lieutenant.*

HORACE R. ADAMS, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

A. R. C. HOOD, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved by me this 26th day of June, 1873.

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

Certificate as to Destruction of Vessel.

This is to certify that, in pursuance of a Decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, dated 7th July, 1873, the native vessel "Il Mahmoud" was broken up and destroyed on the same day.

(Signed)

G. J. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

"Briton," July 8, 1873.

No. 39.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 9, 1873.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit copy of Decree in the Vice-Admiralty Court here, in the case of a slave vessel, name and nation unknown, that was run on shore on the Arabian coast by her captain, to escape capture by Her Majesty's ship "Magpie."

There being no defence, and no possibility of one arising, I gave Decree of Condemnation, after hearing the statement of the captain and officers of Her Majesty's ship "Magpie," but as neither were the slaves seized nor the wreck of the vessel, which seems to have broken up, reached, it has been impossible to certify to the measurement further than by the rough estimate made by three of the officers, judging by comparison of the wreck, seen at the distance of about one-third of a mile, with vessels of a similar class and character.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Case No. 18 of 1873.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the native bēden or vessel (name, nation, master, and owner unknown), her tackle, apparel, and furniture, run on shore and wrecked by the owners in order to escape seizure by F. Proby Doughty, Esq., a commander in the Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Magpie." Before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 8th day of July, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared F. Proby Doughty, Esq., R.N., Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Magpie," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration

hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a biden or vessel, whose name, nation, master, and owner are unknown, of the estimated dimension of 130 tons, was run on shore at Cape Madraka, on the Arabian coast, and a number of men, seemingly slaves, landed to escape capture by Her Majesty's ship "Magpie," that was then in chase. I, the said Judge, having found sufficient evidence that the vessel at the time she was run on shore was engaged in the Slave Trade, do adjudge the above described vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this the 8th day of July, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against a dhow (whereof the name and nation is unknown), her tackle, apparel, and furniture destroyed by Frederic Proby Doughty, a Commander in the Royal Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Magpie."

Appeared personally the said Frederic Proby Doughty, and made oath that on the 3rd day of June, 1873, when off Ras Madraka, on the Coast of Arabia, he observed the said dhow, bearing south-west about six miles, running to the north-eastward along the coast; that he then steered a course with the intention of boarding her, on which the said dhow immediately stood in for the land; all possible endeavours were then made to prevent her getting in-shore of the said ship "Magpie," but the said dhow was successful in gaining the breach. On the said dhow striking, some people landed, and others were seen to be hurrying the disembarkation of those on board by throwing them over into the broken water, where they were washed up or assisted by those already landed; in this manner about 150 persons landed which were seen to be conducted towards the ravines in the north-east. That from the before-mentioned circumstances he had every reason to believe that the persons thrown out of the said dhow were slaves, and that the said dhow had run on shore to avoid capture; and further, that it was impossible to communicate with the said dhow, or to capture the master or any of the crew of the said dhow, on account of the very high surf which was breaking on the beach; also, that it was not possible to measure the said dhow, but judging from the number of people who landed, he estimates the said dhow at not less than 130 tons; and further, that within twenty minutes from the time the said dhow was beached, she was broken to pieces by the force of the waves.

(Signed) F. PROBY DOUGHTY, *Commander.*

On the 8th day of July, 1873, the said Frederic Proby Doughty was sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, and*
Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

Certificate of Measurement.

We, the Undersigned, officers of Her Majesty's ship "Magpie," do hereby certify that, it being impossible to communicate with the dhow, whereof the name is unknown (described as H. No. 8), which was run on shore and wrecked to avoid capture by Her Majesty's ship "Magpie," on the 3rd day of June, 1873; we had no means of obtaining her dimensions, but, judging from her apparent size and by the number of persons seen to land from her, we estimated her tonnage at not less than 130 tons.

Signed this 4th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) W. C. CODRINGTON FORSYTH, *Senior Lieutenant,*
Her Majesty's ship "Magpie."
GEO. H. EDEN, *Sub-Lieutenant, ditto.*
EDWIN H. RICHARDS, *Navigating Sub-Lieutenant,*
ditto.

Approved by me, this 4th day of June, 1873.

(Signed) F. PROBY DOUGHTY, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Magpie."

Certificate of Wreck to avoid Capture.

The undersigned Frederic Proby Doughty, holding the rank of Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Magpie," do hereby certify that, in exercise of the authority vested in me, I did, on the 3rd day of June, 1873, being in latitude 18° 57' N. and longitude 57° 44' E. of Greenwich, drive on shore and cause to be wrecked the Arab slave dhow, whereof the name is unknown (described as H. No. 8), on the ground that she was engaged in and equipped for the Slave Trade. And I further certify that she had on board at the time of her wreck a number of persons, apparently many slaves, about 150 in number. And I further certify that the dhow ran on shore to avoid capture notwithstanding the exertions that were made to intercept her; that on beaching some people landed, and others were seen to be throwing many of the slaves into the surf, who were washed on shore, and assisted to land by those already there. The crew and slaves were then seen to proceed in a long irregular line towards the hills. And I further certify that on account of the very heavy surf breaking on the beach it was impossible to communicate with the dhow or capture the master or crew or any of the slaves, and that within twenty minutes from the time she was beached she went to pieces.

Signed this 4th day of June, 1873.

(Signed)

F. PROBY DOUGHTY, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Magpie."

No. 40.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a Decree, &c., in the case of a native vessel detained by Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene," off Bagamoyo, on the 30th June, 1873, in which case a decree for restitution to the master was given in this Vice-Admiralty Court.

The vessel was proceeding to Bagamoyo from Zanzibar, having on board goods of an expedition being sent by His Highness the Sultan to aid in suppressing the war at Unyanyembe, that stops the ivory trade and seriously affects commerce. The ground of detention was having on board an Unyamivezi boy who spoke very little Suaheli. The officer in charge of the boat of Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene" imagining that this boy was being shipped from Zanzibar to Bagamoyo for sale seized the vessel and part of her cargo, one portion being landed at Bagamoyo and made over to the person in charge.

Obviously no Arab slave owner having once got an Unyamivezi boy to the island would re-ship him to Bagamoyo, the landing place on the coast in direct communication with his own country, had he been sold he would have been taken to Pemba or some more distant place or retained here.

On examination, however, it proved that this boy had been stolen from one of the Chiefs friendly to the Arabs at Unyanyembe and brought here not more than three or four months ago, and that the Sultan was sending him back to his own people.

I allowed in this case no demurrage or damages, as the captain of the vessel was said to have given money to the ship's interpreter not to stop this vessel. That the interpreter did get 12 dollars was acknowledged, but the dhow people said it was taken by force, and that thefts of other things were committed. These I could not prove or disprove, and so gave the benefit of the doubt in favour of the captors.

The vessel and her part cargo were both returned and acceptance taken after all things had been found in order.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JONN KIRK

Inclosure in No. 40.

Case No. 13 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against a Zanzibar dhow or vessel (name unknown), whereof Mohammed bin Salim is master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, seized as liable to forfeiture as being engaged in the Slave Trade, by Colebrooke T. Mandeville, Esq., a Lieutenant in Her Majesty's navy, when in command of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene." Before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 7th day of July, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared H. R. Wratislaw, Esq., R.N., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar vessel (name unknown, commanded by Mohammed bin Salim), was seized near Bagamoyo on the African Coast on the 30th June, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence and examined the witnesses on both sides, having found no proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the Slave Trade, do decree the said vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, to be restored, as claimed, to her master Mohammed bin Salim, and do condemn H. R. Wratislaw, Esq., R.N., the captain of Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene," in all Court costs, acquitting him, however, from all claims on account of demurrage and expenses, &c., as have arisen, or shall or may arise by reason of the said seizure.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 7th day of July, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

No. 41.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward decree and accompanying certificates in the case of an English-owned dhow, detained on the 26th May, 1873, by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," in the creek leading to Chak-Chak, in the island of Pemba.

Suspicion rested on this dhow from the fact of the captain and three others making off among the mangroves when sighted by the man-of-war's boat. Thereupon, finding her loaded with a valuable cargo and having passengers on board, the officer took the vessel to her port of destination, namely, Chak-Chak, and there delivered the cargo to the owner, an Indian passenger on board, making the vessel herself over to the Customs Master.

This official in a letter given to me, certifies that the goods had been duly delivered over, and that the vessel was in his hands at Chak-Chak. The owner of the cargo also sent an acknowledgment for the goods on board.

One month after, being sent back to Pemba at my request, the officer who detained this vessel found her still at Chak-Chak, but dismantled and full of water. No captain or owner having turned up, as certified under the hand of the Customs Agent's letter and that of the owner of the cargo, the vessel was burned, and proceedings again opened in this Vice-Admiralty Court.

The owner, whose name appeared on the Provisional Pass of Registry, having disowned all interest or property in the vessel, which had been sold very lately to Pira, the one who owned the cargo, and who, until lately, had been his correspondent in Pemba, but who lately had transferred his business to another house, I had no hesitation in giving decree of condemnation, as ample time had been given for any one to appear, and had there not been some slave-dealing undoubtedly the owner would have come forward.

I shall make further inquiries in this matter for the purpose of arresting the captain of this vessel, who is said before to have carried slaves, and to have been imprisoned for so doing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

ZANZIBAR.

Inclosure in No. 41.

Case No. 15 of 1873.

Decree. :

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the British Indian vessel called the "Kasoomba," (whereof Hammis was master), her tackle, apparel, and furniture, seized as liable to forfeiture by Marcus McCausland, Esq., Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, when in command of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne." Before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 10th day of July, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared Richard S. Bateman, Esq., a commander in the Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which a British Indian vessel (whereof Hammis was master), of the description and measurement specified in the accompanying certificate, taken by the captors before condemnation, was seized at Pemba on the 26th day of May, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence by the captors, and examined all parties that might be interested in the defence, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the Slave Trade, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the above Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 10th day of July, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

In Her Majesty's Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against an English vessel "Kasoomba," of which one Hammis was said to have been master; for tackle, apparel, and furniture seized by Marcus McCausland, Esq., Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne."

APPEARED personally Richard Bateman, Esq., a Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Daphne;" and made oath that, on the 4th of July, 1873, on the return of the pinnace and whaler of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" from detached service, Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland informed the deponent that, on the 26th of May, 1873, he proceeded into Pemba in the pinnace accompanied by the whaler, and anchored off the watering place. That he went ashore accompanied by Mr. Hockin, the officer in charge of the whaler, to obtain fresh water. That, during their absence, a dhow arrived from Zanzibar, and was boarded by Frank Holsgrove, leading seaman and coxwain of the pinnace, in the whaler. Whilst the whaler was boarding her Mr. McCausland came down on the beach and hailed Holsgrove to send the whaler ashore for him, as without an interpreter, who had landed with the officers, Holsgrove would be unable to ascertain if the dhow was engaged in the Slave Trade. The dhow, observing the whaler steering for her, proceeded up the Channel, and, notwithstanding Mr. McCausland pursuing her, continued her course. When he had nearly overtaken her, he noticed a canoe shove off from the dhow with four people in it, one dressed and three naked, or nearly so; the dhow then anchored and was boarded by Mr. McCausland, Mr. Hockin, and the interpreter; she flew British colours, and on Mr. McCausland's asking for the master, he was told that he had just left the dhow. The four people were seen running up the hill from the beach. Mr. McCausland asked for the dhow's papers, which were found after some time by a Banyan passenger, who said that the captain had landed, but intended to return and take the dhow up to Chak-Chak. Mr. McCausland's suspicions being excited by the unusual departure of the dhow's master, accompanied by three people, and by the fact that he left no one in

charge of the canoe, but sent her adrift, he left Mr. Hockin in the dhow, and went in pursuit of the master and his companions, but was unable to overtake them. He then returned and worked on the fears of the Banyan passenger, who said he was the owner of the valuable cargo, by telling him that his cargo was in danger of confiscation if the master did not return to claim the dhow and explain the very suspicious circumstances under which he left her. The Banyan then proceeded on shore and searched the town and neighbourhood for the master of the dhow, but was unable to find any traces of him or of the people who had landed with him, beyond the fact that two were men and the third a woman. Some of the people in the dhow, on being questioned, at first said that the master had landed with three slaves; but afterwards they contradicted themselves and seemed determined to give no opinion whatever. Mr. McCausland then took the dhow with all the crew (except the master) to Chak-Chak. The Banyan passenger stated that he thought the circumstances very suspicious, but could not say whether they were slaves who were landed or not. The Custom-house Officer also came on board, and on the circumstances of the case being explained to him, thought it most probable that the master of the dhow had smuggled the slaves on shore as well to evade the Custom's duties as to escape the boats. At Mr. McCausland's suggestion the Custom-house Officer had notices posted throughout the neighbourhood that, if the master of the dhow did not return within forty-eight hours the dhow would be destroyed. The passengers were allowed to land, and next morning Mr. McCausland discovered that two of the crew had escaped, leaving four only in the dhow. The forty-eight hours having elapsed, and the master of the dhow not having returned, Mr. McCausland placed the dhow in charge of the Custom-house officer, first obtaining a receipt for her, and gave orders that, if the master ever turned up he was to be detained. Mr. McCausland returned to Zanzibar and reported the case.

The deponent also made oath that, the pinnace and whaler of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," in charge of Sub-Lieutenants McCausland and Hockin, were again sent on detached service with orders to visit Chak-Chak and collect additional evidence. That, on the return of the whaler on the 2nd of July, 1873, Mr. Hockin informed the deponent that, the pinnace and whaler arrived at Pemba on June 21, 1873, and found the Banyan dhow detained by the orders of Mr. McCausland, stripped of everything moveable, her mast gone, and a large hole in her bottom. It being quite impossible to bring the dhow to Zanzibar, and the captain and slaves not having been heard of, the dhow was burnt. Before destroying her Mr. McCausland told the Banyan, Pera, the owner of the cargo, that, if he thought he could find the master, or any of the crew, all of whom had disappeared, that he would give him time to do so, but Pera said he could not find them. Mr. Hockin also informed the deponent that, he heard at Pemba that the master of the dhow was a notorious runner of slaves, and had twice been imprisoned for running them under English colours.

(Signed) R. S. BATEMAN, *Commander.*

On the 8th day of July, 1873, the above deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this Affidavit before me.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul.*

Annex (A).

1 paper. (Dhow's papers.)

(Signed) PERCY HOCKIN, *Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.*

Certificate as to Papers found on board the Prize.

I, the Undersigned, Percy Hockin, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, do hereby certify that Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, R.N., commanding the pinnace and whaler of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," on detached service, did, by virtue of the authority invested in him, on the 26th day of May, 1873, detain the English vessel "Kasoomba," of which one Hammis was master, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade.

And I hereby certify that Annex (A) hereto, contains a correct list of the papers which were delivered up at the time of detention.

(Signed) PERCY HOCKIN, *Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.*

ZANZIBAR.

Certificate of Destruction of Vessel.

I, the Undersigned, Percy Hockin, holding the rank of Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, and commanding the whaler of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," on detached service, do hereby certify that the dhow "Kasoomba," detained by Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, was unseaworthy, and the said dhow was destroyed by the orders of Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland.

Signed this 4th day of July, 1873.

(Signed)

PERCY HOCKIN, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

Certificate of Admeasurement.

We, the Undersigned, Marcus McCausland and Josiah Fithon, do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule 1 of the 21st section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the dhow "Kasoomba," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Daphne's" boats on the 26th of May, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS.

	Feet.
Length at under side of tonnage deck from inside of plank at side of stern to inside of plank at midship stern timber, at the point of one-third of round of beam below the deck	74
Main breadth inside from plank to plank	21
Depth amidships at the point of one-third of round of beam below the under side of deck to ceiling on floor timber at limber strake	11

TONNAGE.

	Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck	123.53
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or round-house, &c.	25.74
Poop—Length, 22 ft.; breadth, 18 ft.; height, 6 ft. 6 in.	
Total	149.27

Signed this 10th day of July, 1873.

(Signed)

MARCUS McCAUSLAND, *Sub-Lieutenant.*
JOSIAH FITHON, *Leading Seaman.*

[No. 42.]

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, July 22 1873.

SINCE the late Treaty was signed, abolishing the Slave Trade, the coast near Zanzibar has been constantly watched by a fleet of seven ships, which, including that of the Admiral, have sent out all their available boats on detached service. Although during this time a few vessels, compromised as carrying one or two slaves from place to place, have been seized, and some condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, not a single case has occurred of a slave cargo being taken, nor has there been suspicion of such having been landed in either of the islands. The Slave Trade by sea, as commonly understood, may therefore be said to be for the time in abeyance, and owing to the heavy losses sustained by all connected directly or indirectly with it, is not likely to be revived in the form of the large caravans that hitherto have fitted out at Quiloa to supply the trade.

The favourable result thus far attained is, however, as much owing to the assistance rendered by His Highness the Sultan, and to the pressure brought upon the trading community, as to the exertions of our fleet which, unsupported, the slavers would not have found it difficult to evade.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.) :

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 22, 1873.

I AM now enabled to report more fully as to the movements of the slave-dealers, and the steps being taken to transport slaves, without exposing themselves to a breach of the new law.

At Quiloa there are still many slaves for sale, and about six large slave caravans are expected, those fitted out last year, and now returning to the coast.

At Quiloa strong able-bodied youths command at present from 6 to 10 dollars, poorer lots falling in price to even half a dollar each, where their state of health would not enable them to stand a land journey.

No slave cargo has as yet sailed from Quiloa, but no doubt this will soon be attempted, unless the coast is watched and land agents employed as informers.

On leaving that place a tax of from 1 to 2 dollars each is levied by the Governor as the slaves pass the Mgungara River, a few miles outside the town. Ten days' march takes the slave caravan to Dar es Salam, where the same slaves that sold at 6 to 10 dollars command from 12 to 15 dollars, the mortality having been from 5 to 10 per cent. on the way.

About 500 slaves have already passed through Dar es Salam by the land route, and 400 or thereabout through Bagamoyo; all these are destined for Pangani or places on the north.

At Pangani slaves are now selling at from 25 to 40 dollars each. At Mombasa and Lamo they will be still higher, while at Brava, where before they sold at 40 to 45 dollars each, the price now cannot be under 60 or 80 dollars.

The inducements thus offered, as a consequence of the difficulties thrown in the way, for speculators to transport small consignments of slaves from Quiloa, or the places south of that port, which are less watched by our ships, direct to the Somali coast, are so great, being 700 or 800 per cent. profit on a successful run, as to lead natives to attempt it, and it is most essential to the success of our endeavours, that this should at the outset not prove profitable, otherwise the Slave Trade in Africa will be continued, to a small extent.

At Zanzibar slaves are now selling at twice the price they fetched before the Treaty was signed, common slaves averaging 20 dollars.

In Pemba the same are sold at 30 dollars.

With such varying prices up and down the coast, it will be seen that the tactics of intending slave-dealers will vary from day to day, rendering essential more than ever a thorough system of informers and native agents along this coast, and the frequent visits to the various stations of a Consular officer of experience and local knowledge.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 23, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of Decree and papers relating to the capture and condemnation of a dhow taken at Pemba, as contravening the provisions of the new Treaty which prohibits the conveyance and transport of slaves by sea.

This vessel, belonging to an Arab of Mombasa, was on a voyage to Zanzibar from Pemba, having a full cargo on board of cloves and cocoanuts, valued at about 480 dollars, the property of an Indian merchant of Pemba, when first visited by the officers in charge of one of the "Glasgow's" boats, nothing suspicious was found, but on the same night a boy who was on board made his escape to the boat and declared he was a slave lately taken from Quiloa, being removed from the shore, and having nothing to do with the vessel, unless he was the slave of the captain, and reshipped, as his master saw a more profitable way of disposing of him.

The dhow being seized, an attempt was made to reach Zanzibar with the crew and cargo, but an accident that happened forced the prize officer to put back to Mokwane, a small village in Pemba within ten miles of where the cargo had been embarked. Clearly nothing could have been easier than to have run the vessel up the creek to Chak Chak,

the principal town, and there left her in charge, either of one of the boats or the Customs master, but the captors decided on summary destruction, landing the cargo, which was sold at Mkwane, through the interpreter, to the few Indian traders of the place, the interpreter assuring the officers that the cargo came from Mombasa, belonging to the dhow owner, and was being sold at prices equal to those at Zanzibar, whereas he must have known that the cargo had just been shipped at Pemba, and was owned by a man living within ten miles of where it was being sold, and at one half its market value.

In this case it is fair to state that the captain of the dhow considers the English officers acted in good faith, and only after calm deliberation, while he stated that the interpreter was fully informed by him regarding the ownership of the cargo, a fact he seems purposely to have concealed from the officers. Amidst the palpably false statements made by the slave on the one hand, and by the captain of the vessel on the other, I found it no easy matter to decide what amount of weight was to be attached to their respective evidence. Had the whole crew been before me, and subjected to the searching separate cross-examination to which I am in the habit of submitting them, the case might have been satisfactorily cleared up; judging, however, by what I had before me, it seemed established that the boy was a slave, who unsolicited, entered an active protest by taking refuge on board the man-of-war's boat, that he was not a sailor, and not a domestic of any one in the vessel. He was, therefore, being carried and transported in a manner clearly forbidden by the new Treaty, and I believe he was being taken in this dhow, which belonged to his master, for the purpose of being restored to Mombasa, where slaves are now very valuable.

A Decree of condemnation as affecting the vessel was therefore given, and full compensation to the owner of the cargo awarded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

P.S.—Since closing the above report, the compensation due to owners of cargo has been decided, and paid by the captors through the Court.

July 30, 1873.

J. K.

Inclosure in No. 44.

Proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Case No. 12 of 1873.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar dhow or vessel, whereof Kombo was master, her tackle, apparel, cargo, and furniture, and also against one male slave named Jana Heri, seized as liable to forfeiture by Arthur Moore, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, in command of one of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar on the 1st day of July, 1873.

Personally appeared Theodore Morton Jones, Esq., Captain in the Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which sets out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar dhow or vessel, owned by Said bin Moharak, of Mombasa, of which Kombo was master, of the description and measurement given in the certificate annexed, taken by the capturer before condemnation, also one male slave named Jana Heri, were seized at Pemba on the 22nd day of June, 1873.

I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence on both sides, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal conveyance and transport of the slave Jana Heri, in contravention of Treaties existing between the Sultan of Zanzibar and Great Britain, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the slave Jana Heri, to have been lawfully seized and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

And whereas no proof has been shown against the owners of the cargo seized in the above-described vessel, which was landed and sold by the capturer, we decree restitution and compensation in full for all losses sustained by them:

In testimony whereof we have signed the above Decree, and caused our seal of office to be attached thereto this 21st day of July, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court of Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the ship or vessel named "Mambo Comunk," master Sahid Mbarika, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, also against one male slave, Jana Heri, seized by Lieutenant Arthur Moore, of Her Majesty's Navy.

Appeared personally Theodore Morton Jones, Esq., Captain in Royal Navy, and Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," and made oath that, on the 21st day of June, 1873, whilst at anchor off the town of Zanzibar, he sent the second launch, under the command of Lieutenant Arthur Moore, to cruise off the south end of Pemba for the suppression of the Slave Trade; that upon the return of the said boat on the 30th June, 1873, the said Lieutenant Arthur Moore informed the deponent that about ten miles to the southward of Chak Chak he boarded a dhow and found apparently all correct on the evening of the 22nd July, 1873; that about 10 P.M. the same evening a slave boy came alongside the launch in a small canoe from the said dhow, and stated that he had been originally sold at Kilwa and resold at Zanzibar, whence he had been brought by the master of the dhow, and had been exposed for sale at Chak Chak, but had been again taken on board the dhow by the master, and made to work as part of the crew; that he further stated that he had been threatened by the master of the dhow that he would kill him if he mentioned this on being boarded by boats from a British man-of-war, which was his reason for not having made this statement on the dhow being boarded by the said Lieutenant Arthur Moore.

That the said Lieutenant Arthur Moore did then get the dhow under weigh with the master and crew on board, with a view of bringing her to Zanzibar for adjudication; that about six miles from her previous anchorage the mast became badly sprung, and she shipped so much sea that it was impossible to proceed further; he therefore returned to the anchorage, not being able to procure a new mast, and having removed the cargo he was compelled to destroy the dhow, selling the cargo by public auction for the benefit of whomsoever it might concern, and he moreover made oath that the accompanying paper was found on board the dhow.

(Signed) T. MORTON JONES, *Captain, R.N.*

Declared before me this 1st day of July, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court.*

Certificate of Admeasurement.

We the Undersigned, officers of Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the slave vessel "Mambo Comunk," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," on the 22nd day of June, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem, to outside of plank at stern-post	..	60	6
Main breadth to outside plank	..	14	6
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth, from the upper deck on one side of the ship, to the upper deck on the other	..	28	6
<i>Tonnage.</i>			
Tonnage under tonnage deck	..	47	54
Closed-in spaces, &c.	..	Nil	
Poop	..	Nil	
House	..	Nil	
Total	..	47	54

Signed this 24th June, 1873.

(Signed) A. W. MOORE, *Lieutenant.*
FRANK FINNIS, *Sub-Lieutenant.*

Approved by me this 20th July, 1873.

(Signed) T. MORTON JONES, *Captain.*

Certificate as to the Destruction of the Vessel.

I, the Undersigned, Arthur W. Moore, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding the first launch of Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," held a survey on board the vessel "Mambo Comunk," detained by me on the 22nd day of June, 1873, on the ground that she was equipped for, or engaged in, the Slave Trade, and finding that her mast was badly sprung, and being unable to procure a new one, and that she shipped so much water that it was impossible to beat her up to Zanzibar against the strong monsoon that was blowing, the said vessel was destroyed by my orders.

Signed this 24th June, 1873.

(Signed) A. W. MOORE.

I certify that the slave boy Jana Heri was retained at my request on board Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," not considering it safe to re-land him in Zanzibar for the present.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

July 25, 1873.

AWARD in Court of compensation to owners of cargo of dhow No. 12 in the Vice-Admiralty Court under Decree dated the 21st July, 1873.

			Dollars.
To owners of 73 frasilahs of cloves, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per frasilah	..	..	328 $\frac{1}{2}$
To owners of 12,000 cocoanuts, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per 1,000	..	..	54
			382 $\frac{1}{2}$

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court.

Received compensation awarded by Decree of Vice-Admiralty Court to owners of cargo in Case No. 12 of 1873, Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow." Total, 382 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court.

No. 45.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 23, 1873.

SINCE the conclusion of the Treaty with His Highness putting a stop to all transport of slaves by sea, it has been my wish and intention to visit Quiloa for the double object of giving effect to that clause in the new Treaty that binds us not to allow slave-holding by natives of India under our protection, and to ascertain personally the state of the slaves accumulated in Quiloa before the transport by sea was declared illegal, or who since then may have arrived at the coast from the Interior.

The constant pressure of Vice-Admiralty work of a complicated and technical nature, the settlement of disputes between the officers of the Royal Navy and the natives, together with the many important matters on which my advice has been called upon by the Sultan, have hitherto prevented me from leaving head-quarters even for a day.

Under these circumstances I have made constant inquiries regarding the state of the slaves at Quiloa through the officers of our cruizers and by availing myself of all other means, and I am happy to be able to report that no such destitution as I for one was fully prepared to meet with has as yet occurred.

Although depreciated in value, slaves are retained and cared for as property by their owners. In event of general destitution, and of the owners abandoning all care for the slaves, I should not hesitate to advise His Highness to take immediate action, and for this purpose on my own responsibility offer him material help, but this would be clearly unadvisable unless in the face of actual and general destitution, a state of things that now is, I am happy to state, not likely to occur, the land route having been found quite practicable, although costly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 46.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 1, 1873.

I BEG to report that the state of Zanzibar remains perfectly quiet, the Treaty lately executed stopping all Slave Trade, having seemingly produced no political excitement or feeling among the people.

No. 47.

Viscount Enfield to Dr. Kirk.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 9, 1873.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to inquire whether you have taken any steps to make known to the Chiefs in the interior of Africa and other parties interested in sending slaves to the coast, that, for the future, no slaves will be allowed to embark, and that any persons found guilty of sending slaves to the coast for embarkation will be severely punished.

No. 48.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 23, 1873.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 31st of May last, reporting the results of a voyage, which you made along the northern shores of the Zanzibar Possessions in Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and also the manner in which you intend to act with a view to preventing the holding of slaves by British Indian subjects in Africa; and I have to convey to you my approval of your past proceedings and proposed action as reported in your above-mentioned despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 49.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received September 24.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, August 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the seizure and condemnation in the Vice-Admiralty Court here of a native vessel sailing under assumed English colours and papers under the following circumstances:—

Lieutenant Hockin, when cruising off Saadani, a village near the mouth of the River Wami, opposite Zanzibar, in one of the cutters of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," boarded a small dhow at anchor, and, finding a boy who declared himself a slave of the owner of the dhow, kept in the vessel against his will, and to be disposed of as he said (the dhow being known to fly English colours), seized the boy and proceeded on shore to get the captain of the vessel. In the village he met the captain, who delivered up the ship's papers, or what he professed to be such, and under which he had been in the habit for some time of sailing. Finding the papers English, issued at the Consulate, and in favour of one Kermali Madani, an Indian, but out of date, and the description given not corresponding to the vessel, he inquired how she came to be owned by Bwani Heri, Chief or Sultan of Saadani, a Sowaheli of the coast, and, receiving no satisfactory reply, determined to take her to Zanzibar. On notifying this intention, the captain used violent and threatening language, saying that not one of the boat's crew should, in that case, leave the place alive. The war drum of the village was then beat, and the population called together under arms; in the meantime the tide had ebbed, leaving the vessel that was afloat when first boarded, high and dry, and the cutter, afloat a long way off, having the slave boy in her. On rejoining his boat, Lieutenant Hockin observed the natives of the place landing the cargo that had just been shipped in the dhow, and busy unbending the sail, evidently with the intention of preventing her removal when the tide rose. On going

near the dhow to prevent this, the population, about 200 in number, having by this time come down, armed mostly with guns and matchlocks, others with spears, axes, and other native weapons, finding it unsafe to remain, Lieutenant Hockin withdrew his men towards the cutter, followed by the natives, who gained courage as he retired, firing at last and compelling Lieutenant Hockin to order his men to turn and give them a volley. On the tide rising, he was allowed to remove the vessel without further molestation; but till then had to keep the people back from scuttling her by firing occasionally on the jungle in which they were concealed.

In Court I found the vessel to be the property of the coast Sultan, who had managed to become possessed of an old pass of the Consulate, the date of which had long expired, and with this flew the English flag, under which she had been before boarded by our cruisers. Had the case rested simply on the slave, it would have required close examination to determine his status, and under which category he fell; as it stood there was sufficient *prima facie* evidence to justify the seizure, and no defence offered. I therefore condemned the vessel; but, as the greatest offence in this case undoubtedly was the assumption of false colours, supported by false papers and the attack on the officer and boat's crew while exercising a jurisdiction that undoubtedly belonged to them, the vessel being under the national flag, I ordered her to be destroyed by the captors at Saadani in presence of the people.

For this purpose I addressed a letter to the Chiefs and people of Saadani and placed it in the hand of Navigating Lieutenant Nankivill, of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," who has, while serving here, acquired a very competent knowledge of the Swaheli language. This officer, supported by boats from the "Daphne," navigated the vessel back to Saadani, landed there, and had my letter read to the people, explaining it himself by word of mouth in the vernacular, after which, the people fully concurring in the justice of the order, and understanding why it was given, he burnt the vessel of their Chief before the village and returned to Zanzibar.

It is right to state that Bwana Heri, the Sultan of Saadani, was not present himself either when the dhow was first taken or, subsequently, when burnt, and it was his wife who restrained the villagers from continuing to fire on the boat's crew while close to the jungle getting the dhow off, when it would have been no difficult thing for them to have caused considerable injury.

From what I personally know of Bwana Heri, he is not a man to have allowed a collision to occur had he been present.

I understand that one of those wounded by the rifle bullets has since died, and this, together with the burning of the Chief's vessel, which, after judgment, was sent to the place to be destroyed, will, I doubt not, exercise a good effect on the people.

I inclose herewith, Court proceedings and Decree of Condemnation, also correspondence relative to the attack on the boat's crew.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 49.

Rear-Admiral Cumming to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, July 29, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, a copy of a letter I received this day from Commander Bateman of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," inclosing a detailed Report from Acting Sub-Lieutenant Hockin of that ship, of the capture of a dhow off Saadani, supposed to be engaged in the traffic of slaves, and which capture was resolutely opposed by a party of 150 to 200 armed Arabs, who not only fired on Mr. Hockin and his boat's crew, but threatened that, if the dhow was taken, none of them should leave the place alive.

I consider that the measures adopted by Mr. Hockin on this occasion, which resulted in the capture of the dhow, without any of his men being even wounded, were most expedient, and reflect credit on this young officer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CUMMING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 49.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," Zanzibar, July 28, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, an account of the capture by Mr. Percy Hockin, Acting Sub-Lieutenant, of a dhow engaged in the Slave Trade, and I have to inform you that I have carefully inquired into this case, and am convinced that Mr. Hockin used discretion, judgment, and determination, the latter particularly when he said he intended to take off the dhow in spite of there being from 150 to 200 armed men on the beach ready to resist him. I think Mr. Hockin's conduct on this occasion is worthy of great credit, and hope your Excellency will take the same view of it.

I have, &c

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN.

Inclosure 3 in No. 49.

Acting Sub-Lieutenant Hockin to Commander Bateman.

Sir,

"Daphne," Zanzibar, July 28, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, on the 27th July, being off Saadani in the first cutter, I observed three dhows at anchor off that town. I boarded them, and on board one I found a slave boy, who was paid no wages and detained against his will. The nakhoda of the dhow was ashore with the papers. I went on shore with the Interpreter to see him; he came down on the beach with a number of people armed with axes, and was very violent. He threatened to kill the Interpreter, and said the boat's crew should not leave the place alive if the dhow or boy were taken, this he shouted out whilst running away from us. I then went to the Chief's house; the Chief was absent on an expedition to the Interior, but his brother was acting in his absence. I said I wanted to see the dhow's papers, and after some little time the nakhoda returned with the papers. He gave me an English pass signed by Dr. Kirk, and an Arab one as well. The owner of the dhow, he said, was the Chief of Saadani, though the English pass named a Banyan, and the boy told me the dhow always flew English colours. I had determined to take the dhow to Zanzibar, and wishing to bring the nakhoda, I told him to come back to the dhow with me. He came part of the way and then ran away. I had previously put the boy into the cutter. On my return to the dhow I found her high and dry, and my boat about half a mile off afloat. I went to the cutter and watched the dhow, intending to bring her out at high water. I saw people come down and begin to take the cargo out of her, and unbend the sails. I then served out three rounds of ammunition a man, and leaving two hands to keep the cutter afloat, I waded ashore with the rest and went on board the dhow. The Arabs then came down in great force, and began surrounding the dhow to landward, waving swords and guns, and shouting and gesticulating.

The dhow being close up to the bushes, from whence the Arabs could have picked off my men without any chance of my hitting them, and having such little ammunition, I deemed it best to get back to the boat, as I thought my apparent retreat would make the Arabs attack me if they really intended to, and I was anxious to know what they intended to do.

Directly we retired from the dhow they ran after us, some of them kneeling down and aiming at us. I ordered my men to fix bayonets and retire, facing the Arabs. They then fired at us; I returned the fire, and hit some of the Arabs. This checked them, but after a moment they came on firing again. By this time we were up to our waists in water, but I fired a second volley, and they then retired to some distance. My Interpreter then told them we meant to take the dhow to Zanzibar, and should report their conduct to the Sultan. Their leader answered, he would not let us take the dhow, and he did not care for the Sultan. On reaching the cutter, the tide falling fast, I went out to 7 feet of water, and fired on any one attempting to go near the dhow. The Arabs then dispersed, but fearing they would take the dhow's sail, I landed with Cornelius Duggan, A.B., and ordering the boat's crew to fire on any coming near, I waded on shore and walked up to the dhow; we found the sail had been unbent ready for taking away. We brought the sail back to the boat. As the tide rose, I pulled in nearer and nearer, and then Duggan and myself waded on shore with the cutter's grap-line, but it not being long enough, I went on board the dhow and paid over her

hawser, which we then bent to the grap-line. I had brought an axe with me, and I cut the shores which were supporting the dhow. After about five minutes' pulling the dhow floated, and I towed her off and made sail. The Arabs had evidently enough of the Snider, and did not fire at us as I expected when cutting the shores clear and bending the hawser. I deem it my duty to say that I am well satisfied with the behaviour of the cutter's crew, and I wish to bring Duggan's good conduct to your notice, he coming on shore with me both to bring down the sail and to bend the hawser.

Whilst the affair was going on, some Banyans came down and waved a white flag; I went on shore to meet them, and they told me that they expected to be maltreated by the Arabs. I told them I was going to Zanzibar, and would give them a passage in the dhow. This they declined, but asked me to tell the English Consul they wanted his protection.

In conclusion, I have the satisfaction to state that, notwithstanding the number of Arabs and their expressed determination to defend the dhow, I have brought her back without having a single man wounded.

Hoping my proceedings meet with your approval, I have, &c.,
(Signed) PERCY HOCKIN.

Inclosure 4 in No. 49.

Case No. 19 of 1873.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Certificate as to the Destruction of a Dhow.

I, THE undersigned Richard S. Bateman, holding the rank of Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," do hereby certify that, acting under instructions from the Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at this place, the dhow (name unknown), captured by the first cutter of this ship on the 27th day of July, 1873, was destroyed on the 6th day of August, 1873.

Dated on board Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," at Zanzibar, the 7th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, *Commander.*

Affidavit.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

OUR Sovereign Lady the Queen against an English vessel the "Indorama," of which one Sheriff was said to have been master, and one Karamali Madani was said to have the owner, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also against a slave boy named Faraji, seized by Percy Hockin, Esq., a Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and commanding the first cutter of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" on detached service, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade.

Appeared personally R. S. Bateman, Esq., a Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and made oath that on the 28th of July, 1873, on the return of the first cutter of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" from detached service, Sub-Lieutenant Percy Hockin informed the deponent that on the 27th of July, 1873, being off Saadani, he observed three dhows at anchor, and he boarded them. In one he found a slave boy named Faraji, who was detained against his will, was paid no wages, and wished to be made free. Mr. Hockin placed the boy in the cutter, and went to see the nakhoda who was ashore with the papers. The nakhoda, whose language and behaviour were very violent, eventually gave up the papers, one Arabic and one English, both stating that Karamali Madani was the owner, although the nakhoda and the slave boy said that Bwana Hari, the Chief of Saadani, was the owner of the dhow, and the boy said the dhow always flew English colours. The master threatened that if the boy or the dhow was taken the cutter's crew should not leave the place alive, and the

Arabs fired on the boat's crew. After some resistance Mr. Hockin succeeded in bringing the dhow off, and sailed her to Zanzibar.

(Signed) R. S. BATEMAN, *Commander.*

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul.*

Filed in the Vice-Admiralty Court, the 28th July, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.*

Minutes of Court of Proceedings.

August 4, 1873.

Present:

Captain Bateman, for the Captors.
Agent of Bwana Heri, of Saadani, for the Vessel.

Read affidavit of captors.

Read affidavit of Karamali Mandani to the effect that this vessel never was his, that he had a vessel once which was sold, but a different one from this, and that he has sailed as passenger in this under the English flag.

Read deposition by the slave boy to the effect that he is a native of Uzegua, was bought by Bwana Hari some time ago, put in the vessel, and was to be sold, although he has been several voyages in the dhow.

Agent of Bwana Hari states dhow is his property, has sailed under the English colours, and been boarded before under them, does not know why Bwana Hari gave out English papers to her or where he got them.

Ordered Decree of condemnation to be given, and, as the vessel has been taken under false colours and papers, the vessel to be destroyed off Saadani, and a letter addressed to the Chiefs and people of the place prepared, and read on shore before the destruction is carried out.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the vessel, without name or nation, sailing under assumed English colours, and false papers, whereof Sheriff was Master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against one male slave named Faraji, seized as liable to forfeiture, as being engaged in the Slave Trade, by Percy Hockin, Sub-Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy, before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 14th day of August, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared R. S. Bateman, Esq., and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which the vessel, without name or nation, of which Sheriff was Master, and owned by Bwana Heri of Saadana, on the African coast, of the description and measurement specified in the annexed certificate, taken by order of the Court, after condemnation; also one slave boy, named Faraji, were seized at Saadani on the 27th July, 1873, under the English flag, and papers; and the said Judge having heard the evidence on both sides, having found sufficient evidence that the vessel at time of seizure was engaged in the Slave Trade, and making use of false papers and colours, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the slave boy Faraji, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto, this 4th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Ordered that the vessel be taken to Saadani, and there destroyed, in presence of the owners.

Certificate of Admeasurement to be made in all cases on the Condemnation of a Vessel.

We, the Undersigned, E. Nankivill, Navigating Lieutenant, and Henry Brown, carpenter, do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule I of the 21st section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the vessel detained by the first cutter of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne, on the 27th day of July, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged or equipped for the Slave Trade.

Principal dimensions—							Ft. in.
Length at under side of tonnage deck from inside of plank at side of stem to inside of plank at midship stern-timber, at the point of one-third of round of beam below the deck							35 0
Main breadth inside from plank to plank							10 9
Depth amidships at the point of one-third of round of beam below the under side of deck to ceiling on floor timber at timber strake							8 0
Tonnage—							No. of Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck							32 $\frac{3}{4}$
Closed-in space above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or round-house, &c.—							
Poop	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
House	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	32 $\frac{3}{4}$

Signed this 29th day of July, 1873.

(Signed)

E. NANKIVILL, *Navigating Lieutenant.*
HY. BROWN, *Carpenter.*

Approved in Court, after condemnation, August 4, 1873.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

No. 50.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 9, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that an expedition has started under the personal direction of the Governor-General of Mozambique, to make another effort to establish Portuguese supremacy on the Zambesi, where it has now been for several years completely lost. On the 24th June the Governor General left Quillimane for the Luabo mouth of the Zambesi in the screw-steamer "Tête," having the two steamers "Senna" and "Quillimane" in company.

I understand it is the purpose on the present occasion to ascend the Zambesi by water alone, and without any land party, but from my experience of that river, the season has been allowed to advance too far, nor is the river really navigable, unless to vessels of the shallowest draught of water, as far as Massangano, near Tête, the fortified position of the rebel Chief. Moreover, unless the course of the river at that point has much changed since I knew it, the vessels, on reaching, in the dry season, will find themselves at a distance from the stockade too far to make their fire efficient, unless it is purposed chiefly to use rockets for the purpose of burning down the houses, a thing that might very easily be accomplished.

While the Bonga rebellion remains unbroken, and finances are in a deplorable state, new difficulties seem to arise from the north, the Makololas left by the Livingstone expedition, having attacked, burnt, and plundered, carrying off captives from villages between Senna and Mazzaro, on the Lower Zambesi.

From private sources I learn that a very large Slave Trade has been carried on this year with Madagascar, which the Portuguese Government is wholly unable to check, having no real power unless within gunshot of their stations; and I am told by natives that a Slave Trade vessel going to Madagascar has just been seized, with 125 slaves on board, near Majunga.

No. 51.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received September 24.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a decree of condemnation of a native canoe and two slaves seized in the passage between the islands of Chole and Mafia.

As that is a region badly surveyed and little known, and as I have just returned from inspecting that part of the coast, I may explain, for the information of your Lordship, that Chole is one of three small islets at the south-east corner of Mafia, of importance as being the favourite residence of the proprietors of estates in the latter, which is a rich and well cultivated island.

The reason assigned by those I asked, why, having their plantations in Mafia, they lived in another island, was that a chill air from the marshes and hollows of the larger island caused swellings and dropsies, from which in Chole they were free, as they expressed it, they preferred Chole as being warmer than Mafia.

The arm of the sea that divides the two islands is at one place not above a quarter of a mile in width, and over this the farm produce is carried by the slaves, who cultivate the land and watch the cocoa-nut plantations, to the houses of their masters, and the canoe seized by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater" was returning to Mafia, having the same day taken across slaves and produce.

When spoken with two of the passengers complained loudly of ill-treatment by their masters, and claimed protection of the English officers, and finding that both were newly-imported slaves, neither of whom could speak the language of the coast, and that they voluntarily protested against being kept as slaves, the officer in charge destroyed the canoe and removed the slaves to his boats.

Entering the following day, but after the boats of the ship of war had left, I received and noted all that the people of Chole had to say. They accepted all that might be said by the slaves, but, falling back, disputed the case on the general issue, on the ground that Chole and Mafia were one, the former being simply the residence of the people of Mafia and its port of shipment.

That the slaves were slaves they acknowledged; that they did not understand Swaheli they did not deny; they simply said that, if their slaves could not be moved with perfect freedom, at the will of the owner, from one island to the other, they, the proprietors, must remove to Mafia and abandon Chole.

Against this view of the case, it must be kept in mind that Mafia has good harbours of its own; that, if not so healthy as Chole, it is still reputed better than most places on the coast; and that it was clearly understood, at the time the late Treaty was signed, that slaves could not be removed by water, and the instance of slaves who escaped from Zanzibar to the mainland, thirty miles distant, used as an example.

Did, then, the narrowness of the sea channel between Mafia and Chole here authorize an opposite meaning?

To my mind this could not be admitted.

It is essential for the proper working of the Treaty that the general principle agreed to and understood by the Arabs, that slaves cannot be taken as slaves afloat and removed against their will, be maintained intact, especially now, when slave gangs in chains and slave sticks are marched along the coast by land with a view to accomplish, if possible, the same object before attained by the easier and cheaper sea voyage.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Case No. 21 of 1873.

Decree.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar canoe or vessel, name unknown, owned by Abdullah bin Omar Mafazi, of Chole, and also against the two male slaves called Matumale and Sudi, seized as liable to forfeiture by William Osborne Moore, a Lieutenant in Her Majesty's navy, on detached service in the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater." Before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 25th August, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared Commander W. Lloyd Wharton, R.N., Commander Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," and produced the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which

sets out the circumstances under which a Zanzibar canoe or vessel, name unknown, owned by Abdulla bin Omar Mafazi, of Chole, of the description and dimensions specified in the annexed certificate of admeasurement, also two male slaves named Matumale and Sudi, were seized between the islands of Chole and Mafia on the 18th day of August, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence produced on both sides and examined the witnesses, having found sufficient proof that the canoe or vessel, at the time of her seizure, was engaged in the illegal transport of the two slaves above named in contravention of Treaties existing between Great Britain and the Sultan of Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-mentioned canoe or vessel, and also the two slaves Matumale and Sudi, to have been lawfully seized and to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto, this 26th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against a canoe unnamed, whereof Abdulla bin Omar Mofazi was owner, and also against two male slaves, called Matumale and Sudi, seized by Lieutenant William Usborne Moore.

Appeared personally William James Lloyd Wharton, Esq., Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," and made oath that, on the 18th day of August, 1873, whilst off the island of Songa Songa, he detached two boats, under the orders of Lieutenant William U. Moore; that, on the return of said two boats on the 24th instant, the said Lieutenant William Usborne Moore informed deponent that, on searching a canoe passing from Chole Island to Mafia on the 19th instant, he found there on board the two slaves above named who, from their own statement, as well as appearance and ignorance of the Swaheli language, he deemed to be slaves, carried in contravention of the Treaties existing between the Sultan of Zanzibar and our Sovereign Lady the Queen; whereupon he seized the said canoe and slaves as liable to forfeiture to Her Majesty, destroyed the canoe, and brought the said slaves to this port; and he further made oath that there were no papers or documents on board said canoe.

(Signed) W. J. L. WHARTON, *Commander.*

On the 25th day of August, 1873, the said William James Lloyd Wharton, Esq., was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul.*

Certificate as to the State of the Canoe at the time of the Detention.

I, the Undersigned, William U. Moore, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and detached from Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," do hereby certify that, in exercise of the authority vested in me, I did, on the 19th day of August, 1873, between Chole Island and Mafia, detain canoe on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade.

And I further certify that she had on board at the time four passengers and two male slaves.

And I further certify that, on examination by Sub-Lieutenant James F. Bedford and myself, she proved unfit for conveyance to the ship or port of adjudication, from her small size and leaky condition.

Signed the 25th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) WM. USBORNE MOORE, *Lieutenant, R.N.*

Certificate as to the Destruction of the Canoe.

I, the Undersigned, William U. Moore, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and detached from Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," do hereby

certify that, on the 19th of August, 1873, I directed a survey to be held on the said canoe detained by me on the 19th of August, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade, and that the Surveying Officer has reported to me that it was impossible, from her size and leaky condition, to bring her to the port of adjudication, as from the report of survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said vessel has been destroyed by my orders.

Signed this 25th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) WM. USBORNE MOORE, *Lieutenant, R.N.*

Certificate of Admeasurement.

WE, the Undersigned, William U. Moore and James F. Bedford, do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule 1 of the 21st section of the "Merchant Shipping Act, 1854," the canoe detained by Lieutenant William U. Moore, on the 19th of August, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade; and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

Length..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Feet.
Main breadth inside from plank to plank	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
Girth ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
									12
Tonnage ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Tons.
									1.774

Signed this 25th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) WILLIAM USBORNE MOORE, *Lieutenant, R.N.*
JAMES F. BEDFORD, *Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.*

RECEIVED from Captain Wharton, R.N., captured in the canoe seized at Chole on 18th August, No. 21 of 1873, in the Vice-Admiralty Court two male slaves.

Zanzibar, August 26, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

No. 52.

Consul-General Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received September 24.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 27, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that, in order personally to ascertain the true state of the slaves at Kilwa, I left Zanzibar in Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater" to visit Kilwa Kivinji and the intermediate stations where information regarding the overland Slave Trade might be collected. The special work on which I was to be engaged coinciding with the service on which Captain Wharton, as a surveying officer, has been here charged, I was most fortunate in finding one so desirous to see as much as possible of the coast, and assist me personally throughout the tour, while carrying out his own proper duties.

The coastline we were to pass being the least accurately surveyed of all the sheets of Captain Owen's East African charts, presented at the same time one point of considerable geographical interest, including, as it did, the mouths of the hitherto unexplored River Lufigi, advantage was taken in passing to fix and delineate, not only the principal sea mouths of this large stream, but to ascend and ascertain its course, and relative importance as a possible water-way for the future to inner Africa.

The results of observations made at various places examined by Captain Wharton and myself, I have thrown, for convenience of reference, into the form of separate inclosures, and will now generally indicate the course followed on the voyage.

Leaving the harbour of Zanzibar on the 11th of August, we anchored early the following day on Latham Bank, a detached and dangerous coral reef that lies in the southern entrance to the Zanzibar channel, having in its centre a low island, visible only a few miles off, on which several merchant-vessels have been wrecked, and that has nearly caused the loss of more than one of our cruisers in these seas.

After taking astronomical observations, and noting the currents that sweep the reef,

and constitute its chief danger, we made for the nearest headland of the opposite coast, correcting here, as elsewhere throughout our voyage, the names often wrongly placed on the present sea-charts, the want of which information has hitherto proved so baffling in identifying localities where wrecks or other events have been reported by natives to have taken place.

In future, as regards the coastline between Zanzibar and Kilwa, this difficulty has been completely removed, and errors in names corrected.

Following closely the coastline, we anchored, on the 13th August, off the second mouth of the Lufigi River, which on the following day we ascended as far as the head of the delta.

Following still the most in-shore passage, we anchored off Kilwa Kivinji, the centre of East African Slave Trade. Here I sent the Sultan's letters to the officials on shore by an officer in uniform, and landed at an adjacent spot, out of sight of the town.

I have embodied the results of my inquiry relative to the Slave Trade in a separate Annex, and may here state that I found no destitution whatever among the slaves still here, while large numbers, I ascertained, have been and are now daily marched up the coast by land. Thus, so far as rendering assistance to destitute slaves, there was no room for my interference, a circumstance I cannot, in one sense, but regret, as it indicates that hopes are entertained by slave-dealers of still working off the present stock to a profit, which, if the speculation turn out well, must lead to a continuance, although on a limited scale, of Slave Trade in the interior.

If, on the other hand, present speculators meet with heavy losses, and fail to realize at the end of their journey remunerative prices, the Slave Trade will die out. On this point, however, I may be better able to offer an opinion when I have visited Lamo.

After careful examination of the legitimate commerce of Kilwa, its limited extent and resources, it is evident that indirectly, if not directly, there can be few in business there not in some way involved in the Slave Trade, for however honestly they may have given goods or credit, or shut their eyes as to how those goods would be employed, the only way of recovering money from a bad payer who returned with slaves, must be by securing the debt against the proceeds of sale of slaves.

The result of my careful investigation on the spot has, therefore, been fully to confirm my former reports that the Kilwa traders must all be more or less implicated; but, effectually to meet this, I find it will be absolutely necessary for a European officer under this Consulate to reside there some time, when, through the disputes that constantly arise between the borrower and the lender at time of payment, the former seeing that the debt cannot be fully enforced, will repudiate and disclose the evidence of its illegality, and the Indian community having only commercial instincts to guide them, will, when once an example has been made of a few, abandon a dangerous, and now far from profitable, branch of trade.

A remarkable circumstance I learned at Kilwa was that, where before the Treaty was signed there were sixty Sheheri Arabs there are now only six. The Arabs of Sheher are all slave-dealers; many were wealthy men. There are few in Zanzibar now not bankrupt; and through them, again, the European and American houses lose directly, as they have given advances of merchandize, paid for nominally after six months.

Seldom has a slave-vessel been taken by our cruisers that did not more or less affect some one of the European and American houses here, as it rendered some Arab or other unable to meet his obligations when due.

From near Kilwa I ascertained that two slave-vessels have sailed since the 5th of June. They left at night from a village to the south; the cargoes were for Lamo and Brava, and owned by Baloochis and Sheheris. In one I heard the Governor of Kilwa had a small venture, but the fact I could not bring home, although I have reported it as a rumour to the Sultan, and told him that for the escape of such vessels we must now under Treaty hold him responsible, and that if the same occurs again he will undoubtedly be called to account.

When Sir Bartle Frere visited the Delgado district he found the Sultan's authority there nominal. Since then I discovered matters are much worse. Attacks from the interior have prevented the Coast people from cultivating the land, and I was given to understand that the Wali of the district has left Mitingi, where formerly his headquarters were supposed to be, and that the natives were dying of hunger, and reduced to collecting the seeds of wild grasses.

This process of depopulation never goes on in Africa without Slave Trade either as a cause or consequence; and as outside Kilwa there is now a desert that requires ten days to cross, where the Wa'Moera and Wa'Sindo formerly lived, so Delgado will probably follow the same course.

To meet such a state of things the Sultan, whose attention is now occupied with troubles nearer home, has not the means; but in connection with this subject I shall forward a separate Report.

Inclosure 1 in No. 52.

Report on Latham Island.

LATHAM SHOAL and Island was visited by Captain Wharton, of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," on the way to Kilwa, in order to fix, by astronomical observations, its true position, when I took advantage of the occasion to land and examine the island, while the surveyors were busy with its triangulation.

The shoal lies 25 miles east of the nearest point of the African mainland, and 37 miles distance from the south end of Zanzibar Island; it is, therefore, a real danger in the way of vessels entering from the south. In 1869 the "Hydrabad," with upwards of seventy persons on board, was here lost, and a few years before another English vessel, with a valuable cargo, also became a total wreck. On more than one occasion, too, Her Majesty's ships of war have been in the greatest danger, for the island is low, without vegetation, and swept by strong, yet rather uncertain currents; the surface of this rocky island, which is covered with the nests of sea-fowl, is made level with a layer of guano, on which trees have not been able to spring up; thus the only warning on approaching by night must be gathered by the lead, and on the bank there is pretty good anchorage.

It had been proposed formerly, in consequence of inquiries that followed the loss of an outward-bound vessel, to urge the Sultan to erect here a lighthouse, a scheme that has been again brought forward; but I am convinced that in the existing state of Zanzibar such a plan could not be efficiently carried out, for the following reasons: first, the landing on Latham is dangerous, and cannot be safely effected in the height of either monsoon; secondly, communication with a spot out of sight of land could only be kept up by means of a steam-vessel; thirdly, away from supervision natives could not be depended on to keep lights burning, and would be dependent on the light-vessel for water and food, as well as relief in event of illness; fourthly, it appears to me that the leading light for entering the south passage ought to be on the north point of Mafia Island, and that a large stone beacon would be ample on Latham. On Mafia there is a large and orderly population, and there no difficulty should be found, whereas, without a steam service and European light-keepers, who must be often relieved, Latham could not be kept up, and, if not regularly attended to, would become a still greater danger than now, as ships would make for it, trusting to the light rather than avoid it, as now, by making Mafia Head, and then steering up the land inside the Latham bank.

Captain Wharton erected a small beacon while we remained on the island, and has undertaken to construct a much larger one next time he visits it; and I propose to making the attempt to grow cocoa-nuts and casuadinas in pits filled with sand among the guano.

I may here mention, in order to show how little this bank is visited by native vessels, even by fishermen, that no one can have landed since I was myself there in September 1869, as the wreck of the "Hydrabad" still remained, and the seamen of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater" picked up on the reef, where left by the wrecked people, a box with bottles of rose-oil, also a Koran, and upwards of 20*l.* worth of old copper, including the ship's bell, and a silver anklet. Had any native been there since the wreck nothing of all this would have been left.

Thus light-keepers would be absolutely dependent on the attendance of a special vessel, and could hope for nothing from casual vessels touching or passing near the reef.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 52.

Report on the Lufigi River Delta.

THE attention of geographers has, for some time, been called to the Lufigi River which, throughout its whole course, still remains unknown, the mouths by which it opens to the sea not being even laid down with anything approaching to accuracy in our best maps. It has also been thought that this stream, coming from a great distance inland, might yet prove to be an available water way for trade into Central Africa.

The head waters of the Lufigi, coming from the lands of Urori Ukena, Uranga, and South Unyamwezi, open to the sea behind the Island of Mafia, a district most imperfectly examined by the surveying staff under Captain Owen, who, it appears, did not even see the coast line, or attempt to delineate it on the charts.

The alluvial Delta of Lufigi has a sea-face of thirty miles in length, but nowhere does it extend far inland; the southern arms are now shut off from the river, or united only by connecting canals with those from the north, by which alone the body of water at present finds its way to the sea.

Desirous to determine the position of the principal branches, and reach, if possible, the body of the river where these become united, so as to estimate its comparative importance and the prospects it affords, either for further explorations or for trade, Captain Wharton, in company with myself, started in a steam cutter. Entering the Simbaoranga mouth, which we had been told was the largest and deepest, we found on the outer bar not less than one fathom and a half at low water springs, and inside, the river became suddenly much deeper.

Following a S.S.W. course, we ascended this wide mangrove-lined creek, passing many channels going off to the right and left, the first met with on the north being that passing to the sea, known as the Kikuja mouth. About nine miles up the river, which was still mangrove-lined, it divided into two arms of nearly equal size, the one we had ascended being the most northerly, the other called the Bumba, passing eastward to the sea. On our return we followed the latter, which, although more shallow than the Simbaoranga mouth, seemed to have a right to be considered the main embouchure of the river, the water being here perfectly fresh at the mouth, even when the tide commenced to flow. Three miles above the bifurcation of the Bamba and Simbaoranga streams, we come to the Mukerani creek, which, the natives assured us, was the highest offset going to the sea; the Mukerani unites with one of the southern creeks, probably that named the Jani, which again, by cross creeks, is connected with three or four more.

Above the Mukerani the river makes a great bend, and all mangroves are here left behind and nothing seen but the alluvial plain covered with the rankest grasses; clearings here and there were observed where rice was being planted, this being the second crop of the season, and here the natives came unarmed to the banks and watched the steamer.

At the point where we turned to come back to the ship, the stream was about 150 yards in width, 6 feet average depth in the channel, and flowing two knots; so far as we could see ahead there were neither mountains or other obstacles to prevent boats from passing. The chief obstruction in this, as in all East African streams, would arise from the sand banks, which had begun to appear where we turned back.

In the dry season I cannot think that a boat of the size of the steam cutter we had would be able to reach very far; although, in July, before the water has fallen and the river dried up, there seems no reason to doubt it might pass a very long way up inland.

The natives we spoke with knew nothing of the river above, but I have been assured that two hundred miles, if not near the coast, it is full of rapids. In comparison with other African streams I have explored, it will rank as slightly larger than the Rovuma.

The slave-crossing where, caravans pass from Kilwa to Dar-es-Salam and the north, was still some distance beyond where we reached, the muddy delta-lands being avoided, both on account of the difficulty in crossing creeks and the scarcity of food, which, higher up, is cheap and abundant.

I have the honour to forward a plan to the river delta and river so far as examined, which has been kindly placed at my disposal by Captain Wharton, and that may be of interest to the President of the Royal Geographical Society as a small contribution to the map of Africa.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 3 in No. 52.

Report on Kilwa Kivinji and the Slave Trade.

THE head-quarters of the Zanzibar Slave Trade, known as Kilwa Kivinji, to distinguish it from the older and now almost abandoned Kilwa, of Arab and Portuguese historians, called Kilwa Kiswani, or "on the island," is built on the face of a bay guarded from the swell of the Indian Ocean by an intricate and ill-surveyed barrier of reefs.

At high tide the calm sea here rises to the foundation of the huts, but leaves, on ebbing, a hideous sand and mud flat half a mile in extent.

On this native craft are beached and loaded or unloaded alongside.

The town of Kilwa Kivinji stretches along the shore, and consists of two or three rows of stone houses and mud huts. On either side are a few cocoa-nut plantations, and the ground rises behind to about 200 feet.

The town is open, and each hut, with the exception of those in the bazaar, has a large compound, fenced in with corn-stalks tied together, in which gangs of slaves are kept and concealed on the occasion of an official visit such as I was now engaged on,—for the slave-market is closed, and all buying and selling done secretly now.

The total population of Kilwa cannot exceed 2,000 or 3,000, exclusive of the slaves who are herded together inside the compounds. Most of these are naturally Swahilis, and these are the men who form and conduct the caravans that bring the slaves to the coast.

I was recognized in the street by the leader of one slave caravan who had seen me at Kotakota on Lake Nyassa, and from him I learnt something of the depopulation the country had undergone since then.

There is in Kilwa a resident Indian Colony consisting of 25 Hindoo and 70 Khoja families, including in itself about 200 individuals, 1 Bhora and a few natives of Sind. These keep retail shops, and do not go inland. They advance readily, however, and often on the smallest security to any native, securing themselves by heavy interest and the high profits taken on all goods advanced.

The Sultan is here represented by a Governor or Wali, who on this occasion was obsequiously polite, yet avoiding all outward acts that might be taken to imply watching, with whom I talked on where I went. On such occasions, on parting from him, if I expressed the smallest desire to be alone, even without my own attendant, I was permitted to saunter in the streets and address whomsoever I met.

To maintain the Sultan's authority here 100 mercenaries are kept, all natives of Oman, and not of Hadramant. Besides these the Custom-house, administered by a Hindoo, has a guard of thirty Baloochis. These soldiers each receive $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars monthly wage, out of which they find food, arms, and clothing—a proof that native provisions cannot be very expensive. Only when sent away on duty do they get batta.

At the time of Sir Bartle Frere's visit there existed another element, now gone, Arabs of Sheher, in Hadramant, sixty in number, all engaged actively in the Slave Trade as a branch of business and not for their own use.

When I was there I could find only six of these individuals left, but I know that many have gone up the coast with gangs of slaves by the land route.

These they had purchased before the prohibition, consequent upon the Treaty, had been published, and unless the venture pays, they are not likely to return next year; certainly they will not come back in numbers as formerly.

Any notice of the people of Kilwa Kivinji would, however, be very incomplete without mention of the old coast families who have taken the place of the Dinans and Sultans of the Merima opposite the Island of Zanzibar. To them the Sultan Seyyid Burgash pays a yearly subsidy of 400 dollars, besides which they exercise, independently of him, more than sovereign rights on all native caravans coming from the interior with ivory. Whether the same rights are asserted in the case of slave caravans I neglected to inquire, but in the matter of ivory, each native, on arrival outside the town, is called upon, before he may sell his ivory, to elect some member of one of these families as his patron. From the latter he has a claim for food and lodging, and a gift on again setting out. The patron again superintends all his transactions for the sale of the ivory, and takes, on the bargain being concluded, from 10 to 20 dollars per *frasileh*, according to the value of the ivory and the shrewdness of the native with whom he has to deal. This may, in round numbers, be said to represent 50 per cent. *ad valorem*, in addition to which the Sultan has recently levied an additional tax at Kilwa of 4 dollars per *frasileh* and a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty again on arrival in Zanzibar. The two last are common to all the Sultan's subjects. The tax collected by the elders of the place is simply a prohibitive duty against native caravans, and a protection directly given in favour of those fitted out from the coast.

It is not altogether the Sultan's weakness that has permitted a system so prejudicial to the interests of trade to continue, but rather the facility the system offers to the Governor, the Chiefs, and Indians to cheat the native, together with the advantage reaped by the Arabs or half-castes who form a caravan.

Ivory, however, forms a most important item in the trade of Kilwa, and one that, since the stoppage of Slave Trade by sea, has already increased. In the past four months, during which the local levy of 4 dollars per *frasileh* has been in force, there have been 900 elephants' teeth brought to the town, representing in all 700 *frasilehs*.

After slaves and ivory the Kilwa trade includes bees' wax, chiefly from the Rufiji, orchella weed of fine quantity, from Old Kilwa, also millet, sesamseed, rice, and tobacco.

Kilwa has, therefore, many resources, but the curse of the Slave Trade rests upon it. The people are demoralized, and, outside the immediate circle of the Kilwa plantations, the country is a perfect desert. A few years ago an outbreak of the Maviti from the north of Nyassa came upon it; they did not enter the town itself, but swept off the Wa'Moera and the Wa'Sindo, selling thousands of them as slaves, and killing still more. I was assured by all the caravan-leaders I spoke with, that in going now to Nyassa it is necessary to buy corn in Kilwa, grind and dry it, and for each man to carry with him half his load of food, as beyond the plantations of the towns-people—only one day's march inland—there is a desert that cannot be crossed in less than ten days. On the return the same difficulty is met with, but the slaves are made to carry the food. Further on, after crossing the Rovuma, another depopulated belt of country is traversed, but slave-dealers are, I am sorry to report, going to the head-waters of the Rufiji, to Ukena Urori, and Uranga, where certain Arabs of Zanzibar, under pretext of annexing the country to the dominions of the Sultan, are simply carrying on a slave-hunting foray.

At the time that slave transport by sea was prohibited, there were about 4,000 slaves in Kilwa, and several large vessels ready fitted to take them off. How they were treated I have already had occasion to inform your Lordship. Suffice it here to say, that since the Treaty was signed, only two vessels have been able to steal away from a village a few miles south of Kilwa, one having gone to Brava with 150 slaves on board, the other to Lamo with about 50, the latter owned by people of the Islands of Patte and Fazi, the former by Baloochis and Arabs of Sheher. I could not find that any had gone to Arabia.

While the sea transport and the public slave markets, both in Zanzibar and on the coast, have been effectually closed, I have now to report that a vigorous effort is being made to develop the overland route. It is, however, far from certain whether, when the old and now depreciated stock of slaves has been worked off, it will pay to send out caravans to procure others. On this I can offer as yet no opinion; I may do so when, after visiting places further north, I have learnt the losses and expenses sustained on the way, and compared them with the selling price obtained. Should the land transport simply end in disposing of existing slaves, one serious problem has solved itself; if it leads to further raids for the supply, our work is still incomplete, although I think we may well congratulate ourselves on the results hitherto.

Even now, when slaves are known to have reached Melinda by land, prices at Kilwa do not exceed 6 dollars, and at such the business, I am convinced, cannot pay.

Outside Kilwa, at the Mgingera Creek, a duty of 2 dollars per head is taken, I am told, by the Governor. I satisfied myself, however, that, hitherto at least, the Custom-house has not been implicated, nor could I find out that any duty was levied on regular scale or openly.

Further north, in order to avoid the creeks of Samanga, and muddy delta of the Rufiji, the route lies inland. Once beyond that river it again closes to the coast at Mboa Maji—the slaves are then ferried in canoes over the Dar Salam Creek, and marched to Bagamoyo. Most of them are in chains, or wooden slave sticks, during the whole of the march, to prevent their running away.

There can be no doubt some are being taken at night to Zanzibar and Pemba in fishing canoes, and I pointed out long ago that this we never can wholly prevent while slavery exists in the islands. Moreover, before the present Treaty had been proposed to the Sultan, I showed that to stop effectually the land route, which I foresaw would be opened, it would be necessary to interpose a barrier, in the form of a free Settlement, although one still under the Sultan and an integral part of his dominions. This could then more readily have been effected before the Arabs saw fully what they would be driven to, than now, when the land route is on its trial.

Possibly, however, as I have said, the land route may fail, as being unprofitable.

It will be our policy to throw, at the commencement, every difficulty in their way.

As regards the main object of my visit, namely, to give relief to destitute slaves, if such were needed, I have to report that I found no sign of this being required. Native food is at Kilwa cheap, and the slaves there cared for by their owners, as they have been hitherto, and any interference in their behalf could only assist the dealers, and add value and countenance to the Traffic.

With reference to the participation of Indians on the coast in the Slave Trade, I can only repeat what I have before reported, that at Kilwa doubtless every one is more

or less, either directly or indirectly, involved; but even when there I could get no evidence of direct slave-trading among them; at the same time I saw that many instances of advances secured against slaves would be brought to light, but these are matters demanding patient investigation, and I propose to send at the earliest possible occasion one having Consular authority to take the matter up.

Zanzibar, August 28, 1873.

No. 53.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received September 24.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 27, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a Decree and accompanying certificates in the case of a slave-vessel seized by Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," and placed in Court here for adjudication.

The ground of seizure, which was in Mombasa Harbour, was that a slave was said to have been kidnapped and kept on board for the purpose of sale at Lamo.

The statements made by the slave were, however, so false in every particular in which they could be checked, that no credence could be given to his tale, at the same time this may also be said of the evidence of the captain and crew in defence.

The investigation, however, disclosed certain facts that made the vessel most suspicious, and led to a thorough examination of her papers.

As these amounted to upwards of 300 documents, this was no light matter, but the owner being the notorious Saeed Anter, one of the chief slave dealers, and shipper of slaves to the Somali coast, it became important that the case should be thoroughly investigated, the more so as the vessel was doubly mortgaged to Europeans here, and the cargo owned by honest men, and if she could be condemned, a good occasion offered of showing that those who risked their money and indirectly hope to profit in the luck of slave-dealers must also take their chance of loss.

The vessel, if condemned, would be simply a direct loss to a German and English house, the latter bankrupt.

One direct loss to a few of the chief houses would make them more careful in future, and create a list of suspected vessels that could not find freight, thus placing more difficulty in the way of the slave-dealer, making his vessels, in the first place, bad security to advance money upon, and still worse to ship an honest cargo in.

The examination of the papers produced a whole collection of Slave Trade correspondence from Sheher, Makulla, Mogdesha, Merka, and Brava, relating, some to this voyage, but mostly to one of last year, and the manifest in duplicate was obtained, showing how many slaves were taken to Brava, how much paid on them, and to whom consigned.

In the face of such evidence, I at once condemned the vessel, her cargo, and everything on board. The vessel I ordered to be broken up by Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," the cargo to be sold.

Against this two Banians, owners of cargo on board, have applied to me, but I have explained to them clearly my reasons, and shall circulate a notice that will, I trust, have some effect in depreciating the value of ship property held by Sheheri Arabs such as Saeed Anter, all of whom are slave-traders, and since the prohibition under the late Treaty, most of them bankrupt.

The crew have been placed in prison, and their property on board, of some value, all confiscated, and I have asked the Sultan to take steps to secure Saeed Anter, who now is at Lamo, and, I think, going to Somali land.

P.S.—The sale of cargo not being completed, I shall furnish a statement with balance, also certificate of destruction, by the following mail.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Case No. 20 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar vessel called the "Metsahal," whereof Ali bin Abdulla was master, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo; and also against one male slave named Uledi, seized as liable to forfeiture by Richard Hasting Harington, Esq., a Commander in Her Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 28th day of August, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared, Frederic Holmwood, Esq., second assistant to the Political Agent, on behalf of the seizer, Captain R. H. Harington, R.N., and produced the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which the Zanzibar vessel called the "Metsahal," of which Ali bin Abdulla was master, and owned by Saeed Anter, of the description and dimensions specified in the annexed certificate of admeasurement, with cargo on board, and also one male slave seized at Mombasa, on the 13th day of August, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence produced on both sides, and on that of the owners of the cargo, and examined the witnesses, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure, as also formerly when owned by the same person, was and had been engaged in the Slave Trade, in contravention of Treaties existing now and that did formerly exist between Great Britain and the Sultan of Zanzibar, do adjudge the above-named vessel, her tackle, furniture, and apparel, also the whole of the cargo, together with the one male slave Uledi, to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 26th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Arab dhow called the "Metsahal," whereof Sayyd Anter is owner, and Ali bin Abdulla nakhoda; her tackle, apparel, furniture, and cargo, and also against a male slave called Uledi, seized by Richard Hastings Harington, Esq., a Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble."

Appeared personally in the Consular Court at Zanzibar the said Richard Hastings Harington, Esq., commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," and made oath that, on the morning of the 13th day of August, 1873, whilst the said ship was lying at anchor off the town of Mombas, a male slave called Uledi, who had been paddling about the said ship in a canoe during the night, came on board and stated that he was a runaway slave from the dhow "Metsahal," which he pointed out, and which was then lying at anchor a short way off, and which vessel "Metsahal" was seen by the deponent to enter the port and anchor about two hours before the arrival of his ship, the "Nimble," on the afternoon of the 11th day of August, 1873. That, on questioning the said slave, it appeared that his master's name was Nassibeo; that he was in the said vessel against his will, having been enticed on board of her at Zanzibar by the Syrang Howadi, by a promise of some bread and dates; that when on board the said vessel he was not allowed to go on shore again, and was told that he was to be taken away to sea, and he was to say he was part of the crew and not a slave; that, having arrived off Mombas, and a man-of-war having been observed in the offing, the aforesaid vessel "Metsahal" was run into the said port of Mombas; that, having inquired of the Syrang, who gave him everything to eat, why he was not landed at Mombas, he was informed, in reply, it was not his place; that he was to be taken to Lamo; that, in the night, when all on board the said vessel "Metsahal" were asleep, he made his escape from her, and swam towards the said ship "Nimble," picking up with a canoe on the way, which he got into and kept paddling about in until

he was taken on board next morning; that the aforesaid vessel "Metsahal" had brought a cargo of rice from Zanzibar, and had taken on board cocoanuts at Mombas. Upon this information the deponent sent a boat with Navigating Sub-Lieutenant George Pirie to board and examine the said dhow; and that, upon the return of the said boat, the said Navigating Sub-Lieutenant George Pirie informed him that he found the cargo of the said dhow to consist of rice, ghee, and cocoanuts; that there were four large water jars on board, and that the crew consisted of seven persons, including the nakhoda, who had handed him over a permit, said to come from the Sultan Say'yd Burgash, and a bundle of letters; and that the said dhow was bound to Lamo. Upon this information deponent caused three of the crew, including the nakhoda of the said dhow to be brought on board, and at once set apart from each other and examined, from which it transpired that the aforesaid slave Uledi was not unknown to two of them; one, Howadi the Syrang, having said that the said slave was taken on board the said dhow at Zanzibar, and that he had given him dates; the other, Abdulla, having admitted that he had seen the said slave on board the said dhow, but that he did not know to whom he belonged. And it appearing that the said dhow was to call at the noted slave ports of Melinda and Lamo, and, moreover, that there was a second set of food pounding and cooking apparatus of very much larger dimensions than the utensils in use by the crew when boarded; and this, together with a large quantity of spare matting and feeding utensils, and a supply of inferior and uncleaned rice, the property of the nakhoda, gave grounds for believing that the said vessel was about to take slaves on board, which impression was confirmed by her papers, which appear to show that she had previously been engaged in the illegal Slave Trade; and the aforesaid nakhoda having also admitted that one of the crew, a boy, had run away from his vessel, the deponent was impressed with a conviction that the evidence was strongly suspicious against the said dhow, and thereupon seized the said vessel and slave, as liable to forfeiture to Her Majesty, in contravention of the Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and brought her, together with all her crew, to this port of Zanzibar for adjudication. Further, a large quantity of letters and papers were discovered on board of her, the said dhow, at the time of seizure, the contents of which appear to show that she had been engaged in the illegal Slave Trade. And the deponent further made oath that the papers, writings, and documents hereunto annexed, marked A, B, C, and D, are the whole of the papers and writings found on board or delivered up, relative to the said dhow and slave, and that they are in the same plight and condition as when received by the said deponent, save the arrangement thereof, without any fraud, addition, or subduction whatever.

(Signed) R. H. HARINGTON, *Commander.*

On the 12th day of August the above deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

(Signed) F. HOLMWOOD, *2nd Assistant to the Political Agent.*

Filed in Court, August 23, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Judge.*

Certificates relating to the Capture by Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," on the 13th day of August, 1873, of the Arab Slave Dhow "Metsahal."

1.—*Certificate of Detention.*

I, the Undersigned, Richard Hastings Harington, holding the rank of Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," do hereby certify that, in exercise of the authority vested in me, I did, on the 13th day of August, 1873, off the town of Mombas, in latitude 4° 4' south, and longitude 39° 43' east of Greenwich, detain the Arab dhow "Metsahal," whereof Ali bin Abdullah is nakhoda, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade.

And I further certify that she had on board at the time seven persons who were stated to be crew.

And I further certify that, on the morning of the aforesaid date, a male slave called Uledi came on board Her Majesty's ship under my command and stated that he was a runaway slave from the said dhow, which he pointed out; that he was in the said vessel against his will, and had been enticed on board of her at Zanzibar by a promise of some bread and dates, and not allowed to go on shore again; that he made his escape in the night, and came on board Her Majesty's ship under my command for protection.

And I further certify that the cargo of the said dhow was found to consist of rice, ghee, and cocoanuts, &c.; that four large water jars, a second set of food pounding and cooking apparatus (of very much larger dimensions than the utensils in use by the crew when boarded), a large quantity of spare matting and feeding utensils, and a supply of inferior and uncleaned rice, the property of the nakhoda, were also found on board the said dhow.

And I further certify that, on finding the said vessel was proceeding to the noted slave depôts of Melinda and Lamo; that, on inquiry, two of the crew having admitted their knowledge of the said slave having been brought from Zanzibar in the said dhow; that, from the foregoing fittings and equipments, there were grounds for believing that the said vessel was about to take slaves on board, I deemed the case so suspicious that I towed the said dhow to this port of Zanzibar for adjudication.

Signed this 19th day of August, 1873.

(Signed)

R. H. HARINGTON, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble."

2.—Certificate as to Papers found on board.

I, the Undersigned, Richard Hastings Harington, holding the rank of Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," do hereby certify that in exercise of the authority vested in me, I did, on the 13th day of August, 1873, off the town of Mombas, in latitude 4° 4' south, and longitude 39° 43' east of Greenwich, detain the Arab dhow "Metsahal," whereof Ali bin Abdulla is nakhoda, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade.

And I further certify that Annex A hereto contains all the papers which are deemed to be of a suspicious nature; that Annex B hereto contains all other papers and documents; that Annex C hereto is an account book; and Annex D hereto contains a quantity of closed letters, all of which were obtained on board the said dhow: that is to say, a permit from Say'yd Burgash and a bundle of closed letters, not now distinguishable from the rest, were delivered up by the nakhoda upon demand, and the remainder were discovered stowed away in a box upon its being searched; the said permit being now inclosed in Annex A, and the said bundle of letters being now inclosed in Annex D before-mentioned.

Signed this 19th day of August, 1873.

(Signed)

R. H. HARINGTON, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble."

3.—Certificate of Money and Valuables found on board.

I, the Undersigned, Richard Hastings Harington, holding the rank of Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," do hereby certify that the following is a correct account of all moneys and valuables found on board the Arab dhow "Metsahal," detained by me on the 13th day of August, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in, or equipped for, the Slave Trade;

Two swords, one double-barrelled gun, a bag containing 2,000 pice were found in the after part of the vessel at the time of seizure.

One bag, containing 5 American gold dollars, and 5 small copper coins; 47 American gold dollars and 2 silver dollars tied up in a wrapper; 5 silver dollars tied up in a piece of rag; 9 pice in a small bag; and 124 pice in an old bag, were taken from the persons of two of the crew of the vessel on the 15th instant, who were caught in the act of breaking open a box and helping themselves therefrom; the rest of the crew, at the time, being at the British Consulate and Residency to answer to the charge of being engaged in the Slave Trade brought against them.

Signed this 19th day of August, 1873.

(Signed)

R. H. HARINGTON, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble."

4.—Certificate of Equipments on board.

I, the Undersigned, Richard Hastings Harington, holding the rank of Commander in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," do

hereby certify that amongst the equipments on board the Arab dhow "Metsahal," when detained by me on the 13th day of August, 1873, tending to show that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, were the following :—

Her cargo consisting of cocoa-nuts, ghee, and rice, &c; four water-jars of about five gallons each; a large quantity of spare matting and feeding utensils; a second set of food-pounding and cooking apparatus of very much larger dimensions than the utensils in use by the crew when boarded; and a supply of inferior and uncleaned rice, the property of the nakhoda; several yards of calico stuff for waist-cloths; a Turkish flag (having given her nationality as Arab); and the arms referred to in Certificate No. 3, which latter only have been removed to this ship for safe custody, it being unadvisable to disturb any of the other articles of equipment, &c., in the vessel

(Signed) R. H. HARINGTON, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble."

5.—Certificate of Measurement.

We, the Undersigned, of Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd Section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the Arab dhow "Metsahal," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," on the 13th day of August, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade; and we certify that her dimensions are as follows :—

	Feet.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at sternpost ..	55
Main breadth to outside of plank	14
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	30
	Tons.
Tonnage	45.25
(No closed-in spaces above tonnage deck.)	

Signed this 16th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) GEO. PIRIE, *Navigating Sub Lieutenant.*
WM. GILES, *Engineer.*
G. J. GOODWIN, *Chief Carpenter's Mate.*

Approved by me, this 19th day of August, 1873.

(Signed) R. H. HARINGTON, *Commander,*
Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nimble."

No. 54.

Consul-General Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received September 24.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 29, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, letters which have been written and given me by my Assistant, Captain Elton, on his return yesterday from short leave on private affairs to Natal.

Whilst my Assistant was in Natal Her Majesty's ship "Briton," Captain Malcolm, landed 113 slaves, captured, it appears, near the coast of Madagascar; but I have no information of the details, nor were any papers made over to the Colonial authorities, throwing any light upon them.

It will, I feel certain, be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government to learn how hospitably these unfortunate people were received; and the promptness with which the idea was adopted of an Industrial School for the children does credit to the Colony. At the same time the very important evidence elicited by Colonel Lloyd's Court of Inquiry proves, unquestionably, how active a Slave Traffic is now being carried on from the Portuguese East Coast; and the fact of the shipment in this case being made almost within sight of the town of Mozambique clearly demonstrates the utter powerlessness of the Portuguese Government to put a stop to the illegal acts of their so-called subjects.

ZANZIBAR.

Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

*Vice-Consul Elton to Consul-General Kirk.**On board R.M.S. "Natal," 150 miles from Mozambique,
August 25, 1873.*

(Extract.)

I DO not know of any means so likely to put a stop to the Portuguese East Coast slaving as this establishment of a line of steamers, increasing communications, and establishing legitimate trade. If the Union Company were forced to run fast boats, and to touch at more ports, the end would be of course more readily gained. The individuals engaged in the Traffic would always be in dread of being informed against, and see danger in every new move—a good point to score. But what do we really know about the six Portuguese settlements between Pomba Bay and Cape Delgado, or the four Querimba Islands, Ibo, Querimba, Mattemo, and Foomo? Nothing, except that it is a certainty they are mixed up with the Madagascar Traffic; and below Mozambique to the Zambezi it is the same. I do not believe there has ever been any connected Report on the thousand and one places on this coast drawn up, even by the Portuguese themselves. Hence all that is done, is done groping in the dark.

Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

*Vice-Consul Elton to Consul-General Kirk.**On board steam-ship "Natal," off Cape Correntes,
August 18, 1873.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on August 4, Her Majesty's ship "Briton," Captain Malcolm, arrived at the Port of D'Urban, Natal, having on board 113 slaves, captured from a dhow in the Mozambique Channel. These slaves, viz.:—

	Souls.
Men	28
Women	22
Boys under 12 .. .	37
Girls under 12 .. .	18
Little children and infants	8
Total	113

were landed on the following day, the 5th, under charge of Colonel B. P. Lloyd, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, who received "carte-blanche" from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, to provide them with all requisite necessities and comforts.

On the next day, the 6th, the "Briton" sailed in the morning for the Mauritius, and on the same afternoon I returned from Maritzburg, where I had been visiting Sir B. Pine, for the purpose of ascertaining the precise measures which the Colonial Government proposed should any freed Africans at any time be sent to Natal from Zanzibar.

On my arrival, Colonel Lloyd requested me to accompany Mr. Warwick Brooks (the Superintendent of Education), and himself, on the following morning, the 7th, to inspect the freed slaves, their barracks, &c.

I am able to report that I found them lodged in commodious and well-ventilated barracks, with boarded floors and sufficient windows, which were constructed by Government in anticipation of the arrival of immigrants from St. Helena. This block of buildings, faced by a similar one and flanked by out-houses, cook-houses, &c., incloses a large, open square of sandy soil; a well of good water is within 100 yards of the quarters; and sea, in which the men and women bathe of their own accord daily, is distant across the line of rail only about 600 yards from the barracks.

Clothing had been furnished to all, a woollen blanket and a cotton blanket to each, besides dresses of the blue stuff called salem-pore to the women—soldiers' old coats and trousers to the men; tin-plates, spoons, and mugs were also served out.

The rations consisted of mealie meal porridge, rice, sweet potatoes, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of meat, per head daily. Those suffering from extreme weakness received rations of wine.

At the date of my departure, the 15th, out of twelve who had been originally sent to the hospital, suffering from debility, low fever, skin disease, &c., the results of hardships, starvation and filthy overcrowding, one death only was reported. It would be impossible to describe the state of emaciation in which they were first landed, or the visible change which even on the second day a few spoonfuls of food had upon them,

producing an almost intoxicating effect and an instant exhilaration of spirits hardly to be realized unless witnessed.

Efficient assistants belonging to the Indian Immigration Department are on the spot throughout the day. They are daily, often twice a day visited by Colonel Lloyd and the District Surgeon, and have also been inspected by the Bishop of Natal and Mr. Warwick Brooks (the Superintendent of Education), and I may say, without any qualification, having paid seven visits to them myself between the 7th and the 15th, want for nothing, have been received with sympathy, are well looked after, clothed and fed, and rapidly regaining strength and heart.

I, however, told Colonel Lloyd that I did not imagine Her Majesty's Government would approve of so large a proportion of children being simply apprenticed as domestic servants, when, had they been in the first instance taken to Zanzibar, it was probable that the Mission Schools might have undertaken their education with a view to rendering them able to earn their living. The same idea had struck Colonel Lloyd and was warmly joined in by Bishop Colenso, Mr. Warwick Brooks, and others. Colonel Lloyd then wrote to Sir Benjamin Pine, suggesting that these children should form the nucleus of an Industrial School, to be trained in the English language and to some branch of industry, with a view to being hereafter apprenticed for a term of years (say five), to fitting masters, at a premium, which shall assist to recoup the initial outlay incurred.

Sir Benjamin Pine was to arrive in D'Urban, on the day of my leaving, the 15th, and I am the bearer of a letter from Colonel Lloyd to you, which states his thorough confidence in the establishment of such an Industrial School being effected—pending the settlement of which question it is decided the children should remain under Government charge.

The men will be assigned to Government, under the provisions of Sir Benjamin Pine's letter to you, dated 4th August, 1873; and the women to approved parties, as domestic servants.

I should add that the slaves were landed by Her Majesty's ship "Briton" without any documents whatever, but the evidence elicited by examination appears of such importance as to require explanation in a separate letter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 54.

Vice-Consul Elton to Consul-General Kirk.

Sir,

On board steam-ship "Natal," August 19, 1873.

IN continuation of my letter of the 18th, I beg to inform you that having, in company with the Bishop of Natal, on the 8th August visited the freed slaves landed by Her Majesty's ship "Briton" at D'Urban, I considered it my duty to request Colonel Lloyd, Protector of Indian Immigrants, in consequence of statements elicited from individuals by his Lordship, to be good enough to hold a formal Court of investigation as to the circumstances attending the original shipment of these unfortunate people.

Colonel Lloyd at once agreed to my request, Mr. Warwick Brooks, Superintendent of Education, and myself being present at the inquiry, and Mr. W. Shepstone, Clerk of the Peace, and an accomplished African linguist, acting as interpreter. Three sittings were held on the 9th, 10th, and 11th August, and the evidence is embodied in the inclosures.

My suspicions were first aroused by observing that the whole body consisted of Makuas and Maganja, that the women (whose upper lips had nearly all been pierced for the ring called "pelele," long since removed on capture) on being given strips of serampore immediately dressed themselves in the manner peculiar to the slaves under the Portuguese; that they smoked tobacco (which they bought eagerly with some money subscribed for them by the captains of merchant-ships in harbour), and moreover by ascertaining that not a few spoke indifferent Portuguese.

One among their number, a woman, discovered an own brother (same father and mother), who as a slave had accompanied his master, a Portuguese, from Mozambique to Delagoa Bay, and there being ill-treated escaped, and has for several years been working in Natal, where he had picked up the Zulu dialect, and first threw light on the question by his answers to Bishop Colenso and myself.

It would be unfair to the evidence, as it appears on paper, if I omitted to state the extreme eagerness with which all "chimed in" in the statements, and I should also

mention that such names as "Soares," "Cabaçeira," &c., were not in any way suggested to the witnesses, but came volutarily from their mouths; indeed, I drew the attention of Colonel Lloyd, Mr. Brooks, and Mr. Shepstone to the fact at the time.

It appears to be proved beyond a question:—

1st. That these slaves were kidnapped and otherwise collected months previously to sailing with the sanction of one "Umkuba Muntu," a Chief under Portuguese rule, from the coast lying in the immediate vicinity of the town of Mozambique.

2ndly. That the same "Umkuba Muntu," who it must be remarked visits, and is visited by white people, and, moreover, reports to the Portuguese authorities, is in the habit of "collecting" slaves himself, as also of sanctioning slave-hunting in the district under his rule.

3rdly. One dhow at least has lately run successfully from the same district (this one has fortunately been captured), and four were still loading with slaves some twenty-eight days back. "People have been missed often of late." Everything, indeed, points to the fact of an active Traffic being established.

4thly. That the slaves were closely packed in tiers on slave-decks, almost starved, and shamefully treated during the ten days preceding capture by Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

5thly. That according to Mozambique opinion Zanzibar is the motive money-power in promoting the Slave Trade from Umkuba Muntu's coast.

The evidence as to locality clearly points to the coast line extending between Angoxa River and Port Mokambo, a distance of about 75 miles, watered by the Angoxa River, the Antonio River, and the Mogincale River. At Port Mokambo a colony of Arabs monopolize the trade; and the river flowing into it would appear to be the head-quarters of Umkuba Muntu. I shall, however, make all possible inquiry as to the exact positions of Umnapa, Kirulane, Umfusi, Bukhein (or Bukheina).

I consider it quite probable that the active measures lately adopted in Zanzibar waters have driven many Arabs to seek for other outlets for the Slave Trade in the Portuguese territory; but that the Mozambique Government, which at the present moment is placing every difficulty in the way of a most legitimate labour immigration from Delagoa Bay to Natal under trivial charges, should permit a thriving Slave Traffic to take place within a few miles of its head-quarters under the auspices of one of its appointed Chiefs, appears to me an anomaly to which Her Majesty's Government will be anxious to provide a speedy remedy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON.

Inclosure 4 in No. 54.

Deposition of Maria, female Makura, a liberated African, received from Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

(Taken before Colonel B. P. Lloyd, Protector of Indian Immigrants, August 9, 1873, at D'Urban-Natal.)

I LIVE in the Portuguese territory. I am one of the slaves brought by Her Majesty's ship "Briton." About six months ago I went to catch crabs on the sea-side; as I was returning a Mussulman asked me where I was going. I told him "home." He seized me and put a collar round my neck. He took me to a house in a village and put me in the house. Slaves are put one by one into the house so that it may not be known they are there. Umkuba Muntu is the Mussulman. He is black, and is set over us by the Portuguese; he takes the people as slaves and barter them. Umkuba Muntu did not actually catch me. The dhow comes, the men catch as many of us as they can, and they pay a royalty for each slave to Umkuba Muntu. Sometimes when a ship comes, Umkuba Muntu gives orders to his men to collect slaves. When the dhow that we left in sailed, there were still four dhows loading with slaves. The slaves are packed in the night, and they sail during the night. I, with these others (picking out some dozen of the freed slaves), have been six months in one house imprisoned, waiting for a dhow. Mozambique is the nearest town to where Umkuba lives. All the slaves come from the country around the town of Mozambique. I come from close to Cabaçeiro. It is as far as the Bluffs (about half-a-mile) from my village at high tide by water. At low tide it is a little further. I know Java Soares; he is dead; it is Pedro now. Chaha I know; it is a farm of Java Soares.

Where the dhow came is a large river, as large as the Jugda, called Umnapa; the next river to the south of Umnapa is Kirulane; the next is Umfusi. Dhows come to these rivers constantly for slaves. Umkuba Muntu governs the country under the Portuguese. Slave dhows go to an Arab country. They wear Arab gowns (points one out). This ship was going there. I was slave to Umsaji, Patron Moro. He did not sell me, I was kidnapped.

(Signed)

B. P. LLOYD, *Protector of Indian Immigrants, Natal.*
T. WARWICK BROOKS, *Superintendent of Education.*
F. ELTON, *Assistant Political Agent, Zanzibar.*
W. E. SHEPSTONE, *Clerk of the Peace, Interpreter.*

Inclosure 5 in No. 54.

Memorandum of Information elicited from several freed Africans received from Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and taken down in my presence, at d'Urban, Natal, August 9, 1873.

ONE boy has made the voyage before on the same dhow. He was captured as a slave, but, being sharp, the captain kept him for himself. The ships go to Bukhein; and do it in ten days from Mozambique in a dhow. Bukhein is an island like Mozambique, but much larger. There are Frenchmen there and Dutch. At Bukhein the English come in steamers and stop all slaves in dhows if they can. People from Zanzibar send to Bukhein to get slaves over. Money comes to Bukhein with orders, and then they go to get slaves at Mozambique. When they reach Bukhein then they come from Zanzibar to fetch them. Ten days from Zanzibar is the voyage to Bukhein. Jujunga is another name for the island (Majunga?). It is a big island, much larger than Mozambique.

(Signed)

B. P. LLOYD, *Protector of Indian Immigrants, Natal.*
T. WARWICK BROOKS, *Superintendent of Education.*
F. ELTON, *Assistant Political Agent, Zanzibar.*
W. E. SHEPSTONE, *Clerk of the Peace, Interpreter.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 54.

Memorandum of Information elicited from several freed Africans received from Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and taken down in my presence, at d'Urban, Natal, August 11, 1873.

WE were ten days on board before we were captured. We saw no Portuguese whilst we were being collected. They were Arabs who collected us. We were packed closely in tiers one above the other. Those of us who died, died of starvation; they gave us hardly any food and but little water. Two boats came in sight and chased all day, and next day, after firing six shots at us, the dhow hauled down her sail and surrendered. The boats took us and put us on board the steamer from the dhow. The steamer went to Majunga. Bokhein is a long way from Majunga; thirty days' sail perhaps. Amongst the freed slaves are three taken in previous captures above Zanzibar, who have been serving sometime on the "Briton." Nearly all these slaves belong to tribes thrown over 150 miles, who have squatted on the coast and been placed by the Portuguese under Umkuba Muntu. Umkuba Muntu is a grey-headed old man. He occasionally visits Mozambique to report himself at the town. The Portuguese come to see him at his place; it is three hours in a boat from the town. He wears a red fez and an Arab gown; he is very black; he pays tribute to the Portuguese. We do not know whether he has run many dhows, but people have been missed often of late. One large dhow left shortly before full of slaves and was not captured. Four are loading under Umkuba Muntu. All are pleased at being captured and brought to Natal. Some of the slaves have found relations here, and none of them would wish to be returned to Umkuba Muntu to run the risk of being stolen again.

(Signed)

B. P. LLOYD, *Protector of Indian Immigrants, Natal.*
J. WARWICK BOWLES, *Superintendent of Education.*
F. ELTON, *Assistant Political Agent, Zanzibar.*
W. E. SHEPSTONE, *Clerk of the Peace, Interpreter.*

Inclosure 7 in No. 54.

Vice Consul Elton to Consul-General Kirk.

*On board R.M.S. "Natal," 120 miles from Mozambique,
August 25, 1873.*

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter dated the 19th instant, I beg to inform you that I held a long conversation in Hindustani with the Government pilot and his assistant at Mozambique, and elicited the following information, which was confirmed by further inquiries from responsible people in the town.

The Umnapa, Kirulane (or Kibulane), and Umfusi Rivers all fall into Mokambo Bay, the Umnapa being the most northerly, almost within sight of Mozambique, and with the most water. (It was from this river the slaver captured by Her Majesty's ship "Briton" sailed.) Next below the Umnapa, to the south, is the Kirulane; then follows the Umfusi, all at short distances the one from the other. Umkuba Muntu is well known as the head man of the country round this bay, and is visited by the Portuguese, who trade with him, after coming himself to Mozambique; but it appears doubtful whether he pays tribute to the Portuguese Government, with which he is on good terms. Bokhein* is a well-known port of Madagascar, not far from Majunga, where there is a considerable Arab population, trading principally with Zanzibar and Mozambique, and it is a matter of general belief that nearly every dhow conveying cattle from that and other Madagascar ports, after taking in some trifling cargo as a blind at Mozambique, runs into one or other of the neighbouring rivers to fill up with slaves for the return voyage.

The Portuguese aviso "Zarco," and other boats, were sent by the Government to Mokambo Bay about six months ago, in consequence of the open talk in the town with regard to Umkuba Muntu's Slave Trade. They, however, returned with the report that nothing out of the common was going on.

When, in my letter of the 19th, I suggested that the evidence pointed to a frontage of seventy-five miles of coast, I was in fault. This question narrows itself into Mokambo Bay alone, all three rivers being within a few hours' sail of Mozambique; nevertheless it is certain that from the Zambezi to Cape Delgado the Slave Trade is still in active existence, the Portuguese hold over the people being simply nominal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON.

No. 55.

Viscount Enfield to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 8, 1873.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of the interesting Report on the state of slaves and the Slave Trade at Kilwa and its neighbourhood, which was contained in your despatch of the 27th August, and I am to desire that you will continue to keep his Lordship fully informed of the land Traffic in Slaves within the Zanzibar dominions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ENFIELD.

No. 56.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received October 28.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, September 6, 1873.

YOUR Lordship has been made fully aware, through former reports from this office, that subsequent to the prohibited transport of slaves by sea, large gangs of those previously accumulated at Kilwa have been taken by land on the way north to Lamoo, &c., which being owned in great part by known slave-dealers, are obviously intended for the Somali coast, if not, to some extent, for Arabia.

Although the road by land as far as Melinde is safe and easy to the dealers, I am led to believe that it is their intention to transport their slaves from the latter place to

* "Bokhein" is also used by the Banyans as a name for the Island of Madagascar.

Lamoo by sea, watching a time when no ships are on that part of this station, and as at the present moment there are no cruizers on the Zanzibar coast, the "Nimble" having gone to Arabia, the "Daphne" to Seychelles, and the "Briton" to Mauritius, at this, the most important time of year, I was particularly desirous to supplement our naval weakness, and to impress upon the natives that they have now more to fear from their own Sultan and his local Governors acting on land than from us.

For this purpose I have not failed to impress, on every occasion that offered, upon the Sultan the extreme danger to himself of any remissness on the part of those under him, and have, in order to force the Governors to do what, to them, must be an obnoxious and unpopular duty, kept up native agents on the coast by whom any collision between the officials and the slave-dealers was sure sooner or later to be reported, allowing them to see that such reports were being transmitted without their knowledge of who my agents were.

I have now to state that information has just been received by me of the seizure at Shela, near Lamoo, of a vessel having on board 217 slaves, taken by the Governor of that place.

This vessel put into Shela for the purpose of repairing her mainyard, which had been sprung at sea. From this I gather the cargo of slaves was destined for the Somali ports, as Arab dhows would hardly then have ventured to proceed.

The Sultan suggests that possibly this vessel may be one of the two I reported to him as having escaped from near Kilwa, and regarding which letters were addressed to the Governor of Lamoo asking his assistance for their detention should they enter that harbour.

I have recommended the Sultan, in answer to his request to be informed in what way he should best act so as to aid us in enforcing the Treaty, that it will be his duty to order the destruction of the slave vessel by fire in Lamoo harbour after notice given to the public, and to send the slaves here for the purpose of being located in the island as freed men, whilst at the same time the most marked punishment should be inflicted on the crew and all who, by documentary evidence found on board, are proved to have been concerned in the venture.

For the purpose of careful inquiry, I further recommended that suspected parties should be produced here in Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 57.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received October 28.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, September 16, 1873.

I HAVE now the honour to report, in continuation of my despatch of the 27th ultimo, having effected the sale of the cargo, &c., condemned in the case of a slave-vessel captured by Her Majesty's ship "Nimble," and having made the vessel over to be broken up, to Captain Wharton, now surveying this harbour in Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater."

Following your Lordship's order, I have transmitted to the Board of Treasury the balance of proceeds of sale of cargo and fittings of the condemned vessel; and now forward, to be filed, together with papers previously sent, account of sale, and statement of account in this matter.

Inclosure 1 in No. 57.

LIST of Articles landed from vessel of Saeed Anter, and sold by Public Auction on the
29th August, 1873.

Articles.	Quantity.	Amount.	Total.	Exchange at \$4.75 = £1 sterling.
LIST No. 1.		\$ c.	\$ c.	£ s. d.
Ghee jars	5	36 87½		
Jars (empty) No.	4	2 81		
Sugar baskets	9	78 10		
Wheat "	2	7 25		
" (a small quantity) "	..	0 72		
Rice baskets	5	20 81		
Baskets (empty) No.	350	7 32		
Mill-stone "	1	1 68½		
Hoes baskets	2	3 56		
Sandal wood (a small quantity) "	..	0 18½		
Books (the "Koran") vols.	19	21 25		
Basins baskets	1	6 37½		
Boxes (empty) No.	..	2 25		
" "	5	18 55½		
Cocoanuts "	4,960	40 67		
Grass mats "	147	103 56½		
Cloth (white) pieces	7	23 54½		
Handkerchiefs doz.	65	89 59		
Cloth pieces	12	37 00		
Shirts No.	34	13 90½		
Kikoy's (clothes) "	15	10 75		
Kaniki (blue cloth) pieces	95	85 17		
Dhoties No.	4	4 48		
Sundries baskets	1	1 76½		
Looking-glasses No.	13	2 89		
Mortar "	1	0 66		
Native bedstead "	1	0 78		
Iron pieces	18	15 48½		
Total "	..	638 00		
Less auctioneer's commission "	..	31 98½		
			606 01½	127 11 7½
LIST No. 2.				
Value of swords No.	2	4 00		
Gun (old) "	1	Nil.		
Vessel broken up into pieces "	..	9 50		
			13 50	2 16 10
LIST No. 3.				
Cash found in vessel—				
The captain's money "	..	49 50		
" serhang's ditto "	..	10 00		
" seaman Mufta's ditto "	..	00 07		
" ship' ditto "	..	13 00		
			72 57	15 5 6¾
Grand Total "	..	..	..	145 14 0¼

E. E. and contents received.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, August 29, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 57.

STATEMENT of Proceeds of Sales and Costs incurred in Vice-Admiralty Case No. 20 of 1873.

Date.	RECEIPTS.	Amount.	Total.	Date.	PAYMENTS.	Amount.	Total.
1873.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1873.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
August 29 ...	Proceeds of sale of articles found in vessel, as per List No. 1 ...	127 11 7½			Pay of guard kept on board from between date of seizure and that of her condemnation, 11 days, voucher No. ...	1 13 0	
" ...	Proceeds of sale of vessel after having been broken, and two swords, as per List No. 2 ...	2 16 10			Fees in Vice-Admiralty Court, voucher No. ...	17 15 6	
" ...	Cash found in vessel, as per List No. 3 ...	15 5 6½			Balance remitted ...		19 8 6 7
			145 14 0½				126 5 6½
	Total ...		145 14 0½		Total ...		145 14 0½

Balance remitted to Board of Treasury.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

No. 58.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received October 28.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, September 19, 1873.
I HAVE the honour to report that one Jumma bin Jafer, an Indian, was charged in the Court with illegal slave-holding.
On investigation it appeared that the seven Africans on his plantation held certificates of freedom drawn up in an irregular manner. All were, however, anxious to remain with their master, deposing that they were virtually free, happy, and contented. I therefore furnished each individual with properly attested papers of freedom, which were delivered into their own hands at Her Britannic Majesty's Agency and Consulate, Jumma bin Jafer giving the usual present of one dollar at the same time to each of them, in keeping with a Zanzibar custom.
A third case is now under examination of a more important nature—a charge brought against a Memnon of Scinde, comprising a refusal to attend the summons of this Court and a resumption into slavery of slaves freed by the Agency and Consulate. On this I shall report by the next steamer.
I would bring before your Lordship's notice the fact that as yet no complaint has been lodged against any Indian registered as under British protection. The cases hitherto brought forward are against Indians who have never claimed our protection, and who, until the signing of the late Treaty, occupied an anomalous position.
All of the three cases, I should further observe, are cases of domestic slavery.
I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 59.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Granville.—(Received October 28.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, September 24, 1873.
MY attention has been called to the Natal Government Notice regarding the disposition of the 113 slaves unexpectedly landed in that Colony by Her Majesty's ship "Briton," of which a copy is inclosed from "The Natal Mercury" of September 2.
In my letter of the 29th August, and inclosures, I had the honour to report to your Lordship the circumstances under which it appeared these Makooas were taken by Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and I need only make one comment, namely, upon the large per-centage of children, who, had this capture been brought to Zanzibar, would certainly not have been sent to Natal, and the more so at present, when the Sultan is working honestly hand in hand with me for the purposes of the late Treaty.
I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 59.

*Extract from the "Natal Mercury" of September 2, 1873.**Government Notice.—No. 177 of 1873.**Colonial Office, Natal, August 22, 1873.*

IN modification of the Government Notice No. 142 of 1873, dated 11th ultimo, his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to direct that, in consideration of the very pressing general demand for labour, one-half only of such freed slaves as may be received from Zanzibar shall be reserved for the service of Government.

2. As regards the "Makooas" recently brought by Her Majesty's ship "Briton," his Excellency has been pleased to approve of the following arrangements:—

3. They consist of—

Adult men	..	..	..	..	27	
" women	..	..	..	..	22	
Boys	..	..	..	..	37	} under twelve years of age.
Girls	..	..	..	..	18	
Infants	..	..	..	..	8	

Of the men, one-half will be made over to Departmental Public Works. The rest of the men, together with the women and children, will be dealt with in the manner hereafter detailed.

4. Adults will be assigned under contracts to employers for a term of five years.

5. No child will on any account be separated from its mother; and it will be necessary for employers to whom women having children may be assigned to agree to allow food and shelter for the said children.

6. Destitute children will be apprenticed for a term of seven years.

7. On the expiration of the above periods, both assigned adults and apprenticed children will be free to make their own terms as to work, or to go where they choose.

8. The rates of pay will be as follows:—

Adult Men.—6s. per mensem for the first year, increasing at the rate of 1s. per mensem each year, so that in the fifth year the pay will be 10s. per mensem.

Adult Women.—4s. per mensem, increasing 1s. per mensem each successive year.

Apprenticed Children.—Boys, 2s. per mensem, increasing as above; girls, 1s. per mensem, increasing in each successive year at the rate of 1s.

9. In addition to the above wages, good and sufficient rations of food, shelter, clothing, medical attendance, and medicines when necessary, shall be provided at the expense of every employer.

10. It will be especially required by the Government that the apprentices shall be taught to read and write in the English language, besides some useful trade or domestic occupation; and that they shall be gradually instructed in the great truths of Christianity. It is expected that they shall be trained to habits of cleanliness, and that their lodgings shall be separate from those of the Kafir servants of the country.

11. The Government entirely reserves the right of selecting the parties to whom these people shall be assigned or apprenticed; and no reason whatever for refusing, or not complying with, any application will be given.

12. Contracts for service or apprenticeship will be entered into before the Protector of Indian Immigrants.

13. Colonel B. P. Lloyd, Protector of Indian Immigrants, is hereby specially appointed to attest and make these contracts, under Ordinance 2 of 1850.

14. It will be the duty of the Protector of Indian Immigrants to cause a register of such contracts for service or apprenticeship to be kept in his office, and from time to time to ascertain by inquiry and personal visits the welfare of the persons assigned or apprenticed. It will be competent to the Government, on report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants, to order the annulment of any contract whenever there shall be reason to believe that any of the above conditions are not fulfilled, or that any assigned domestic servant or apprentice has been subjected to ill-treatment.

15. All persons with whom contracts may be made are required to send to the Protector of Indian Immigrants an immediate report of the death or desertion of any assigned domestic servant or apprentice.

16. A fee of 2*l.* for each adult, and 1*l.* for each apprentice, will be payable by employers with whom contracts may be made, in order to reimburse the expenses incurred by the Government.

17. It is to be clearly understood that these fees are not to be deducted from the wages of the servants or apprentices.

By his Excellency's command,
(Signed) D. ERSKINE, *Colonial Secretary.*

No. 60.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received October 28.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, September 25, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that on receipt of your Lordship's letter of 23rd August, I lost no time in at once placing the ratified Treaty in the hands of Seyed Burghash, and asking His Highness to affix his signature thereto.

I have now the honour to transmit herewith inclosed the English version of the Treaty of 5th June countersigned by the Sultan, his Plenipotentiary, and myself, and have the greatest pleasure in reporting that, since the Treaty came in force, its provisos have been honestly observed by His Highness.

No. 61.

Acting Vice-Consul Elton to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, October 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that Her Majesty's ship "Briton" having returned from the Mauritius, the Political Agent, Dr. Kirk, sailed in that vessel on a visit of inspection to Mombasah, on the Minna, early yesterday morning, accompanied by the 2nd Assistant, Mr. Holmwood.

Dr. Kirk's intention is, if possible, to visit Melinde and other ports with the object of suppressing slave holding by British Indian subjects under the late Treaty, and his return will depend mainly upon Captain Malcolm's movements.

I remain by Dr. Kirk's orders, until his return, in temporary charge of the Agency and Consulate at Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

No. 62.

Acting Vice-Consul Elton to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, October 7, 1873.

CAPTAIN MALCOLM having returned from Mauritius and furnished Dr. Kirk with the necessary papers relating to the capture of a slaver, having on board at time of seizure 121 slaves, which capture was referred to in my letter of 29th August, 1873, I have now the honour, by Dr. Kirk's instructions, to forward to your Lordship copy of decree of condemnation in the Vice-Admiralty Court here, together with copy of the receipt of the slaves, and the duplicates of affidavit, certificate of measurement, and certificate of destruction; also account of fees claimed: the whole forming Case No. 22 of 1873.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure in No. 62.

Case No. 22 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against a native vessel or dhow (name, nation, and owner unknown), her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against 121 slaves, seized as liable to forfeiture by Arthur Stevens Philpotts, Esq., a Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy. Before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 4th day of October, 1873.

APPEARED personally George John Malcolm, Captain, R.N., commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced the sworn declaration, hereto annexed, which set

out the circumstances under which a native vessel, without papers or colours, of the description and dimensions specified in the annexed certificate of admeasurement, and having on board at the time, besides the crew, 121 slaves, males and females, was seized off Port Majunga, Madagascar, on the 23rd day of July, 1873, by the officer above named in charge of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton." I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the Slave Trade, do adjudge the vessel above described, together with the slaves who were landed at Natal on the 5th August, 1873, as shown by the certificate of the Collector of Customs of that port, namely, 28 men, 22 women, 38 boys, and 25 girls (in all 113 slaves), 8 having died on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton" on the passage, to be forfeited to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly, approving highly of the course followed by the seizors in destroying the vessel.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 4th day of October, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against a dhow, name and nation unknown, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, as also against 120 slaves or thereabouts, as will hereafter be shown on the arrival of Captain George John Malcolm, or by the production of papers in his charge, seized by Arthur Stephens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy. Before John Kirk, Esq., Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General, on the 15th day of September, 1873.

Appeared personally Arthur Stephens Phillpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, on detached service, in charge of Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" pinnace and jolly boat, and made oath that having left Her Majesty's ship "Briton," on the 15th of July, 1873, with orders to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade, he, on the 23rd day of July, 1873, whilst cruising off the coast of Madagascar, under orders from George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of the said ship, did at 10 A.M. on that day, after two hours' chase, being then off Port Majunga, board a dhow, without colours or papers, and with 120 slaves or thereabouts, as far as could be ascertained whilst on board the dhow. Whereupon the deponent brought the said dhow to Majunga, and there finding Her Majesty's ship "Briton," the slaves were embarked on board that vessel and the dhow destroyed.

Further, the deponent made oath that the captain of the said dhow was reported dead at the time of capture, and that the reported owner of the slaves jumped overboard when the dhow was entering Majunga Harbour, and it is his firm belief was drowned, the vessel being at the time a long way off shore, it being found impossible, without a boat at command, to pick him up, as he struggled to escape from the dhow when stopped for that purpose. And that no papers or documents whatever were found on board the vessel.

Further, that the slaves having been transferred on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and an account there taken, Captain Malcolm will hereafter be able to give a certificate of the exact number and of how they were disposed.

(Signed) ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, *Lieutenant, R.N.*

On the 15th day of September, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent and
Consul-General at Zanzibar.*

Certificate of Admeasurement.

WE, the Undersigned officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the dhow (no name) detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats on the 23rd day of July, 1873, on the ground that she

was engaged in, and equipped for, the Slave Trade, and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at sternpost..	Feet. 59·75
Main breadth to outside of plank	18
Girth of ship under keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	32

TONNAGE.

Tonnage under tonnage deck	Tons. 67·2
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them, poop or roundhouse, &c.	17
Poop—Length, 20 feet; breadth, 17 feet; height, 5 feet.	

Total 84·2

Signed this 24th day of July, 1873.

(Signed)

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, *Lieutenant.*
HORACE R. ADAMS, *Sub-Lieutenant.*
GEORGE K. GORDON, *Sub-Lieutenant*

Certificate of Detention.

“*Briton*,” at *Majunga*, July 24, 1873.

I, the Undersigned Arthur Stephens Philpotts, holding the rank of Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy and Commanding Her Majesty's ship “*Briton*’s” pinnace and jolly boat, on detached service, do hereby certify that on the 24th day of July, 1873, a survey was held on board the dhow, no name or nation, detained by me on the 23rd July, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and the surveying officers having reported that she was unfit to proceed to a Vice-Admiralty Court, as from the annexed report of survey will more fully appear, the said dhow has been destroyed by the orders of Captain G. J. Malcolm, Commanding Her Majesty's ship “*Briton*.”

(Signed)

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, *Lieutenant,*
Her Majesty's ship “Briton.”

Natal, August 5, 1873.

Received from Captain George J. Malcolm, Her Majesty's ship “*Briton*,” the undermentioned:—

28 Men.
22 Women.
38 Boys.
25 Girls.

113

(Signed)

GEORGE RUTHERFORD,
Collector of Customs.

No. 63.

Acting Vice-Consul Elton to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, October 17, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, the return of Her Majesty's ship “*Briton*” to Zanzibar on the 15th instant.

After landing Dr. Kirk and Mr. Holmwood at Mombasah, Captain Malcolm proceeded north to visit his boats cruising for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and, I regret to add, learned that an officer of Her Majesty's ship “*Daphne*” had been murdered at Kionga, a short time previously to his arrival.

In a letter dated 6th October last, and addressed to Captain Malcolm, Lieutenant Arthur Philpotts, of Her Majesty's ship “*Briton*,” states that on the 21st September, he, with the boats under his orders, fell in, near the Ogy reefs, with the pinnace and cutter of Her Majesty's ship “*Daphne*” commanded by Sub-Lieutenant Hockin, who reported that Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland had been murdered by the tribe called Wa'gunia, at the village of Kionga, on the coast opposite the island marked as

° Sinambaya on the charts, and about forty-five miles to the northward and eastward from the town of Lamo.

Some three weeks before, Lieutenant McCausland had been treated with civility by the Chief of Kionga, and, on the occasion of his last visit, having no suspicion of treachery went on shore unarmed and accompanied only by the interpreter. The Chief again received him with apparent cordiality, seated him under the shade of a tree in the village, and, after some conversation, arose, saying he would fetch a goat for the men. As soon, however, as the Chief's back was turned, a native, a young man, rushed from behind and speared Lieutenant McCausland in the back, others joined in the attack, and the interpreter hotly pursued, with difficulty escaped to the boat.

Lieutenant Hockin at once landed a party, which was fired on from the village, but an arrangement was in the end made by which further hostilities ceased, the body of Lieutenant McCausland being given up by the Wa'gunia to his comrades; besides the spear wound it was found to be much hacked about, and the hands deeply cut as if the unfortunate officer had tried to ward off blows aimed at him with heavy knives or a sword.

(It is not so stated in the letter, but from what follows it is evident Lieutenant Hockin's next step was to report to the Governor of Lamo.)

On the same day, the 21st September, Lieutenant Philpotts proceeded to Lamo, and asked the Governor what steps he had taken to arrest the Chief of Kionga and the three men reported by the interpreter to have been actively concerned in the murder. The Wali Said bin Ahmed replied that he had already sent to Kionga and to Zanzibar on first receiving the intelligence, and eventually hoped to capture the men by not giving them too hasty an intimation of his intention to act with vigour.

Lieutenant Philpotts being dissatisfied with the measures adopted by the Wali, who deprecated any immediate action, sailed on the 22nd with his own and "Daphne" boats, reached Kionga at noon and landed a party who captured and burnt the village, killing one of the inhabitants, the rest taking refuge in the bordering jungle country.

After completing the destruction of the place, the wells were choked, cocoa-nut trees cut down, &c. Lieutenant Philpotts afterwards proceeded to Shakani, another village three miles further northward, and this being deserted he posted an explanatory notice justifying his action, and also, at a later period, verbally explained to some of the people who were induced to return from the bush, that they had nothing to fear, his business being only with Kionga, where an officer had been treacherously murdered. The head man of Shakani said he was on bad terms with the inhabitants of Kionga, and believed, from what he had heard, that the chief of that place had fled to the Somali country, near Kismayo; some six days' journey or thereabouts from Shakani.

On the 29th September Lieutenant Philpotts again saw the Wali of Lamo, who promised to do his best to arrest the chief and the three men; but at Faze on the 3rd October the same officer reports that the Sultan's representative had received no orders up to that date from his superior.

I should here add that Captain Malcolm offered a reward of 200 dollars for the apprehension and conviction of the four concerned, 50 dollars for each man.

I communicated the above information, as received by me from Captain Malcolm, on the 17th instant to His Highness Seyed Burghash. His Highness, who had already heard from the Governor of Lamo on the subject, expressed his great regret that an English officer should have been killed under such circumstances, but, at the same time, hinted that the punishment had not fallen in the right quarter; the actual culprits, he said, since the destruction of the village, would take alarm and probably retreat into the interior, where their capture could scarcely be effected.

His Highness has written to Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," to the Political Agent, and as the "Briton" leaves again on the arrival of the mail steamer, Dr. Kirk, who may possibly visit Lamo in her, will, of course, report to your Lordship any further information which may be forthcoming.

I venture to add, in conclusion, for your Lordship's information, my conviction that Lieutenant McCausland should never have ventured, unarmed and unattended by any of his men, into a village so far north, where the passions of the inhabitants are notoriously running high in consequence of our action in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and where the power and determination of Her Majesty's Government to completely put down the traffic are not so thoroughly realized or so evident to all as on the coast in the immediate vicinity of Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Mombasah, October 11, 1873.

I REGRET to report the murder of Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, R.N., at the time in command of two of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," which took place at the village of Kionga on the African coast, some way north of Lamo, on the 15th September last.

So far as I have been able to learn, for my information, although accurate, is still incomplete, Lieutenant McCausland had been in charge of the boats when the "Daphne" went north after the departure of Admiral Cumming from Zanzibar, and it was he who demanded the slave dhow and slaves from the Governor of Lamo, being under the impression that the Governor was only keeping the slaves in order to ship them when the coast was clear. That in this he was mistaken there can be no doubt, the Lamo Governor having, as your Lordship has been informed previously, reported the matter and applied for instructions, which were then on the way from his Sultan.

Although, therefore, Lieutenant McCausland undoubtedly acted in the matter indiscreetly and so as to annoy the Governor of Lamo, there is no reason to think that the attempt made on his life when at Lamo by a Somali, who threw and wounded him with a spear, was in any way connected therewith; still less is there a suspicion that what I shall now report was directly or indirectly caused thereby.

Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" having proceeded to Aden with fifty of the slaves taken from the Governor of Lamo on board, two of the boats were again stationed to cruise on the coast. It would seem they had passed as far north as Magadesho and had touched—on their way thither, I presume—at the village of Kionga, where, as at other places, they were well received.

On coming back on 15th September it seems the pinnace under Lieutenant McCausland's personal charge was leading, while the cutter under Sub-Lieutenant Hockin was behind. Lieutenant McCausland on entering the roadstead of Kionga went on board an English-owned vessel, whose captain he had before seen at Tola, and whom he knew to be a legal trader. The people of Kionga came and invited him to accompany them to the village as he had done before, pressing him to do so as an old friend, and with the customary speech that their country was at his disposal.

Fearing nothing he went to the village unarmed, followed by the captain of the English dhow, by name Mhaji, who is, besides Sub-Lieutenant Hockin, my principal informant. Mhaji carried Lieutenant McCausland's pipe, and, being also accompanied by the interpreter, they sat down inside the village.

The chief and all his people were then bearing, as usual in these parts, arms in their hands, a matter which on the coast would excite no suspicion. They had asked for the cocoa-nut, and the chief was speaking of getting a goat, when suddenly one of his relatives came forward, but unobserved by Lieutenant McCausland, and plunged a spear which passed through his body. Death must have been instantaneous; but of what took place immediately after we know nothing, the English dhow captain and the boat's interpreter both made their escape, the natives trying to spear them as they fled.

At the beach they saw Sub-Lieutenant Hockin, and warned him of danger. On learning what had happened, but ignorant whether his chief was killed outright, he with his men at once charged up the village, which, being strongly stockaded and the gates by this time barred, they could not at once enter. By hacking down the parts of the main gate with a cutlass under a severe fire (which, had the natives possessed a particle of bravery, must have been fatal to the party) an entrance was effected, when the captain of the English dhow, who had followed the English party, but kept back a little, passed in and brought out Lieutenant McCausland's body still warm. This was conveyed directly to the boats in the hope that the wounds might not have proved fatal; but on examination it was evident that the whole body was covered with wounds, any one of which would have been mortal. He had been stabbed with spears, cut with a sword, and shot with a musket. There could then be no question that the murder was not only treacherously committed, but done by the chief and his people in a body and by a previously concerted plan.

On the 16th September, Sub-Lieutenant Hockin buried the body on an adjacent island, marked on the chart as Sinambaya.

On the 19th he reached Lamo, and returned to Kionga on the 23rd, in company with two of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," that had just reached the station. They then attacked the stockaded village, which they burned to the ground.

On entering, the people were found to have made their escape into the jungle behind; only one man had not got away when the sailors entered, and he was shot. The cattle, poultry, &c., were all slaughtered; the cocoa-nut trees cut down, and everything in the village utterly destroyed; but to a miserable coast village, all the property their thatched huts contain, is of little value, and it does not require much time to reconstruct the houses.

Under these circumstances it will be necessary for me to meet with the Senior Naval Officer, and to ascertain more particularly the facts of the case; but most especially to inquire carefully into the history of the people of the village, with a view to get possession, if possible, of their leaders.

It so happens, that we know very little accurately of the population between Lamo and the Somali coast. They are called Bajuni, and have their own families and Chiefs apart from others of the coast. The language they speak is a dialect of Swaheli, which, if spoken rapidly, is unintelligible at first to one who has learned the language at Zanzibar; it contains very many words unknown further south, but is still a very pure Swaheli, of a different type however to that I am in the habit of hearing.

The Bajuni, moreover, have a history of their own; they are barely within the regular authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar, although his orders can always be enforced; but for long they resisted Majid, and beat off, with heavy loss, the late Seyed Saeed from Seewey.

From this it may be supposed, that the population of the islands and the coast between Patte and the Somalis is braver than those further south; they are also like the Somalis more cruel and treacherous, confirmed slave-dealers; and feeling now the effects of the stoppage of the traffic, not as depriving them of domestic slaves, but as depriving them of a means of gaining money in the trade, they doubtless bear a hatred to us; and this caused them to plan and execute the dastardly murder of Lieutenant McCausland.

The destruction of the town of Kionga is certainly not enough; but it will be difficult for either the Sultan or ourselves to arrest the villagers, any one, or any number of whom might be summarily dealt with, as nothing but fear will ever deter others of the coast tribes from following the example.

As I have said, we do not possess much knowledge of the families of the Bajuni, or of their mode of Government, and Seif bin Mohr, a Governor of Lamo, who had long fought against, and subdued them, for Seyd Majid is now dead; but, if I am not greatly mistaken, it will be found that Kionga is a dependency of Fazi (pronounced Paze), and is under one Jabidi bin Sherifu, who sat next to Lieutenant McCausland when he was killed. It was a relative of this man also who struck the first blow, although the Chief and his people were all concerned, and took active part in the murder. I further believe, that Kionga is absolutely under the orders of one Tzee, Seif of Paze; and it seems to me, that if this man could be seized, and taken hostage, the actual murderers might be given up.

These are matters on which it will, however, be necessary for me to consult with the Senior Naval Officer, as the authority of the Governor of Lamo is wholly insufficient to act against the Chief, even were he to receive instructions from Seyd Burghash, whose hands are more than filled with other troubles at various places on the coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 65.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord,

Mombasah, October 10, 1873.

IN anticipation of a more full report I shall have the honour hereafter to render, I have in the meantime to state, for your Lordship's information that finding Captain Malcolm, on the return of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," was about to proceed to Lamo and the Somali coast to pick up the boats he had left, I requested him to land me at Mombasah on his way north, and so enable me to follow out what I have long proposed to give effect to, that part of the Treaty of June 5, which binds us to stop all slave-holding by Indians, still more to take such steps as will deter Indians from embarking more actively in the trade, and to punish severely any individuals who might be found implicated.

Landing on the 7th instant at Mombasah from Her Majesty's ship "Briton," which the same day sailed for the north, I summoned natives of India of every class and

description to appear before me on the following day, and declare any slaves who might be in their possession.

So thoroughly had the way been prepared beforehand, and so impressed had the whole Indian community become by the deliberate but firm manner in which some of their leading members had been treated, that I experienced no difficulty or opposition in carrying out every step I had planned.

On the day fixed, I recorded simply the names of the owners and of their slaves, and on the following day ordered a muster of the slaves themselves, to each of whom I personally gave free papers drawn out in Arabic by the Kathi of the place, and countersigned by myself. Every slave being at the same time asked how he desired to live, it being explained to each one that he was now perfectly free, and that if he still chose to remain with his former master he might do so, but as a free man and entitled to wages, no longer as a slave.

Some idea of how prevalent the holding of domestic slaves by Indians is on the coast (a subject I have on many occasions brought to the knowledge of Government), may be formed from the fact that I have in three days liberated from the Indian Colony of Mombasah 221 slaves, about one-half of whom have elected to leave, and have left, their masters, working for food as free men in town, and serving where they please.

In proportion to the Indian population of this place, such a sweeping act of manumission equals that carried out long ago by Colonel Rigby in Zanzibar, since which domestic slavery has practically ceased as an institution among British Indians of the town of that island, and I feel confident that with due care it is equally at an end here.

I am happy, at the same time, to be able to state that, by working in concert with the Arab Local Authorities, from whom I have received every assistance, and by meeting personally the leading men of each of the Indian sects, and explaining to them fully the hopelessness of any further attempt to cling to slave institutions, together with the utter ruin of so doing, this great domestic change has been effected without the least excitement.

So far from any ill-feeling being called forth, I believe the natives look on me now as having saved them from future trouble, but all confess that, had the way not been prepared by the arrest and punishment of one of their number, and lists in my possession prepared beforehand on which I was ready to deal with their most wealthy members in event of any unwillingness or opposition, the course now taken would not have been either effectual or tamely submitted to. Much has been gained in the matter by deliberate and gradual action.

I now propose going by land to Melinde, distant about 50 miles. I should have preferred the easier way by sea, but Her Majesty's cruisers are too much occupied in more important work.

I trust that the course now being pursued by me will meet with your Lordship's approval, when my full reports shall have come to hand.

I forward the present letter to Captain Elton, whom I have left at head-quarters, with instructions to have it copied and transmitted by mail, as it will be impossible for me to reach Zanzibar before the time of departure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 66.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, November 5, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of decree of condemnation, &c., relative to the seizure of a slave vessel by Her Majesty's ship "Briton," near Lamo.

When at Lamo I had an opportunity of personally inquiring into the details of this case, and I was fully convinced that the two slaves found on board had been kidnapped by the master of the dhow for the purpose of being sold at Makulla in Arabia.

The master and owner of the dhow, who were detained as prisoners on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton, on seeing that the case would be proved against them, attempted to escape by lowering themselves overboard at night, but being swept out to sea by the ebbing tide were both drowned before a boat could reach them.

There being nothing against the owner of the cargo, this had properly been landed

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by the seizors and given over to the hands of the Supercargo before the case was placed in the Vice-Admiralty Court.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 66.

Case No. 23 of 1873.

Decree.

In the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the Zanzibar ship or vessel named "Mambo kwa Mungu," whereof Sabete was master, her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against two male slaves named Farahan and Farjola, seized as liable to forfeiture by George J. Malcolm, Esq., Captain Royal Navy, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton." Before John Kirk, Esq., Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, on the 31st October, 1873.

PERSONALLY appeared the above-named G. J. Malcolm, Esq., captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and produced before me, the said Judge, the sworn declaration hereto annexed, which set out the circumstances under which the Zanzibar vessel "Mambo kwa Mungu," owned by Salek bin Saidi, of which Sabete was master, of the description and measurement specified in the certificate annexed; also two male slaves, Farahan and Farjola, were seized near Shela, on the African Coast, on the 7th day of October, 1873. I, the said Judge, having heard the evidence and examined witnesses on both sides, having found sufficient proof that the vessel at the time of her seizure was engaged in the illegal transport of two kidnapped slaves for the purpose of sale in Arabia, in contravention of Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, do adjudge the above named vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and also the two slaves, Farahan and Farjola, to have been lawfully seized, and to be forfeited to Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and do condemn the same accordingly, approving of the course followed by the capturer in the destruction before trial of the vessel.

In testimony whereof I have signed the present Decree, and caused my seal of office to be affixed thereto this 31st day of October, 1873.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

Affidavit.

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the native vessel or dhow, under Arab colours, called the "Mambo kwa Mungu" (whereof Sabete was master), her tackle, apparel, and furniture; and also against two male slaves, called Farahane and Farjola, seized by Arthur Stevens Philpotts, Esq. Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Navy.

Appeared personally George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and made oath that, on the 14th day of July, 1873, whilst cruising off the coast of Madagascar, he sent two boats, under orders, to cruise for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, Arthur Stevens Philpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, being in charge: that, upon the return of the boats on the 8th day of October, 1873, the said Arthur Stevens Philpotts, Esq., Lieutenant, informed the deponent that he had detained, on the 7th day of October, 1873, at Shela, near Lamo, a native vessel, under Arab colours, said to belong to Saleh bin Saidee, having on board two male slaves, Farahane and Farjola, who had been kidnapped and placed in the dhow against their wills, without wages, and for the purpose of being sold at Maculla, in contravention of the Treaties existing between Great Britain and Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave Trade, whereupon George John Malcolm, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," destroyed the dhow, she being unseaworthy, and brought the case before the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar for adjudication. And he forthwith made oath that the only papers found on board were a cargo book, a pass from the Sultan of Zanzibar, and five private letters; and he further made oath that whilst at Lamo waiting for evidence, the master, and the son, of the owner, who had been detained, jumped overboard on the

morning of the 30th instant, and he believed they were drowned trying to gain the shore, as the boat sent after them could not find them.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

On the 31st day of October, 1873, the deponent was duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit.

Before me,
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, Political Agent and Consul-General
at Zanzibar.

Report of Survey.

"Briton," Manda, October 8, 1873.

We, the undersigned, have held a survey on the dhow "Mambo kwa Mungu," detained by the boats of this ship on the 7th of October on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and are of opinion that she is too leaky and unseaworthy to make the voyage to Zanzibar.

(Signed) JOHN FELLOWES, Senior Lieutenant.
ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, Lieutenant.
W. BLACKMORE, Carpenter.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain and Senior Officer,
East Coast of Africa.

Certificate of Destruction.

I, the undersigned Arthur Phillpotts, holding the rank of Lieutenant, in Her Britannic Majesty's Navy, and commanding Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" pinnace and jolly-boat, on detached service, do hereby certify that on the 8th day of October, 1873, a survey was held on board the dhow "Mambo kwa Mungu," detained by me on the 7th day of October on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, and the surveying officers having reported that she was unseaworthy, as from the report of survey hereto annexed will more fully appear, the said dhow has been destroyed by order of Captain G. J. Malcolm.

Signed this 8th day of October, 1873.
(Signed) ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, Lieutenant.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain and Senior Officer,
East Coast of Africa.

Certificate of Admeasurement.

We, the undersigned officers of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," do hereby certify that we have carefully admeasured, in the manner prescribed by Rule II of the 22nd Section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the native vessel called the "Mambo kwa Mungu," detained by Her Majesty's ship "Briton's" boats, on the 7th day of October, 1873, on the ground that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade; and we certify that her dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet.
Length on upper deck from outside of plank at stem to outside of plank at sternpost..	82·6
Main breadth to outside of plank	23·4
Girth of ship under the keel at main breadth from the upper deck on one side of the ship to the upper deck on the other	38·0
TONNAGE.	
	Tons.
Tonnage under tonnage deck	139·5
Closed-in spaces above the tonnage deck, if any, naming them.. .. .	19·36
Poop—Length, 21 ft. 8 in.; breadth, 17 ft. 6 in.; height, 5 ft. 2 in.	
Total	158·86

Signed this 8th day of October, 1873.
(Signed) JOHN FELLOWES, Senior Lieutenant.
ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, Lieutenant
W. BLACKMORE, Carpenter.

Approved,
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM, Captain.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, November 6, 1873.

WITH reference to the inquiry made by your Lordship's instructions in the latter part of a despatch, dated September 9, as to what steps, if any, have been taken to make known to the Chiefs in the interior of Africa, and other parties interested in sending slaves to the coast, that, for the future, no slaves will be allowed to embark, and that any persons found guilty of sending slaves to the coast for embarkation will be severely punished, I have the honour to state that, although no steps have been taken by me for the sole purpose of conveying the above information to the Chiefs and others in the interior of Africa, I have ascertained that a knowledge of the provisions of the recent Treaty abolishing the traffic has already become generally known where slave caravans usually pass, and that, in many cases, purchases up country have been cancelled in consequence, and other produce than slaves, such as ivory, sought for.

I indeed learned, when at Kilwa and occupied with an inquiry into the state of slaves before arriving on the coast, that the ivory trade of that port has immensely increased, owing entirely to the depreciation in the value of slaves.

The knowledge of a fact so very materially affecting a great commercial pursuit, that is, the stoppage of all slave-carrying by sea, was sure to spread of itself, as it has done, nor would it have been easy for me to communicate independently with the Chiefs of the interior, who are wholly illiterate, without sending special messengers. Moreover, the trade is not conducted by them, but by Arabs; and the men who collect the slaves and march them to the coast are seldom the same persons who embark them.

The suppression of the public sale of slaves and the practical prohibition of the shipment, which, with the Sultan's aid, is a matter fully within our power, has already, however, become well known in the slave-hunting regions. All now depends upon what local demand may still continue on the coast, and how far the more distant stations can be supplied with slaves by the land route, as to that extent alone will the Slave Trade now continue.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,

No. 68.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, November 6, 1873.

IN a preliminary Report forwarded from Mombasah to Zanzibar, dated the 10th of October, 1873, I briefly stated the steps taken by me on landing at Mombasah.

During my further stay at that place I did not ascertain that any slaves had been concealed, and it is my belief that the Indian community there is now completely freed of the stigma of slave-holding.

While my agents were actively employed in trying to discover how far the course followed had been effectual, and whether slaves were either secretly kept out of town or had been lately sold in anticipation of my arrival, I occupied the time in daily meeting with the various classes of the community, both Swahili and Indian.

Formerly Mombasah and its dependencies, including a great part of the African coast, both north and south, and the Island of Pemba, were ruled by the Yarabi family of the Imams of Oman through the Mazruai Chiefs, and at Takaungu, a coast village afterwards visited, I was shown the original deed, written 146 years ago, appointing one of that tribe to the Governorship of Mombasah.

On the English evacuating the place the Mazruai were betrayed by three families of Kilindini, a village on the southern side of the island, in consideration of which two of their descendants still receive an annual payment of 300 dol., the third having lost half of what was stipulated through the murder of a Banian in which he was implicated.

Mombasah and part of the coast is still exempt from many dues. In the first place it was stipulated that no dues whatever should be levied, but by degrees the 5 per cent. on imports was taken, then a special tax on ivory and copal, so that now the chief exemption consists in the free export of corn from Mombasah, Takanngu, and Gasi.

The Indian Colony comprises here—Bohras, Scindis, and Hindus, many of whom visit Melindi during the millet and sesame harvest, remaining there for three months and

returning to Mombasah, where their wives and families reside. Thus, commercially, Mombasah, Melindi, and Mambrui form but one division of the trading community.

The Bohras of Mombasah are not only the most numerous but the longest established: the first Indian settlers of this caste came from Surat and Cambay; lately they have been recruited entirely from Kutch. The Scindis, of whom we have but few in Zanzibar or elsewhere on the African coast, form a class with which the Agency has hitherto never come in close contact. They, as I learn from their Chiefs, began to come to Mombasah twenty years ago, there were then, however, only two houses; it is within the last seventeen years that the others have arrived, and there are at the present moment thirty houses. Sunni by faith, and calling themselves Memon, they are apart from both Bohras and Khojas, and worship and hold civil regulations in common with the Swahili. Many appeared to be political refugees, and one spoke to me of having fought against us at Multan and in Scind, but, curiously, all are descendants of Scindis born in Kutch. They never allow that they are subjects of the Rao, and seem to have left India for good, as have many of the Khoja and Bohra families. The Hindus are the least numerous of the Mombasah traders. Khojas are singularly enough absent, there not being here a single representative. From Pangani northward the Bohras take the place of the Khojas, met with to the south. Hindus are scattered everywhere at the ports, whilst in Zanzibar itself every class is largely represented.

At Mombasah all told me that trade was increasing. Ivory caravans set out taking free men of Mombasah and of the Wanika as porters; these visit Chagga and the country near Kilimanjaro, also Ukumbani and Kenia, whence they proceed further to Ukeru or Samburu. None but Mombasah men are employed on the distant journeys, as the Masai or warlike Wakwafi must be passed, and those on whom dependence is to be placed are alone engaged.

The annual export of ivory, however, does not exceed 70,000 dollars, and much of this is now shipped direct to Bombay since the Sultan collected a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on its entering the harbour of Zanzibar. On reaching Mombasah from the interior 3 dollars per 35 lbs. weight is collected on ivory. Copal here pays, when bought by the natives, the heavy tax of 10 per cent., with 5 per cent. in addition on arrival at Zanzibar, in all a duty of 15 per cent., which discourages a valuable industry that might be developed in the Wanika country. Wax pays 1 dollar per 35 lbs., and rhinoceros horns the same. Other produce, such as grain and oil seed, pass free, but as a place of direct import Mombasah holds a secondary position. Its supplies are all drawn through Zanzibar.

On the same day I left in a native vessel for Takaunga. The creek on which the town is built being tidal, we ran into Kilife, a bay half way between Mombasah and Melindi, and from there walked back for three miles, and visited Sheikh Rashid, the Mazruai Chief, one among the Mazruai who still cherishes the kindest recollections of the English. I found it impossible to return the same night as I had intended; the armed men were turned out, and one old iron cannon fired the usual salute of eleven guns. A letter of Lord Elphinstone's to a former Chief was placed in my hands, and every kindness and attention shown me, the Sheikh stating that he had not seen an Englishman for so many years that he must be excused if he detained us a little.

Takaunga contains about 3,000 inhabitants, depending mainly upon the millet and sesame crop of its neighbouring farms, and a supply of Indian corn grown and brought in for sale by the free Wanika.

Here I found about fourteen Indians, of whom, however, only two Hindus and two Bohras were residents, the others having come from Mombasah; from these, however, I freed nineteen slaves.

Takaunga Creek, being tidal, must necessarily be of little use except as a means of moving produce in small vessels, but the neighbouring Bay at Kilife is really of importance, and much frequented. The surrounding country is magnificent corn-land, and the Wanika industrious and harmless neighbours.

On the 14th we reached Melindi, where 131 slaves were freed, the property of forty-one Indians, including slaves held at Mambrui, a village eight miles to the north.

The country between Melindi and Mambrui and in their neighbourhood is well cultivated, the plantations extending as far as six hours' march inland. The chief produce is millet and sesame seed, and the annual value of grain produced cannot be under 35,000*l*. Of the old Portuguese town of Melindi nothing remains but a mark erected on a rocky headland, consisting of a conical column of concrete surmounted with a cross with the Arms of Portugal in the centre.

Twenty years ago there were here neither houses nor plantations. The port seems to

have been re-occupied by Seyd Saeed, but for many years the people bringing fresh water to the town from the River Sabaki, four miles distant, had to be guarded by soldiers, and constant attacks were made by the neighbouring Gallas and Wasania, the latter firing poisoned arrows at any straggler seen without arms about the settlement. These tribes have for the present lost their strength and cause little annoyance, being paid a subsidy of 450 dollars by the Sultan's Government, but a new and formidable annoyance is now springing up in the shape of settlements of runaway slaves, who, being attacked by the Arabs, retaliate by killing the labourers on the outlying plantations, making it necessary for them to sleep in stockades and keep up stations within signal-fire distance the one of the other.

Slave labour alone cultivates these plantations, producing, as I before stated, not less than 35,000*l.* per annum, neither the Gallas nor any of the adjacent tribes ever working for hire. The average yield of grain and oil seed per slave is 10 measures of corn, worth about 30 dollars, and two one-half measures of oil-seed, worth about 12 dollars, giving a total of 42 dollars per head, the price of a labouring slave varying from 40 dollars to 55 dollars; thus, between 4,000 and 5,000 slaves are employed, and adding for supervision, domestics, &c., the number cannot be under 6,000. Facility for desertion and mortality being considered, an annual import of 600 slaves is required to keep up this body.

Although the coast lands are dry and sandy, the farther plantations are well watered and fertile; excellent figs and other fruit are grown. The bush-land is selected by preference, as when once cleared weeds give no trouble, and for five to ten successive years two crops of millet, sesame, or peas may be taken off before the soil becomes impoverished, when it is allowed to lie fallow until the brushwood again springs up—a sign that the land has recovered. Grass lands, it is said, fail after two years, give trouble in weeding, and require constant cultivation, when, after a bad year or two, good crops are again harvested, of better quality than off the bush-land.

It is a singular fact that for several years the old Melindi wells, twenty in number, after being cleared of the rubbish that filled them, were found so brackish as to be undrinkable, but after a heavy wet season the water became fresh. Now, all these wells, even those close to the sea, furnish sweet and excellent water to the town.

The River Sabaki, entering the sea four miles north of Melindi, divides the district of Mambrui under another Governor. This anomaly arises from Mambrui being a Colony which has risen up around the plantation of ope Hamed bin Saeed, whose son now inherits part of the estate and honour of Government.

The Sabaki crossed, a drier country is entered, and here commences the range of sand hills extending north to the Somali coast. The rainfall is not so heavy as, and the seasons more regular than, in Zanzibar. Fevers and dysenteries are rare, the ulcers that are so great a drawback to Mombasah unknown. Arabs, however, complain of mortality amongst the cattle, which they ascribe to a larva found on the grass. Further north, nearer Lamo, I found the Tsetse; here this pest seemed unknown. The regular rainy season is heavy, and later than at Zanzibar. The lesser rains, daily showers, being known as the “kilima” or planting rain, which occurs at seed time, and the “mavuli” recently over.

Plantation slaves are allowed only one day per week to themselves when their gains are their own, but instead of the second day given at Zanzibar, half a “*libaba*” of grain is allowed daily. Clothing and any animal food or fish must be provided out of the proceeds of the one day, but this amounts to 10 or 12 dollars, married couples sometime gaining 30 dollars. Estates are of small value—the question is, “How many slaves are there on a property?”

Although the Indians here knew less of what had recently passed, I found no difficulty, so far as domestic slavery was concerned; but it was necessary to punish severely several men who had recently sold slaves in order to avoid the loss by emancipation, which they foresaw. In other cases, slaves had been mortgaged to Indians; one came to my notice where such a mortgage was foreclosed and the slaves sold. Where such transactions had taken place subsequent to 5th June, I seized the slaves from the Arab and allowed no compensation, on the principle that the Indians being then, by the Sultan's consent, unable to hold slaves, the sale was invalid and illegal; but where the transaction had taken place some time back, I forced the Indian to return the purchase money and get back the slaves.

In carrying out this strong measure, I had to thank the steady support of the Arab Governor Seif bin Suleiman and the general orders of Seyd Burgash—without these, and without a single man to support me, placed in an Arab community, my position would have been an unpleasant one.

"Here I again named an agent as protector of liberated slaves, a post now looked on as one of consequence, and with its local advantages, as the holder will report directly to the Consulate on Slave Trade matters.

On the 24th October, I sailed in Her Majesty's ship "Briton" for Lamo, reaching Manda harbour the following day, whence I proceeded in boat through the narrow tidal creek forming the water communication between that place and the northern harbour.

As at Melindi, the chief trade here is in millet and sesame, the orchella trade being ruined of late, and the cowries but little in demand. Hides, rice, and ivory are exported, the latter coming from Kismayo and the Somali country on the north, and from Ozi, a town on Formosa Bay, on a river of the same name connecting with the River Dana to the south. The produce is probably under that of Melindi and Mambrui, but a considerable part of the grain and seed crop of these places passes through Lamo in transit.

The Indian community consists of 25 houses of Hindus, 14 of Bohras, and one barber, a Mussulman; there are here neither Sindis nor Khojas.

Having called a meeting, I explained to these men their position as regards slave holding. Lists of slaves were voluntarily declared, and the Kathi drew out papers of freedom which, as at the other towns, I signed and delivered with my own hand to each individual slave, explaining to him, at the same time, his altered condition and status.

In this, I received every assistance from the Governor, whose orders from the Sultan were most positive; the Public Crier, by whom Government orders are notified, proclaimed under my orders that no Indian can hold slaves or advance money on slaves, and that all transactions in slaves between natives and Indians are illegal, both parties concerned being liable to lose their property and to be otherwise punished.

As a result, several Indians at once placed in my hands papers of mortgage securing debts due by Arabs on their slave property. Some of these were for large sums, but in no case can such or similar bonds be proceeded on in any Court, and even should they be concealed, they become debts of honour, irrecoverable by law.

Hereafter, all such advances naturally cease, and Indian capital becomes unavailable to any Arab whose chief property consists in slaves.

I was unable to spare the time to visit the town of Fazi or that of Siu on the same island, peopled by Wagunia, even had I not been unwilling, for political reasons, to proceed amongst that tribe before the question of Lieutenant McCausland's murder is cleared up. On my summons, however, the Indians of both places appeared at Lamo: they include only 6 Hindu houses, and 1 Bohra house, and collectively gave up 21 slaves, none of whom would return to their masters.

M'zee Seif, Chief of the Wagunia, summoned at my request by the Governor of Lamo, also came to the town, but the steps taken with regard to the late murder at Kionga will form the subject of a separate letter.

On the return voyage, Captain Malcolm anchored off Ras Gomeni to allow us to inspect the country here. Only a year ago there were extensive Arab plantations of oil-seed and sesame here; now the ruined houses alone remain, the Gallas and Wasania having annoyed and killed the slaves, who, in consequence, fled; the Arabs abandoned this rich locality, better suited for the growth of cotton than any land I have here seen, but lacking in any security for either property or life, and possessing no indigenous labour at hand.

The harbour of Wassin was also visited, south of Mombasah, between the island of that name and the mainland. This has been suggested as a naval depôt. It is superior as a harbour to that of Mombasah, but there is no supply of water on the island, and the healthiness of the place requires further inquiry before any steps involving outlay or of a permanent nature are undertaken.

Here two Bohras were found, who gave up 8 slaves; in all, 478 slaves freed between Wasin and Lamo from the hands of the Indians.

While engaged on the coast, I have been assisted everywhere by Mr. F. Holmwood, who accompanied me on duty, and whose services I beg to acknowledge.

No. 69.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, November 7, 1873.

HAVING in my Reports of the 10th October and 6th instant, given a detailed account of proceedings at Mombasa, Melinde, and Lamo, for the purpose of carrying out

that part of the Treaty of the 5th June which binds us to prevent all natives of India within the Sultan's dominions in Africa from holding or trading in slaves, I shall now briefly sum up the results of the present tour of inspection.

In the first place, at Mombasa and everywhere visited, I have been astonished at the large number of slaves openly held by Indians, which has greatly exceeded what I had reason to expect, but it has been most satisfactory to find that they have, in almost every case, been voluntarily brought forward by their owners and given up. There have, however, been at each station a few individuals against whom severe measures have been taken, and one case still awaits trial which, I think, will be dealt with more efficiently in Bombay by the High Court.

Having at each place visited along the coast remained a sufficient time to get full information, through informers and agents, after the Indians had declared the slaves they held, I can fairly state that the scandal of slave-holding by them has been completely wiped out wherever I have been, and the system of lending money on slaves as security, or taking slaves in pledge for old debts, however contracted, completely broken up, these debts being now nothing better than debts of honour, if the facts were concealed, and exposing both the Arab who pledges his slaves to the loss of his slaves, and the Indian to that of his money advance. Further than this, the Indians have not been found, where I have yet visited, to have been implicated, and there is no proof or suspicion of the Indians of Mombasa and Lamo being implicated directly in the Slave Trade as a Commercial speculation, although they certainly were, as a class, holders of domestic slaves, a fact that Her Majesty's Government has long been made aware of, and on which there have been issued at various times conflicting orders.

The disclosures now made along the northern shore of the Sultan's dominions show how necessary it is without delay to continue the same process of inspection in Pemba and to the south, where an exactly similar condition exists, and where, as Kilwa is approached, the merchants will be found to be more nearly involved in the export Slave Trade, or in dealings with Arabs who have no other business; to this I shall devote my attention at the end of the month of Ramadan.

The accompanying statement will show in what proportion slaves were found to be held by Indians of different sects in the various districts:—

MOMBASSA.

Class.					Owners.	No. of Slaves.
Bohras	..	..	..	..	29	169
Sindis	..	..	..	..	20	40
Hindus	..	..	..	..	6	10
TAKAUNGU.						
Bohras	..	..	..	..	4	13
Hindus	..	..	..	..	4	6
MALINDI AND MAMBRUI.						
Bohras	..	..	..	..	30	112
Sindis	..	..	..	..	5	6
Hindus	..	..	..	..	4	9
Khojas	..	..	..	..	2	4
LAMO.						
Bohras	..	..	..	..	13	43
Hindus	..	..	..	..	19	37
SIN AND FAZE.						
Bohras	..	..	..	..	1	6
Hindus	..	..	..	..	6	15
WASIN.						
Bohras	..	..	..	..	2	8
Total	..	..	..	..	145	478

Of the above number of 478 slaves, 201, when interrogated, have elected for the present, to remain with their former masters, but all are fully aware of the changed status.

Captain Malcolm kindly took on board Her Majesty's ship "Briton," and conveyed

to Zanzibar, a few of the younger slaves from Sin and Faze, places too far from inspection, where to have allowed them to remain would have been attended with danger; at all the other places I have taken the first step towards the creation of a system of Consular supervision and inspection, by placing some of the chief men among the classes from whom the slaves have now been taken, as my agents, with written authority to act in my name before the Kathi and local Arab authorities should any attempt be made to re-enslave those now freed; in time I trust to be able to develop this further, as the appointment is one much sought after, which, while it may be forfeited by remissness, may be made a high mark of confidence, giving to the holder a certain position where his office has been honestly performed. From the very weak hold of His Highness' Government at the outports, some arrangement of this nature will obviously be required in other matters, as the population that now claim our protection has been greatly extended through these measures, the Indians, having now lost the only inducement held out to leave our protection, have as a class reverted to us.

While inquiring into the past and present price of slaves, I was struck all along the coast with the slight advance caused by the operation of the late Treaty. This was explained to me in two ways, both of which have, in a measure, operated: First, since the Treaty was signed, the Indians have ceased to lend money to slave holders on the security of slaves. This restricts the power of purchase as before; at Melinde, for instance, a cargo being landed, a needy but industrious Arab might at once find accommodation, purchase slaves, settle on fine land, grow corn, and in one or two years pay off his debt. This he cannot now do, he must borrow elsewhere, but there are few lenders not Indians. Secondly, it is said that prices were kept above the normal rate by speculators running contraband cargoes to Somali land and Arabia; these men now prefer to take their contraband cargo direct from near Kilwa or Cape Delgado, the Sultan's pass no longer carrying the slaves to Lamo. However, this may be, slave labourers now sell as before at Melinde and Lamo from 40 dollars to 60 dollars each. Thus the 478 slaves now freed represent a confiscation of not less than 4,000*l.*, a large sum when the comparatively small capital the coast Indians possess is taken into consideration.

It was peculiarly difficult for me to learn how far the land route had succeeded for the transport of slaves; but, if my information is at all correct, the number that has been as yet introduced into Melinde in this way is not large, and I could not find evidence of more than 200 having been so conveyed.

While, therefore, the coast stations as far as Lamo may still get slaves by land, these cannot be taken in numbers, and I think it will be found quite impossible to continue working this route to Somali land except at a loss.

The example of the Governor of Lamo in seizing a full slave vessel has produced an excellent effect, but I must reserve a full report on this matter until after the return of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," which vessel lays claim to the fifty slaves taken off as prize, and has entered the case in the Vice-Admiralty Court here, with the intention of showing proof that the Governor of Lamo did not act honestly and never intended to confiscate the slaves; I have, when at Lamo, made full inquiry in this matter, but as it will come judicially before me in Court, I shall defer any further report until after the trial. The effect of the arrest, however, has been immense, and the course followed by the Governor of Lamo becomes a precedent that will make it thoroughly unsafe for any slavers to enter an Arab port, and compel the Arab authority to detain them should they do so.

From all the Sultan's officials I receive the greatest kindness and attention, in no case was the course I adopted either opposed or disputed, but, on the contrary, each Governor gave me his full support and active assistance acting on the spirit and the letter of His Highness' orders in this matter, which were imperative. To this support of His Highness and his local officials we are indebted for the signal success of the manumission, and for the instant compliance of all classes with the terms of the recent Treaty.

Should I be able to confirm my former reports of the action of the Governor of Lamo in arresting the 217 slaves, I should recommend a more marked notice being taken of his conduct, as he will have been the first to have acted in this way, and his action has been productive of the very best results and done much to render the smuggling of slaves unsafe.

I regret to report that at least five slave vessels holding each from 100 to 150 slaves have escaped from the districts between Kilwa and Delgado, and reached the Somali coast, with the exception of that one seized at Lamo.

In conclusion I must not omit to state that I am greatly indebted to the Senior Naval Officer, Captain Malcolm, who so arranged his plans as to convey me, in the first

instance, to Mombassa, and then bring my mail letters to Malindi. From Malindi I proceeded, in Her Majesty's ship "Briton," to Lamo, and returned to Zanzibar in her, every attention having been kindly paid to my wishes.

No. 70.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, November 12, 1873.

ON return from Lamo, I found a native vessel detained by the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," having a slave on board. On examining this case in a preliminary manner,—there being nothing whatever to show that either the owner of the vessel, the captain, or the owner of the cargo were implicated, or had knowledge that a slave had been taken on board ostensibly as a free boy,—the case was withdrawn, to avoid trouble and costs in the Vice-Admiralty Court.

By sending the slave boy before His Highness, who was, with myself, well satisfied that the lad was being conveyed to Pemba for sale, and had been smuggled on board under false representations, his freedom was effectually secured, and the person professing to be his father, but in fact the boy's master, put in prison, where he is undergoing very severe discipline.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 71.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, November 12, 1873.

SINCE writing my previous Report relative to the murder of Lieutenant MacCausland, of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," at Kionga, I have visited Lamo, and there made inquiries which have enabled me to take steps that will, I trust, lead shortly to the arrest and punishment of those implicated.

After the departure of Her Majesty's ship "Briton" from Mombasah the first intelligence reached me of this occurrence, and the Report I then rendered has been substantially confirmed by subsequent inquiries.

Having visited the intermediate coast in a native dhow, Her Majesty's ship "Briton" returned for me, at the time appointed, to Melindi, when I found Captain Malcolm prepared to carry me to Lamo.

Whilst there, occupied in enforcing the terms of the late Treaty among the Indian population, I lost no time in calling the attention of the local Governor to the murder that had been committed within his jurisdiction. I had received, by Her Majesty's ship "Briton," a reply from the Sultan of Zanzibar to my letter from Mombasah on the subject, with full authorization on his part to use all means to effect the arrest of the murderers; and I was, moreover, bearer of stringent orders to the Governor of Lamo to spare no trouble or expense in carrying out all necessary steps.

Having ascertained that among the Wagunia, north of the Islands on which the towns of Patte, Sin, and Faze stand, and where alone soldiers are stationed, the Sultan exercises his authority through Mzee Seif, paramount Chief of that tribe, whose supremacy over his people is unlimited and fully acknowledged, I desired the Governor to call this individual to Lamo, offering, if he thought necessary, the amount of force required to compel his appearance, such, however, was not needed, Mzee Seif coming of his own accord.

At a private interview, in presence of the Governor of Lamo, I pointed out to Mzee Seif that until the murderers and Chief of the village of Kionga were given up we should hold him in a measure personally responsible for what had happened, and that living, as he did, on an island it was at any time fully in our power to have him arrested; that he had only one way now of clearing himself of suspicion, which was to use his influence and have the murderers sent to Zanzibar, but that until this was done he must expect to find himself and all his people looked on by the officers of our boats in a manner very different from formerly.

Mzee Seif protested his innocence, asserting that this was the act of one individual of a village at a distance from where he lived, and that since the village had been

destroyed it became a difficult matter to seize the people, who, being on their guard, would not obey his summons as before. He acknowledged that he knew the actual murderer, named Bwana Heri, and said that the villagers were living not far from the old spot, being afraid to settle on the open coast; but I showed him before the Governor of Lamo, what both tried to ignore, that this could not have been the act of one man but a premeditated murder, in which the Chiefs of the village were certainly implicated and equally guilty with the man who dealt the first blow.

I therefore demanded the arrest of Bwana Heri and Jahidi bin Sherifu, and told him he would be permitted to return to Faze (or Rasini), but that if the murderers were not quickly secured and given up he must expect to be called to account as being the paramount Chief of the people by whom the crime was committed.

In this way I hope that justice may be done as it is essential for the safety of our officers and men, and also to avoid more serious operations hereafter that this matter be followed up.

This crime seems, however, to have no clear relation to our operations against the Slave Trade, in fact might have been perpetrated upon any Christian, for the people are bigoted Mohammedans. It is just possible that it may have been connected with the unfortunate interference at Lamo with the slave dhow seized by the Governor, an act which undoubtedly produced a very bad effect along the coast. One of the slave owners in that vessel was a Somali of Brava, and Lieutenant MacCausland was struck by a spear thrown at him by a Somali outside Lamo, when guarding the fifty slaves in camp previous to the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne;" another was one of the Wagunia; but there is nothing to connect either of these men with what followed.

Probably the rumour, in an exaggerated form, passed up the coast that while the Arab Governor had, like ourselves, detained a slaver we again were taking the slaves away from him, and thus may have given rise to the idea that a murder under the circumstances would not be inquired into through the Arab authorities, but of this there is no evidence, and the Wagunia have an evil name for treachery all along the coast.

Since returning to Zanzibar I have satisfied the Sultan that so far from the destruction of Kionga being an infringement of his authority, as had been represented to him by parties here, it was eminently calculated to establish his government among a people who at present do not feel it, and to bring the paramount chief more within his influence when he saw that the Sultan and the English acted in concert, and that the Sultan's orders to have the murderers arrested were supported with a force that was well acknowledged on the whole sea-board.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 72.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, November 17, 1873.

I LEARN from Arabs who have returned from Unyanyembe that Lieutenant Cameron and his party reached that station in good health, and were ready to proceed to Ujiji, there being no news of Dr. Livingstone to guide them or cause a change in the plan before proposed.

At Unyanyembe Lieutenant Cameron, finding he had exhausted all his supplies in reaching that place from the coast, had taken up, it is said, 2,000 dollars' worth of goods from the Arabs at local prices.

The war with Mirambo still continued, and the Arab authorities were unable to prosecute their operations or follow up advantages they claim, from news having reached that His Highness Seyd Burgash had refused to honour bills drawn on him for supplies to defray the cost of his troops.

His Highness states, as his reason for this, that the supplies were not applied to the purposes stated, but diverted for other uses; the gross amount of bills that have been so drawn is 100,000 dollars.

An agent has been sent to investigate this matter, but meantime trade is paralyzed, and the Settlement exposed to danger of attack.

No letters have been received from Lieutenant Cameron or his party.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 73.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received December 16.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, November 18, 1873.

CAPTAIN WHARTON, of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," employed on the survey of this coast, has returned to harbour in order to coal and provision, having completed the survey of the Island of Zanzibar.

At Latham Island Captain Wharton erected a high stone beacon with a spar on top, visible from a distance of more than twenty miles, and, following my advice, he also planted sixty cocoa-nut trees, which were supplied him by the Sultan.

The Island of Latham, as I before reported, is covered with a layer of guano of very inferior quality, and it is said a similar deposit has been found on other reefs further south.

Captain Wharton, however informs me that the guano on Latham (the only known guano island at present) consists only of a most superficial deposit.

Captain Wharton will now continue the survey of the coast, and commence that of the Island of Pemba.

Like all who have visited Dar Salam, Captain Wharton has been much struck with the facilities offered by that fine harbour; and the survey being completed, no dangers will be met with in approaching it.

Many additions, rather than corrections, have been made to Captain Owen's original survey of Zanzibar; on the neighbouring coast, however, the old charts are found to be less exact.

No. 74.

Captain Prideaux to Brigadier-General Schneider.

(Extract.)

"Kwang-Tung," at sea, November 19, 1873.

THE day after my arrival at Makulla I addressed a letter to the Jemadar at Shehr, expressing a hope that he would find it convenient to visit me, as there were several matters that required discussion. He lost no time in complying with my request and, having arrived by sea, paid me a visit on board the "Kwang Tung" on the evening of the 15th. I first introduced the subject of the anti-Slave Trade engagement which you had requested me to lay before him, and produced for his signature a draft, identical in terms with that which the Nukeeb of Maculla had concluded with Sir Bartle Frere in April last. The Jemadar made some slight objections to the wording of this draft, principally in reference to the insertion of the name of the late Nukeeb, Ali bin Najee, in the preamble of it, and suggested a slightly different form, which I agreed to, the chief point, namely, the renewal of the engagement of the 14th May, 1863, on behalf of heirs and successors, being steadily kept in sight throughout.

The next morning (17th) I paid a visit to the Jemadar, when the Treaties were signed in triplicate and presents exchanged.

Inclosure 1 in No. 74.

*Engagement of the Nukeeb of Shehr for the Abolition of Slave Trade in his Dominions.—
Signed at Shehr, November 17, 1873.*

THIS 17th day of November, A.D. 1873, answering to the 26th day of Ramadhan, A.H. 1290, I, Abdullah bin Oman Al Kialie, Ruler of Shehr, engage with the Great English Government to abolish and prohibit the import and export of slaves to or from the port of Shehr, and all the dependencies thereof, from or to any other place in Africa or Asia, or elsewhere; and, whereas his Excellency Sir Henry Edward Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Special Envoy, has impressed upon me the advantage of adhering in perpetuity to the terms of the Agreement entered into by Ali bin Najee, Nukeeb of Shehr, with Brigadier William Marcus Coghlan, on the 14th day of May, A.D. 1863, answering to the 25th day of Dhil-kaada, A.H. 1279, therefore I and my brothers Awadh and Saleh, on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and successors, do hereby solemnly confirm and engage to be bound by the terms of that Agreement.

(L.S)

(Signed)

W. F. PRIDEAUX,

Assistant Resident, Aden.

J. W. SCHNEIDER, *Brigadier-General,
Political Resident, Aden.*

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

EAST COAST OF AFRICA STATION

No. 75.

Commander Doughty to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

[No date.]

I HAVE the honour to report the capture and destruction of an Arab slave dhow called the "Assak'hire," by the boats of Her Majesty's ship under my command, when on detached service on the 5th instant.

2. The particulars of the capture are given in the inclosed letter from the officer in charge of the boats at the time.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

F. PROBY DOUGHTY.

Inclosure in No. 75.

Sub-Lieutenant Eden to Commander Doughty.

Sir,

"Magpie," off False Cape, October 19, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, on my arrival in the Boteler River on the 5th instant, off the village of Marambitz, I boarded and detained the Arab dhow "Assak'hire" or "Morbruke," on the ground that she was equipped for and engaged in the Slave Trade, for the following reasons:—

I. She was fitted with two bamboo decks, had an unusually large water-tank, a water barrel, 50 water chatties, 30 cooking chaldrons, a large number of rice platters with spoons having been lately in use, and two fire-places.

II. The information afforded by a man named Adam bin Ali, who stated that when in another dhow, he had fallen in with the "Assak'hire" at the Island of Juan de Nova, and that when there she was full of slaves; she sailed afterwards to the southward. Adam bin Ali, in the other dhow, arrived at Marambitz. Afterwards the "Assak'hire" came there, and he learnt that she had landed her slaves at Tamboran and in Bozanna Bay.

III. The examination of the papers by means of the Interpreter clearly showed she had been engaged in the Slave Trade for a number of years past, and also on her last voyage.

2. The mast being badly sprung, and the sails and cordage old and rotten, I did not deem her safe to be navigated by a European crew to Zanzibar, I therefore measured her and destroyed her by fire.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEO. H. EDEN.

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

No. 76.

Captain Wratislaw to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Wolverene," at sea, September 28, 1872.
 I HAVE the honour to report that, yesterday afternoon, the 27th instant, about 3.30 P.M., 100 miles due east of Brava, I sighted, chased, and captured a dhow with seventy-eight slaves on board, five days out from Pemba, bound to Muscat.

This vessel was one of the large legal traders, she being laden with wood, and from what I could gather was induced at the last moment to take these slaves on board, who belong to the passengers, of which there are fourteen on board.

After taking out the people, the dhow was burnt, not being able to take her to Zanzibar for adjudication, that port being 600 miles distant to windward.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) H. R. WRATISLAW.

No. 77

Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir, "Briton," at Zanzibar, January 5, 1873.
 I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith Sub-Lieutenant Hamilton's Report of the capture of a slave dhow in the Kingani River.

2. I propose putting the dhow into the Vice-Admiralty Court here for adjudication, and will take the necessary steps according to the instructions for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

3. I have the honour to inclose herewith the usual forms, &c., called for by the Station Orders.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) G. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 77.

Sub-Lieutenant Hamilton to Captain Malcolm.

Sir, "Briton," at Zanzibar, January 5, 1873.
 I HAVE the honour to inform you that having passed the reef of the Kingani River on the 2nd January, 1873, I proceeded towards the entrance of the river and saw a dhow a short distance up the river, which the interpreter, who accompanied us, informed me looked like a slave dhow. Acting on this I ordered Mr. Hood to board her with the interpreter, following at the same time in the cutter.

2. On boarding her I had the crew mustered on deck, fifteen in number, six being passengers, and the head man informed me they were all the crew on board, having no slaves. I then asked for papers, which they could not produce, and proceeded to search her, when I discovered hidden away a negro boy, who said he was a slave (through the interpreter), and pointed out his master as the head man. I immediately removed this boy for fear of him being tampered with, and commenced an examination of the head man and crew. The former stated that the boy was no slave, but was his domestic servant having charge of the canoe. The crew denied totally the boy belonging to the dhow, as they said he had been shipped the day before.

3. I then proceeded up the river to search for any other dhow, and on my return (within an hour) Mr. Hood informed me that the captain was on shore and had hailed the dhow for some considerable time to take him on board. After being brought on board I examined him and found the assertion that the head man had made was untrue, as he denied all knowledge of him.

4. I then weighed and towed the dhow to the mouth of the river, and at about 5 A.M. the next day I proceeded out for Zanzibar, arriving here yesterday about 7 P.M.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) A. M. R. HAMILTON.

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 77.

Slave Dhow, name unknown, captured on the 2nd January, 1873.

FROM what port the vessel cleared out, and for what port?—Taken in the Kingani River.

2. If with slaves on board, where they were shipped?—From interior of mainland.

3. If with equipments only, where it was intended to ship slaves?—No equipments, but it is the custom of these vessels to bring over to Zanzibar from five to twenty slaves, and the father and mother of the boy were said by him to be hidden in the bush.

4. If the master had in that or any other vessel shipped slaves, if so, when and what place, and any other information on the subject of the Slave Trade they can obtain?—Would give no information.

(Signed)

G. MALCOLM, *Captain*.

No. 78.

*Rear-Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.**"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, January 13, 1873.*FORWARDED, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
(Signed) A. CUMMING.*Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.*

Sir,

"Briton," at Zanzibar, January 11, 1873.

IN compliance with the instructions for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I have the honour to inform you, for the information of the Secretary of the Admiralty, that I this day received from Dr. Kirk, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, an office copy of the condemnation, on the 8th January, 1873, of the slave dhow "Mpaji Mungu."

2. The order for condemnation directed that the cargo of the slave dhow "Mpaji Mungu" should be delivered over to the consignee, which order was complied with on the 9th January, 1873. The cargo landed was about 52 to 55 tons.

3. By the same order for condemnation the slave dhow "Mpaji Mungu" was ordered to be broken up, which order will be complied with on the 11th January, 1873, care being taken in so doing that the operation is not observed from the shore so as not unnecessarily to irritate the native feeling at this place.

4. The facts of the capture of the slave dhow "Mpaji Mungu" were submitted to you in my letter of the 5th January, 1873. I have nothing further to add than that the suspicion of Sub-Lieutenant Augustus M. R. Hamilton, and my views, on inquiry into the case, have been verified by the decision of the Vice-Admiralty Court on the 8th January, 1873.

5. I have reason to believe that, from the Kingani and its neighbourhood 1,000 slaves are illegally imported annually. The system is for vessels, that are apparently only coasters, to ship a small number of slaves for sale in Zanzibar, trusting to their apparent harmlessness to evade detention by our cruisers, as also the notice of the Custom-house authorities of the Sultan of Zanzibar; and it is, on account of its being fenced by technicalities, the most difficult part of the illegal traffic in slaves, for Her Majesty's cruisers to detect.

6. I have reason to believe that, had the boats of this ship captured the "Mpaji Mungu" an hour later, we should have found about twenty slaves on board.

The mother of the boy Songoro was hid in the bush close to the dhow.

On board the "Mpaji Mungu" dhow were found five domestic slaves, serving as part of her crew, whom, being in another category to the boy Songoro, we could not touch.

7. I have pleasure in submitting to your consideration the conduct of Sub-Lieutenants A. M. R. Hamilton and A. R. C. Hood during this cruise, as showing energy and meeting my approval.

In conclusion, I have to submit that I believe all formalities have been carefully complied with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

No. 79.

Rear-Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, January 10, 1873.

IN accordance with the directions contained in the Slave Trade Instructions, I beg to forward, to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the following Report for the year 1872.

2. On my assuming command of this station on the 21st March, 1872, I found Her Majesty's ships "Wolverene" and "Columbine" employed on the East Coast of Africa and the Mozambique Channel, cruising for the suppression of the Slave Trade. "Briton" and "Magpie" were at Bombay.

3. On the 10th April "Magpie" left Bombay to relieve "Columbine," and the latter ship proceeded to Trincomalee. "Magpie" relieved "Columbine" off Ras Hafoon in

- May, and remained in that neighbourhood until 2nd June. Left Zanzibar on 23rd July for the Mozambique Channel, where she remained cruising until 3rd December, on which date returned to Zanzibar. Having completed provisions, left for Bombay, relieved by "Daphne." During the time she was employed on the East Coast of Africa (May to December) "Magpie" captured three dhows.

4. "Wolverene" remained on East Coast of Africa from March to 30th November, when she left for Seychelles, thence to proceed to Bombay. During this period "Wolverene" captured one dhow. Has been relieved by "Briton."

5. "Briton" left Bombay on 8th May for Muscat, to send "Bullfinch" to England, and, on being relieved by "Vulture," left that place to cruise between Ras-el-Had and Aden; owing to an accident to her screw had to return to Bombay; on defect being made good, left again for her station, but, when nearing Socotra, Captain Jago having fractured his leg, had to proceed to Seychelles, for the purpose of landing him at sick-quarters. Having so done, left for Aden, remained cruising in the vicinity of that place, visiting occasionally Socotra, Abd-el-Kuri, and Guardafui, until 1st December, when she proceeded to Zanzibar, where she arrived on 15th. "Briton" has not made any capture.

6. "Vulture," on 6th September, off Ras-el-Had, captured a dhow with 169 slaves on board.

7. The inclosed Report gives the detailed account of the captures effected during the nine months I have had command of the Station. The following is a condensed abstract of the Report:—

• Number of dhows captured	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Tonnage of captured dhows	..	..	..	..	..	..	992.48
Number of slaves liberated	..	..	..	..	..	..	251

8. Their being only nine ships on the station, including the flag-ship, and having out of that number to keep six employed in Indian waters, leaves only two available for service on the whole of the East Coast of Africa, from Cape Guardafui to the southern limits of the station (about 2,500 miles); these vessels can only be relieved one at a time, and that only when the flag-ship is in India, and is one of the six vessels there.

9. In order that the two ships employed cruising on the East Coast of Africa should be enabled to keep up, as much as possible, a surveillance over the line of coast entrusted to them, I would beg to suggest that a steam pinnace should be attached to each of the ships thus employed.

10. With reference to the disposal of the liberated slaves, Captain Wratislaw reports that those (seventy-nine in number) on board the last dhow he captured (27th September last) were all handed over to the French Mission at Zanzibar. I would suggest that, for the future, at all events for some time to come, all liberated slaves should be sent to the Seychelles Islands; labour is much wanted there, and the resources of the islands are capable of development; but the system of supervision and seeing that the labourers are properly allotted, looked after, and cared for, is open to much improvement. There are several public works, such as a pier, roads across to the Island of Mahé, &c., in progress, but which get on slowly for want of labour.

11. In my letter of the 28th December last, I have forwarded a request from the King of Johanna that liberated slaves may be sent to that place, to be treated as free labourers and paid accordingly, but I question the policy of complying with this request.

12. The number of slaves that passed through the Custom-house at Zanzibar during the year 1872, I have ascertained to be about as follows (from 1st May to 31st December):—

Shipped from Quiloa and landed at Zanzibar	..	..	..	..	14,721
Shipped from other villages and ports on the coast and landed at Zanzibar	..	..	..	..	408
					15,129

For the above duty was paid, but no account taken of the contraband introduction of slaves, which has been considerable.

Slaves exported from Zanzibar to Pembra-Lamoo, &c., under the Sultan's pass .. 9,381

No account is here taken of those smuggled away, which number also has been considerable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CUMMING.

Inclosure in No. 79.

RETURN of Dhows Captured on East Indian Station, on the grounds of their being engaged in the Slave Trade, between March 21 and December 31, 1872.

Name and Description of Captured Vessel.	Flag under which Captured Vessel was Sailing.	Names of Masters and Owners of Captured Vessel.	No. of Crew.	Date of Seizure.	Where Captured.	Name and Rank of Captor, and Name of Capturing Vessel.	No. of Slaves.			Tonnage of Captured Vessel.	Before what Court Adjudicated, and on what Charge.	Decretal Part of Sentence, whether Forfeiture or Restitution.	How Captured Vessel was disposed of.	Remarks.
							Captured.	Died before Adjudication.	Emancipated.					
Name not known; dhow	Arab	Unknown	Not known	1872 April 12	10 miles south of Brava	Commander Tucker, H.M.S. "Columbine"	..	None	..	91.48	Case not yet tried	..	Destroyed ..	Dhow was run on shore; about 100 slaves escaped.
Name not known; bugalow	None	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	May 15	Entrance of the Tola River	Commander Doughty, H.M.S. "Magpie"	..	do.	..	236	Zanzibar ..	Forfeiture ..	Ditto ..	Dhow was run on shore, supposed to have had over 200 slaves, who were driven inland by the Arabs.
Barasa; dhow	Zanzibar..	Alovie ..	5	July 20	Off Chuang, Zanzibar Island	Ditto ..	9	Nil	9	80	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	..	
Name not known; dhow	None	Mahomed of Zanzibar	34	Sept. 6	Off Ras el Hed ..	Commander Cay, H.M.S. "Vulture"	169	5	164	188	Muscat ..	Ditto ..	Destroyed ..	Slaves taken to Bombay in the "Vulture."
Name not known; dhow	Arab	Suliman bin Ma-sood; owners, Nasur bin Mahomed in Nami, of Pemba	12	Sept. 27	1° 5' N., 45° 44' E. ..	Captain Wratlaw, H.M.S. "Wolverene"	79	1	78	245	Zanzibar ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
Asak-hire, formerly Maburke, bugalow	Ditto	Sala bin Said ..	Not known	Oct. 5	Boteler River, Madagascar	Commander Doughty, H.M.S. "Magpie"	..	None	..	152	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.	
Total ..							257	6	251	992.48				

Q 2

(Signed) A. CUMMING, Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-chief.

Captain Malcolm to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Briton," Zanzibar, April 25, 1873.

IN accordance with the Instructions for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, I have the honour to forward a duplicate of my detailed Report of the capture of the native vessels without colours, named the "Wohada Salem" and "Dah Selim," on the 20th March, 1873, which were condemned as lawful prizes to Her Majesty's ship "Briton" on the 25th April, 1873.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 80.

Lieutenant Blaxland to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

Tola Island, March 22, 1873.

AT about 3.30 P.M. of the 20th instant, the look-out having reported a sail in sight from the southward, I ordered Mr. Hood to proceed in the second cutter towards the entrance to cut her off; and, having made certain of the correctness of the report, followed in the first cutter. Having rounded the point, I found that the second cutter had boarded one dhow, and was in chase to intercept another, which was also boarded. When I got on board I found her to be the dhow "Wohada Salem," belonging to Banaholo (Thoala Island), and bound from Lamo to Thoala.

She had no papers; she had a crew of eight men, eighteen passengers, and three male and three female slaves (one of the male slaves being in irons); so I took possession of her and brought her in here, where I landed the passengers, keeping the crew to bale, as the dhow was very leaky. Mr. Hood reported to me that, on his approaching the first dhow the people jumped overboard and swam to the outside island, throwing overboard two negro boys, who were nearly drowned. I ordered Mr. Hood to search the island, in case of their being any slaves who swam on shore, and then to bring the dhow in, which he did.

She was the dhow "Dah Selim," from Lamo to Thoala, belonging to a Mahometan named Shan, of Thoala Island. She had four male slaves on board. Both dhows were very leaky, and to-day, finding that the "Wohada Salem" could not be kept clear of water, I destroyed her.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND.

Inclosure 2 in No. 80.

INFORMATION relative to Slave Trade.

Questions.	Answers.	
	Dhow "Wohada Sabem."	Dhow "Dah Selim."
1. From what port the vessels cleared out, and for what port?	1. Lamoo to Thoala ..	Lamoo to Thoala.
2. If with slaves on board, where they were shipped?	2. Lamoo ..	Lamoo.
3. If with equipments only, where it was intended to ship slaves?	3. Slaves on board ..	Slaves on board.
4. If the master had in that, or any other vessel, shipped slaves, if so, when and what place, and any other information on the subject of the Slave Trade they can obtain?	4. Not known ..	Not known.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, *Lieutenant in command.*

Approved,

(Signed) G. MALCOLM, *Captain.*

"Briton's" 1st Cutter, Tola Island, March 20, 1873.

Inclosure 3 in No. 80.
RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Deter:ion.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Where Shipped.		
1873 March 20	Tola Island ...	Wobada Sabem	Sali ...	Banaholo, Thoola	None	Square mak- sail dhow	8	...	58½	Lamoo	Thoola	Thoola	1873 March 14	Dele- riorated corn	Owner ...	3	3	...	...	Lamoo ...	Slaves in good health. 6 emancipated. Vessel in a very leaky condition and unsea- worthy.	
March 20	Ditto ...	Dal Selim	Seaca ...	Mahomed bin Sheikh, of Thoola	Ditto	Ditto	10	...	49·8	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	March 14	Ditto	Ditto ...	1	...	3	...	Ditto ...	Slaves in good health. 4 emancipated. Vessel in a very leaky condition and unsea- worthy.	

(Signed) Approved, G. MALCOLM, Captain. (Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant.

“ Briton,” 1st Cutter, Tola Island, March 20, 1873.

No. 81.

Captain Malcolm to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

"Briton," Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to submit to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a duplicate of my letters to his Excellency Rear-Admiral Cumming, dated 3rd and 6th of June, 1873, and numbered 67 and 68.

I feel great regret that the Commander-in-chief has not yet arrived, as there will be no means of communicating with England for a month; I therefore thought it right to communicate, without awaiting his arrival, the state of affairs; and though the Treaty has been ratified, still, great vigilance will be required to prevent slaves being smuggled into Zanzibar and to the north. I know that, at the present moment, 5,000 slaves are accumulated in Kilwa Kivunge, and about 1,000 at Dara Salam, which, for fear of the boats of Her Majesty's ships "Briton" and "Daphne," they dare not embark.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

No. 82.

Commander Doughty to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

*"Magpie," at sea, Lat. 18° 55' N., Long. 56° 40' E.,
June 4, 1873.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the morning of the 3rd instant, whilst steaming along the east coast of Arabia, I fell in with a straggling fleet of dhows off Ras Madraka, sailing free before the light south-west monsoon; several I boarded, to find out where they had come from and what winds they had experienced. But for the most part I should have let them pass, not caring to waste time when each hour added strength to the monsoon and to the difficulties of my joining you at Zanzibar, and should have let pass this dhow had not my attention been attracted by her keeping, in particular, a very close inshore course; she then bore from me south-west about five miles. I tried to intercept her, but had no chance from the first. Finding capture inevitable, she hauled her wind and beached over a terrific surf on to the sandy bay between Ras Madraka and Ras Khashaun. I stood in as close as safety permitted to watch proceedings, which we were powerless to frustrate. With the force of the wind and the sea the dhow went well up on the beach, where, on grounding, many jumped overboard and landed, while others with a view, I presume, to expedite the disembarkation of the slaves and assist the feeble, pitched them over into the broken water, from whence they were dragged out by those already on shore. This hurry was a necessity evidently understood by the crew, for in a few minutes her mast went, and the vessel broke into fragments. On the beach there now appeared, as well as we could count, 150 people.

They formed themselves into a straggling line and, without further delay, set out for the hills to the northward, among which we soon lost sight of them.

It was with much regret I felt compelled to leave these poor wretches to their fate, —a fate one scarcely cares to contemplate when one looks at the parched desert sands and barren mountains—weakened by their long sea voyage and the usual short commons of such craft. The Indian sailing directions give no cheerful prospect for castaways on that inhospitable coast. Feeling myself utterly powerless either to capture the slaves or to alleviate their miseries, I proceeded on my voyage.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. P. DOUGHTY.

No. 83.

Rear-Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, July 5, 1873.

ON my arrival at Zanzibar I found that His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar had signed and ratified the Treaty which Dr. John Kirk, Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul, had been directed by Her Majesty's Government to present to him.

Two days after my arrival, in company with Her Majesty's Political Agent and the

officers of the squadron, I waited on His Highness the Sultan. Three days after, His Highness came on board the "Glasgow," accompanied by all his Chiefs, and remained some time.

It is my intention to retain all the ships until the arrival of the next mail, due here on the 30th instant, in order that their presence may be felt at the various other ports on the coast, which I consider most desirable, though Her Majesty's Consul does not consider their presence necessary, and shall then disperse them, retaining four ships for the present on this division of the station.

I propose, after the arrival of the mail, proceeding to the Mozambique Channel.

No. 84.

Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Briton," at Zanzibar, June 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report in a full and detailed manner the capture of the dhow (name unknown) on the 21st of April, 1873.

2. Acting on the Station Order Book, I caused the vessel to be surveyed by three competent officers, and, on their report, I caused her to be destroyed on the 15th May, 1873.

3. On the 2nd instant the case was heard in the Vice-Admiralty Court and the dhow (name unknown) was condemned. (Case No. 6 of 1873 in Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.)

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 84.

Sub-Lieutenant Hamilton to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

"Briton," off Kilindini, Manda Reach, May 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, on the 21st ultimo, I seized a dhow off Lamo, which had come from Malinde. The reason of my seizing her was because a Mayou slave called Ureka came on board and said that he had been bought at Malinde, and was to be sold at Brava. On this I went on board the dhow and found no papers, or cargo, or colours; but there was a slave on board, called Mabrook, who told me the same story:

2. On the 22nd a slave called Hamaise, and on the 23rd another called Hade, came on board; both, without communicating with others, told the same story.

3. On the 22nd a soldier sent by the Wali Sudi bin Hamed, came on board to inquire why I had seized the dhow. I told him because she had slaves for sale at Brava on board; he questioned the men in the presence of myself and the interpreter, Saleh bin Mahomed, if they were part of the crew, but they said no, they were slaves to be sold at Brava. On the soldier leaving, I called, as ordered by you, on the Wali Sudi bin Hamed, and spoke with him through the interpreter on the subject of the capture. He called the soldier who had been on board up before him, and questioned him in my presence, and the soldier said that there were three slaves on board going to Brava to be sold. The Wali said that, although he could not give me the dhow, I had done my duty in seizing her. The Wali then asked me to give him the dhow and take the slaves. I said I could not do so. Later the interpreter said that if I would let the dhow go, keeping the slaves, a man had offered a considerable sum of money for her. On the second day, the people came off and tried to tamper with one of the slaves.

4. I felt, after duly weighing all these matters, that this is a clear contravention of the Treaties in force with His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and have therefore brought the dhow, and submit the case to you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. M. R. HAMILTON.

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 84.

Answers to Questions in Article 135, p. 41, of Station Order Book, and in accordance with Instructions for Suppression of Slave Trade, p. 23, Article 55.

"Briton's" Pinnace, Lamoo, April 21, 1873.

FROM what port the vessel cleared, and for what port?—From Malinde to Brava.

2. If with slaves on board, where they were shipped?—Four slaves shipped at Malinde.

3. If with equipments only, where it was intended to ship slaves?

4. If the master had in that or any other vessel shipped slaves; if so, when and what place, and any other information on the subject of the Slave Trade they can obtain?—Not known, as master and crew were on shore when dhow was captured.

(Signed) A. M. R. HAMILTON, *Sub-Lieutenant,*
In Command of Boats on Detached Service.

Approved,
(Signed) G. MALCOLM, *Captain,*
"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

Inclosure 3 in No. 84.
RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state the Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—						
																Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Where Shipped.		
1873 April 21	Lamoo	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown, Lamoo	None	Dhow	None	None	84.6	Malinde	Brava	Lamoo	Unknown	None	...	4	...	...	...	Malinde	Zanzibar	4 slaves emancipated.

Approved,
(Signed) G. MALCOLM, Captain.
"Briton," Pinnace, Lamoo, April 21, 1873.

(Signed) A. M. R. HAMILTON,
In command of Boats on detached Service.

Lieutenant Blaxland to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

"Briton," Zanzibar, June 25, 1873.

I HAVE to report to you that, on the 13th of June, I chased the dhow "Hasarah" going into Chak Chak. On boarding her I mustered the crew, and found one slave, who said he was a slave to Said Bin Abdallah at Zanzibar, from whom he had been abducted by the captain, who employed him on board the dhow, and made him work without wages. I then found a boy seated amongst the passengers, who, on being questioned, said he was a slave bought of the captain at Zanzibar market, and was not put to any work, was being taken up to Pemba for sale. I took the two slaves in the cutter, and sent three men into the dhow to take charge of her, anchored her at Chak Chak, and discharged the cargo, which belonged to the passengers, as they not being implicated in the Traffic in Slaves, for which the vessel was seized, the cargo would not be condemnable.

2. The next morning I started to bring the dhow to Zanzibar, but she sailed so badly that the day after leaving the south of Pemba I found she had drifted up to the north, and finding she would not beat to windward, I stood in for an anchorage at Pemba, where I surveyed and destroyed her on the 18th instant.

3. The captain gave me a statement acknowledging that he was trafficking with slaves to Pemba, and, as I had not room enough in the cutter to bring him to Zanzibar, I reluctantly let him go.

4. I arrived at Zanzibar on the 21st instant, on which day the affidavit was sworn before the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court.

On the 24th instant the case was heard, and the vessel was condemned as a lawful prize.

5. The "Hassarrah" cleared out from Zanzibar when the slave Tangarnin was kidnapped. The statement of Sudi was so false and contradictory that it was difficult to find out from where he was shipped. The dhow had no equipments, she belonging to that class of vessels that run and smuggle slaves by driblets from Zanzibar to Pemba. I know nothing authentic about the master.

6. I inclose Form No. 6 of the Appendix to the East India Station Order Book.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND.

Inclosure in No. 85.
RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent to Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.				To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—			Where Shipped.		
																Men.	Women.	Boys.			
1873 June 13	Off Chak Chak	Hasarab	Mahomet bin Ali	Mahomet bin Ali, Pemba	Arab	Dhow	13	..	118.5	Zanzibar	Chak Chak	Pemba	1873 June 10	Fish ..	Passenger...	1	..	1	..	Zanzibar	3 emancipated.

(Signed) G. MALCOLM, Captain. (Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant.

“Briton,” 2nd Cutter, off Chak Chak, June 13, 1873.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," Zanzibar, June 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the circumstances connected with the capture of one dhow engaged in the Slave Trade. On the 5th June the pinnace and whaler of Her Majesty's ship under my command being anchored to leeward of Tumbat Island, under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, a dhow was observed standing out from Kokotoni and going towards Hog Point. On seeing the boats she altered course. Mr. McCausland ordered the whaler to board her, and she returned with two boys, who stated that they were slaves who had been bought at Zanzibar within the last fortnight, taken to Mauda and then shipped, they did not know their destination. The boys were taken on board the pinnace, and again told the same story. The crew were then landed and the dhow destroyed, being unseaworthy. The captain having been made a prisoner, effected his escape at low water and could not be traced. On the return of the boats to Zanzibar the particulars were brought before the Vice-Admiralty Court, and the dhow was condemned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 86.

RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before adjudication; and the Number emancipated.	
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—			Where Shipped.				
																Men.	Women.	Boys.		Girls.			
1873 June 5	Off Tumbat Island ...	Unknown	Nazeem	Nazem, place unknown	Arab	Dhow	6	Nil	50½	Mauda	Not known	Zanzibar.	1873 June 5	Nil	...	...	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	Mauda	Zanzibar	Of slaves—good. Of vessel—unseaworthy. No deaths. 2 emancipated.

“Daphne,” at Zanzibar, June 15, 1873.

No. 87.

Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Briton," at Brava, May 19, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to submit to you a letter, dated the 15th May, 1873, addressed by me to Dr. John Kirk, Her Majesty's Political Agent and Acting Consul at Zanzibar, relative to slave-dealing and slaves held by subjects and others under the Protectorate of Her Majesty.

2. I thought it my duty to represent this case with the evidence to prove my assertions, as the fact had been so often denied, and your Excellency will doubtless remember the case of the "Salama," detained on the 13th January, 1873, near Darra Salaam, having been seen landing slaves, and reported by me in my letter of the 15th January, 1873, at Zanzibar, and that I mentioned at the same time my strong suspicion of the Hindoos and Banians.

3. I considered, if I did not bring this present case under your notice, and that of Her Majesty's Political Agent and Acting Consul at Zanzibar, I should be failing in the duties you have entrusted me with, and also not acting up to the Acts of Parliament 5 Geo. IV, cap. 113, and 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 98.

4. In submitting this case to you, I trust that my action in the matter may meet your approval.

5. I send Dr. Kirk's reply, dated June 3.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 87.

Captain Malcolm to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

"Briton," at Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

IT has been, and is, my conviction that the subjects of Her Majesty on the East Coast of Africa are *bond fide* owners of slaves, and that they are the principal promoters of the Slave Trade, supplying a very large proportion of the capital required to conduct the traffic. They are slave dealers to an equal, if not to a greater, extent than the Arabs, Souahelis, and Somalis. I felt that, in order to obtain evidence on this point, I should have many difficulties to contend with, viz., such as not being conversant with the Kisuaheli language, the natural desire of the Indian subjects of Her Majesty to conceal their proceedings, and the bribes which would be offered to interpreters, and also because the representatives of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the Chiefs of his Customs always denied it. I was still determined to discover the truth, as on all occasions I heard the facts above advanced asserted and reasserted by people not in the above category. I felt, having been sent on this coast to assist in suppressing the Slave Trade, that it was my duty to assure myself of the correctness or incorrectness, as the case might be, of these statements.

2. You will remember that, when at Mombasa, on the 7th April, 1873, through your instrumentality a case of a Scindi holding slaves was inquired into. Since that period, other cases have come to my knowledge, the details of which cases, and my action on them will be reported further on. What I would now advance is, that, at Mikindany, Lindy River, Kilwa Kivinge, Pangany, Tanga, in latitude 4° 55' south, Mombasa, Malindi, Mambrue, Lamo, and Seewy, there are subjects and others protected by Her Majesty who are publicly known to be holders of slaves, and I have no doubt but that at most of the other places on the coast, where they are established, the same is the case. I do not mean that one or two of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or those enjoying her protectorate, being exceptions to the rest, hold slaves, but that, directly or indirectly, they all own one or more slaves. As an instance, at Lamo there may be about 100 Banians and Hindoos, and these will own between 250 to 300 slaves. I give this example to show the tendencies of the assertions I have made. Should inquiries be made with too much publicity, they will doubtless sell or dispose of their slaves, or get Arabs or others to come forward and say that the slaves are hired from them. There could be no difficulty in discovering what British subjects owned slaves for any one armed with official powers, enabling him to communicate with the Governors and Custom-house authorities who could get these officials to act on his representations, and who took care to collect information before the object of his visit was known.

3. I think it is my duty to represent these facts to you, and to say that, in order to prove that we are sincere in our opposition to slave-holding, energetic steps should be taken to put an end to this state of things, which I feel reflects disadvantageously on our sincerity in the eyes of foreigners, is certainly contrary to the spirit of our laws, and the sense of every communication from Her Majesty's Government that I have ever seen.

4. Having stated the motives which have actuated me, I will now report to you what I have done on the authority vested in me as a commissioned officer by the Acts of Parliament, and I only regretted that these Acts did not authorize me to demand that the offending British subjects should be delivered over to me; this latter, and the jurisdiction over them, being out of the province of my powers. I have brought with me from Lamoo several persons who were held as slaves by some of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, and these cases afford sufficient *prima facie* evidence of the truth of my assertions, and seem to indicate that some steps should be taken to discover other offenders.

5. On the 11th instant I left Zanzibar on a cruise to the northward, intending to pick up the pinnace and jolly boat of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," under my command at Ras Gomany; not finding them there I went to Malinde where, having no capable interpreter, a want which interferes sadly with efficiency, I could not converse with the officials as I should have wished. On the 14th instant I went into a very fine anchorage by the pass to the northward of Manda Island, and anchored off Kilindini. This anchorage is safe and easy of approach, is capable of accommodating fifty sail of the line, with ten to twelve fathoms of water, though here as elsewhere our charts are sadly incorrect.

6. When the pinnace of Her Majesty's ship under my command rejoined me off Kilindini, in Manda Reach, Lieutenant Arthur Phillpotts informed me that he had two runaway female slaves, who had come to him for protection, their masters being Indian subjects of Her Majesty, and that as he had, when cruising at Mikindany, Lindy River, Lamoo, and other ports, heard repeatedly from people of all classes, that the Indian subjects of Her Majesty infringed the law by holding and dealing in slaves, he considered it his duty to receive these females, and report the cases to me.

7. The first case happened on the 29th ultimo; a woman called Salama (in giving the names I can only write them phonetically) came to the pinnace at Schela, and said she was the property of a Mussulman Hindee, as they term them here, named Adame, residing at Lamo, who bought her three years ago from Sheher Arab who bought her from a Borah named Muyuy in Mozambique, where she was born. She also stated that a brother of Adame at Lamo has two slaves; Mahomed, a Borah, has two women and one man slave; Molah, a Borah, has three women and one man slave called Sulimen; and that there are other Borahs with slaves whose names she does not know. Lieutenant Arthur Phillpotts sent the interpreter Saleh bin Mahomed to desire her master to come to him. He came, and in his presence the woman said she had been his slave for three years and that he had two other slaves. Adame denied this, and said he had only three slaves, and they were his brother's and not his, also that he had free papers for them, and he gave Lieutenant Phillpotts those for Salama, who at once said she had never seen them, and that those given to the other slaves could only just have been given. Whilst inquiring about this case of Adame on shore, Lieutenant Phillpotts heard that a Hindee called Somielhi had slaves; they showed free papers of very recent date, and as they expressed no wish to leave, and Lieutenant Phillpotts did not wish to crowd the boat, he did not push the matter. I approved of his action in the case of Salama, thinking if a slave it was my duty to free her, if free, and she wished to come, she might be useful in giving information at Zanzibar, and inclose the paper which the Hindee Adame gave to Lieutenant Phillpotts as the free papers of Salama.

8. The second case happened on the 10th instant: when at anchor off Schela a woman named Zema waded off towards the boat. When she came on board Lieutenant Phillpotts remarked that she was fearfully scourged from blows inflicted with a whip. She asked protection, saying she belonged to a Hindee called Drahaman, a Borah, who bought her three years ago from Said Barracca, who had purchased her in the Mozambique from some Comoro man. Drahaman had gone to Kutch about four months ago, and left her in charge of his wife, who treated her so badly that she ran away.

9. The pinnace and jolly-boat having captured two dhows, I wished to inform the Wali (Governor) Sudi bin Hamed of the reasons, also to see the Chief of the Customs; therefore, on the 13th instant, accompanied by an officer, I went in a boat to Lamo. The conversation with the Wali turned on the dhows. I told him the first had been taken because there were four slaves on board for sale at Brava, and I believe she intended to take more. He acknowledged that the slaves were for sale, but asked me to return the dhow, as it belonged to a poor man. I refused, as I said: "We captured the vessels to punish those who dealt in human beings; that I believed Her Majesty's Government

intended being even stricter than they are now; that more vessels would be employed, as we could not see what right the Sultan of Zanzibar could urge to justify his importing slaves from the interior of Africa, men over whom he had no more jurisdiction than he had over me, knowing that to capture them his subjects committed wholesale murders, destroying the young and the old, who were useless, inflicting on the unfortunate creatures brought to the coast the greatest sufferings, of which many died, without even the excuse of requiring them for his own dominions, but in order to sell them annually by thousands to the Sheher, Suri, and other people. I therefore repeated, "I could not consent to return the vessels I had taken." We parted very good friends. I suppose he had often heard the same before. Sudi bin Hamed was very pleasant, he seems to be intelligent, and I heard that he was a good cultivator and importer of fruit-bearing trees, even working with his own hands at his Schamba. I asked him if there were any Hindoos or Banians who owned slaves. He said, No. I then went to the Chief of the Customs, Kimjee, as I wished to inquire into Lieutenant Philpotts' cases. I asked him if he had received any communication from Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar. He said he never heard from him. I replied that I believed he would soon, but what I wished to say was, "that no subject of Her Majesty could own slaves; that the proper authorities would punish them if they did, and that every slave bought by them was free from the very fact of their having been bought; also that Her Majesty's Government intended seriously to put the traffic down."

10. After leaving the Custom-house, Lalloo, a Banian merchant, came with the Chief of the Customs and reported the case of two Indian subjects who owned slaves. I at once sent them with an officer and my interpreter to the Wali, desiring the officer, Mr. Malcolm C. Murdoch, Acting Assistant Paymaster, to request the Governor either to send them to me or allow me to take them off, as I wished to lay the cases before Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar. The Wali, Sudi bin Hamed, professed every willingness to assist; said I might take them, but, being British subjects, he did not like to interfere, but would leave it to me to act. The reports of these cases I send, with some Arabic and other writing, I believe Kisuaheli, which I can neither understand nor copy, and my remarks on the back of it. I will bring these people, with their cases to Zanzibar, and pass them over to you. As I said before, they will show that there is every reason to make further inquiries, and I feel convinced that you, like myself, will be glad to prove that there is no wish to screen or overlook such grave offences as slave-dealing or slave-holding on the part of any of Her Majesty's subjects.

11. I will be glad and eager at all times to co-operate with you and give you every assistance in my power. I regret at present not being able to return to Lamo myself, as my ship must go to the Mauritius to be docked.

12. I send some notes of information gained from some of the ex-slaves on board, but the names cannot be so correct as I should wish, as they are written as they are sounded.

13. If officers were on this coast for two years, there is no doubt but that many would gain a sufficient colloquial knowledge of the Kisuaheli language to be able to communicate in person with the authorities and others. An intelligent officer could thus gain and give valuable information. The people do not trust the interpreters, are reserved, and I believe unless the officers can check the interpreters, that they often do not give the correct meaning, on the one hand, what the officer says to the native, and, on the other hand, of what the native says to the officer. I always find some means of checking the interpreter, but then when he cannot translate what I want to say, I am as far off as ever I was. It appears to me that along the greater part of this coast, the Kisuaheli is understood just like the Italian language is understood in the Levant. The Kisuaheli does not appear to me a difficult language to learn for colloquial purposes.

14. In conclusion, I repeat that it is my earnest desire to co-operate with, and assist you to the best of my ability and power.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 2 in No. 87.

Captain Malcolm to Dr. Kirk.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

WHAT is written on the other side being in a language unknown to me, may be anything, therefore I can only be responsible for what they said they wrote.

(a 1.) Purports to be a statement made by the Chief of the Customs, Kimdjee, who caused another man to write, and sign it. I can only, in each case, give the names phonetically and approximately, that a certain Hamyssi, a man being a Kojah, has slaves, two women, one girl, and one boy; that he had gone away in debt. These slaves were called Berilly, Wayato, Hietha, and Mabruke.

(a 2.) Purports to be the meaning of the same, dictated by the writer, and written by our Interpreter Saleh bin Mahomed.

(b.) Purports to be a statement written by our Interpreter Saleh bin Mahomed, stating that a certain Lalloo, a merchant, said that Gellah, a Borah, had three slaves, one of whom, a concubine, had just borne him a child. The names of slaves are Amina, concubine, Hameesa, and Hadji. The concubine being a mother, with a baby, was not removed, but was freed; and Gellah had made her free this day.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 3 in No. 87.

Evidence given by ex-Slaves, &c., on board Her Majesty's Ship "Briton," May 15, 1873.

Hawahta, girl, examined.

WHO was your master, and how long were you with him?—Hamyssi, a Hindee Kojah. I have been with him with my mother for a long time.

Malruke, boy, examined.

Who was your master, and how long were you with him?—Hamyssi, a Hindee Kojah, who bought me of a man at Kilwa. Some time ago.

Do you know of any other Banians or Hindees at Lamoo who own slaves?—There were plenty of Hindees who had slaves, but they freed them when they saw the ship coming, kept the papers themselves, and prevented the slaves leaving them. I was employed as shop boy.

Saleh bin Mahomed, interpreter, examined.

Do you know of any Indian subjects of Her Majesty owning slaves?—Yes; at Malinde Somielhi, a Borah, has more than fifteen. A Banian, whose name I do not know, has two. It is supposed that, at Malinde and Mambrue, there are more than 100 slaves owned by Hindees and Banians. Giving them their free papers is a farce, as they keep the papers themselves and detain the slave as before, and nothing prevents them selling them again.

Barilleh, woman, examined.

States that she came from Abyssinia, and was stolen from thence; that a Suahili called Buanabiunga bought her in Mecca, and took her to Lamoo. Hamyssi (or Hamessi) bought her five years ago; she has cooked for him since. Hamessi went away about two months ago to Aden and left her with Kimdjee at the Customs. He is now in Aden with his concubine and two children.

Huyiato, woman, examined.

States she came from Aruoga, in Galla land, some years ago. A Suaheli bought her from a Muyuno who stole her. He sold her to Hamisse. She was a nurse to his sons and the mother and sons are with him at Aden.

Hamissa, woman, examined.

States she is a M'gan, and was stolen and taken to Kilwa, thence to Zanzibar. An Arab called Schiri took her to Malinde and then to Lamoo where he sold her to Mocksin, an Arab soldier, who sold her to a Banian barber called Gillah, who had besides a slave concubine called Amina and a boy called Hadji. When the ship came in the Banians and Hindees showed them free papers.

Note.—A slave bought by a Hindee or Banian is, from the very fact, forfeited to the Crown, and by a fiction of the law becomes the property of the Queen, and I believe, may be demanded of any Arab or other who buy them, from the simple fact that they were once sold to a subject of the Queen.

NOMINAL List of ex-Slaves and Names of former Owners taken to Zanzibar in Her Majesty's ship "Briton."

Ex-Slave.						Former Master.
Salama ..	..	..	..	..	..	Adame, a Borah.
Zemah ..	..	..	..	..	..	Drahaman, a Borah.
Xawahta ..	..	..	..	..	..	Hamysse, a Kojah.
Mabruke..	..	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
Barilleh ..	..	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
Huyiato ..	..	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
Hamissa ..	..	..	..	..	..	Gellah, a Banyan.
Hadji ..	..	..	..	..	..	Ditto.

(Signed) G. J. MALCOLM,
Captain and Senior Officer, East Coast of Africa.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

Inclosure 4 in No. 87.

Dr. Kirk to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

Zanzibar, June 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 15, and also the delivery of eight slaves, bought from Lamoo in Her Majesty's ship "Briton," said to have been held illegally by the British Indian subjects of that town.

I have examined these cases with the greatest care. Only two of the four suspected slave-holders are in Zanzibar territory: one has left, it is alleged for Aden, another for Kutch.

In the cases of the men resident at Lamo, I shall take the earliest occasion to bring them to trial, the evidence appearing conclusive against them. It has been my intention, as you are aware, for a long time to make a sweeping visit to the whole coast line, by which alone, and careful previous arrangement and consent, certain conviction can be insured against the many Indian protected subjects who, I am convinced, hold slaves for domestic use; and for this purpose I have requested Her Majesty's and the Indian Government specially, to detail a vessel, such duties being incompatible with the efficiency of a ship cruising under orders for the suppression of the Slave Traffic. But I must at the same time beg to differ materially from you in one point. I do not consider that as customary commercial transactions, more than a very limited number of Indian-protected subjects are concerned directly in the purchase and sale of slaves. At so few, indeed, do I estimate what might be termed "Indian slave traders," that I think it unjust, even to the Indian community resident on the coast, to bring such a heavy charge against them as a body; and whilst deprecating and determined to put down the blot of domestic slavery, and all appearance of slavery amongst these people to the best of my ability, as soon as times and means may permit, I wish to record my conviction on this matter.

In the case of the slaves made over to you by the Custom-house Agent of Lamo, it is clearly in evidence that their owner, an Indian, had fled, it was reported to Aden, from his creditors. His creditors, Arabs, endeavoured to sell them in order to declare a dividend, but Kimdje, the Custom-house agent, refused to allow any such sale to take place; took the slaves under his protection, fed and housed them well, gave them no work whatever, and, on the arrival of a British man-of-war, very properly (on consulting with the Arab Governor) gave them up to you with their history, saving himself from one of the two evils, either embroilment with his neighbours, or seriously infringing the law. These slaves are the women, anxious to return to Lamo, having left jewellery and clothes there, and I shall take the first opportunity of allowing them to do so, of course securing their freedom in every way. They all appear to have been contented and happy, and to have no fear of molestation on return, or even apprehension that their property is unsafe.

The slave-woman, Zema, is alleged to have belonged to an Indian, who has left his country for Kutch; but it is difficult to show that she is not owned legally by his concubine, a Suaheli. She will, however, be granted a certificate of freedom, and remain at Zanzibar.

In conclusion, I may again express my hope that means at the naval disposition, may before long permit me to undertake that careful inspection of the whole coast which, up to the present moment, first from one impeding cause, then from another, has, although

always under contemplation, never been carried out by any of Her Majesty's Consuls at Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.
"Glasgow," Zanzibar, July 1, 1873.

FORWARDED for the information and consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with reference to Captain Malcolm's remarks about officers making themselves acquainted with the slave language of the coast, and thus enable them to check the interpreters, and obtain much valuable information. I consider pecuniary rewards should be offered to induce officers to study these languages similar to the rewards given by the Indian Government to naval officers who qualify in Arabic, Persian, or Hindustanee languages on this station.

(Signed) A. CUMMING,
Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-chief.

No. 88.

Lieutenant Blaxland to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

"Briton," at Zanzibar, June 25, 1873.

I HAVE to report to you that on the 20th June, 1873, I intercepted the dhow "Bora Salaam," in the second cutter, off Mungopani. On mustering the people on board I found a boy, who the Captain tried to pass off as one of the crew, but he was evidently not so employed. I therefore detained the dhow, and sent some men in her to bring her to Zanzibar, and took the slave in the cutter. When no longer under the influence of fear, he told the interpreter and me that he did not belong to the Captain, but to one of the passengers; had been sold in Zanzibar market, and was being taken to Pemba for sale. Later, on the day of arrival, the Captain in your presence told the interpreter and me that the boy was a slave of Mussood, who was taking him to Pemba for sale, but had agreed with him, the Captain, that in case a man of war's boat came, to say that the boy was part of the crew of the dhow, learning his business.

2. On the 21st instant the affidavit relative to this dhow was sworn in the Vice-Admiralty Court. The case was heard on the 24th June, and on the same day a Decree condemning the dhow as a lawful prize, and ordering her to be destroyed, was pronounced, and she was destroyed accordingly.

3. The "Bora Salaam" left Zanzibar for Pemba. She had one slave called Fanagi on board, who had been shipped at Zanzibar. There were no equipments in the vessel, she being another instance of the system of carrying slaves for traffic by driblets between Zanzibar and Pemba. The Master was not implicated, as the owner was on board.

It was the latter who arranged with the master of the slave, Mussood, relative to taking him to Pemba, and Mussood, being the chief culprit, has been imprisoned.

4. I inclose Form No. 6 of the Appendix to the East India Station Order Book.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND.

Inclosure in No. 88.

RETURN of Vessels Detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent to Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where; if at sea state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—			Where Shipped.			
																Men.	Women.	Boys.		Girls.		
1873 June 20	Off Mungopani.	Bora Salaam	Natcharno.	Harduan ...	Arab ...	Dhow ...	9	..	5-72	Zanzibar.	Pemba.	Pemba.	1873 June 20	Fish ..	..	Passengers.	...	...	...	...	Zanzibar ...	One emancipated.

“ Briton,” Second Cutter, June 20, 1873.

(Signed) J. E. BLAXLAND, Lieutenant.

No. 89.

Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Briton," at Zanzibar, June 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report, in a full and detailed manner, the capture of the dhow "Fathulheir" on the 14th May, 1873.

2. Acting on the Station Order I caused the vessel to be surveyed by three competent officers, and on their report caused her to be destroyed on the 15th May, 1873.

3. On the 2nd instant the case was heard in the Vice-Admiralty Court, and the dhow "Fathulheir" was condemned.—Case No. 7 of 1873, in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. T. MALCOLM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 89.

Lieutenant Phillpotts to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

"Briton," Manda Bay, May 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that when cruising for the suppression of the Slave Trade, near Manda, I this morning boarded a dhow. On going on board my suspicions were raised by one of the negroes running in great fear, and as if he was cowed. I found she was trading between Manda and Lamoo, belonged to Mamhue, and would eventually have gone to Brava. I asked the Captain and crew if they had any slaves on board, which they denied, and though the interpreter denies it, Thomas Etherinton, private R.M.L.I., saw the Captain making signs to the interpreter that he would give money. On examining the slave Purcalla, of the Mijow tribe, I saw marks of punishment on him, which he said the Captain had inflicted. The Captain denied this, and said the slave did not belong to him. Though very distrustful, I could not see sufficient grounds to detain the dhow, and shoved off. When about two boats' lengths from this dhow, which was named the "Fathulheir," the slave Purcalla jumped overboard, and swam to the boat. He informed me that he feared for his life, and that the Captain told him what his master told him before, that he was to sell him to the Arabs.

2. Knowing that it is the custom of these small dhows as soon as they have sold their cargoes at Lamoo to buy slaves, which about this period generally arrive from the southward, and to go to Brava, and dispose of them either to the Somalies or the Arabs, who are going to the north with them, I therefore considered myself justified in detaining this dhow, especially as the greater proportion of the Slave Traffic is now carried on by dribblets of from three to twenty slaves, and is very difficult to detect.

3. The owner of the dhow and her cargo is a Suaheli named Silam, who resides at Mamhue, near Malinde. I was informed that he had directed the cargo and slave to be sold, and the vessel, as she had already done, was to run a cargo of slaves to Brava.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PHILLPOTTS.

Approved and submitted March 15 (*sic*), 1873.

(Signed) G. T. MALCOLM, Captain.

Inclosure 2 in No. 89.

Answers to Questions Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, Station Order Book, page 41, Article 135, and Instruction for Suppression of Slave Trade, page 23, Article 55.

FROM what port the vessel cleared out, and for what port?—Mambrue to Lamoo.

2. If with slaves on board where they were shipped?—Mambrue.

3. If with equipments only, where it was intended to ship slaves?—

4. If the master had in that or any other vessel shipped slaves? If so, when and at what place, and any other information on the subject of the Slave Trade they can obtain?
—The dhow had been engaged in the Slave Trade before, but under a different master.

(Signed) ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS, Lieutenant.

Approved,

(Signed) G. T. MALCOLM, Captain.

"Briton," Kilindini, May 15, 1873.

Inclosure 3 in No. 89.

• RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade —(Station Order Book, page 40, Article 135.)

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of —			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of —			Where —			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of —				Where Shipped.		
																Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
1873 May 14	Near Manda...	Fathulien	Warati ...	Salam, Mambrue	...	Dhow ...	6	None	37	Mambrue and Manda	Lamoo ...	Mambrue	1873 May 14	Wood	Not known.	1	...	...	...	Mambrue ...	...	The slave bore marks of severe punishment.

“ Briton,” Kilindini, Manda Bay, May 14, 1873.

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

135

No. 90.

Sub-Lieutenant Hood to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

"Briton," Zanzibar, July 8, 1873.

IN pursuance of your orders dated the 18th instant, I proceeded to cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade, especially to intercept vessels waiting near Kokotoni to take slaves either to Brava or Pemba.

2. On 22nd instant, while lying hid near Salley Island, I observed a dhow near Tumbat making towards me. I boarded her and found her to be the "Ilmahnoudi." On asking them where they were going, they said to Pemba. As this was in a contrary direction, with a fair wind, my suspicions were aroused. On searching her, I found a large water tank the hold laid with sand, as if ready to ship slaves. On mustering the crew, I found that they were three short of the complement, and as a passenger dressed up they hid a slave called Ouladi. On questioning this slave, I found he was owned by a certain Marisugo, who they at first said was a passenger, then they said he was the pilot. This man is a notorious slave auctioneer, and is neither a sailor or a pilot, and did not even know the way out of Kokotoni, and during the inquiry threatened the slave, Ouladi, and behaved in such a way that I had to have him turned out of my boat.

3. The supercargo of the vessel is Raschid bin Salem. He is a nephew, and represents the owner, Ali bin Salem, who is now at Muscat.

4. Marisugo offered the interpreter, Mahomed bin Ali bin Hassan, money to be silent.

A passenger, called Ibrahim, states that five slaves were brought to the vessel to be shipped, but were sent back until the rest of the slaves were ready, and that they were to be taken in somewhere near Hog Point. One of the crew mentioned slaves coming down, but they were sent back till the rest were ready, and were to be shipped somewhere near Hog Point.

5. I have no doubt that this is one of the vessels which we had heard of as waiting to take some of the slaves which had accumulated near Kokotoni for shipment when there were no men-of-war's boats there. As my boat was hid, they, not being aware of her presence, were then about to ship their slaves.

6. On the 30th June the dhow was towed by Her Majesty's ship "Briton" to Zanzibar, but could not be adjudicated, on account of stress of work at Her Majesty's Consulate, until the 7th instant, when she was condemned and ordered to be destroyed, which was accordingly done.

7. In pursuance of directions contained in the "Instructions for the Suppression of the Slave Trade," I have to report that the vessel cleared out from Zanzibar for the Coast of Africa; she had one slave on board, shipped at Kokotoni, was fitted to carry slaves, and was intended to ship slaves near Salley Island. The master could not give any information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. R. C. HOOD.

Inclosure in No. 90.

RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.				To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.		
1873 June 22	Between Tambat Island and Salley Island	Ilmanoudi	Kulfan bin Abdalla	Ali bin Salim	Arab	Dhow	13	None	144.2	Kokotoni	Pemba	Suir	1873 June 22	None	No cargo on board	1	..	..	..	Kokotoni	Slave in good health. Condition of vessel—fair. 1 slave emancipated.

“ Briton,” near Moira Island, June 26, 1873

(Signed)

A. R. HOOD Sub-Lieutenant and Prize Officer.

No. 91.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir;

"Daphne," at Zanzibar, July 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the circumstances connected with the capture of one dhow engaged in the Slave Trade.

On 25th June, 1873, the pinnace and whaler, under the command of Mr. M. McCausland, Sub-Lieutenant, being at anchor off Mesal Island, near Pemba, a dhow was observed standing in for Pemba, and Mr. P. Hockin, Acting Sub-Lieutenant, was sent in chase in the whaler. On boarding her he found two slaves and the regular slave fittings, viz., a large water tank ($4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long), cooking utensils, and slave deck. He then took the dhow back to Mesal Island, where Mr. McCausland examined her, and ordered Mr. Hockin to take her to Zanzibar, to be brought before the Vice-Admiralty Court there.

The dhow's crew, representing that they had not enough provisions to last them to Zanzibar, five hands were allowed to land in the dhow's boat to procure food.

Mr. Hockin waited until the next morning, when, as there were no signs of the boat, he weighed, and endeavoured to beat to windward; but, the weather being very squally, the steps of the mast were carried away about three hours after starting, and Mr. Hockin anchored.

Some of the crew then urged him to let them go, saying that if they were taken to Zanzibar they would get punished.

On the captain, Serang, and a man who called himself secretary of the dhow agreeing to sign a statement to the effect that the dhow had two slaves on board and was equipped for the Slave Trade, Mr. Hockin agreed to let the crew go; and, it being manifestly unsafe to proceed further with the dhow, Mr. Hockin burnt her, and landed the crew, intending to take the captain to Zanzibar, but in the darkness and confusion he managed to escape. Mr. Hockin then rejoined Mr. McCausland.

The case was brought before the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar this day and the dhow condemned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) . RICHARD BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 91.

Return of Vessels Detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where: if at sea state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of.—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.				To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.	
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—						Where Shipped.
																Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
187 June 26	Mona Bay	Unknown	Rominis	Rominis; not known	Arab	Dhow	8	...	138-53	Zanzibar	Zanzibar	Zanzibar	Not known	Cowries	Ranyun of Zanzibar	...	...	1	...	Kilwa	Zanzibar	Slaves good; Dhow drifted on a reef, and was destroyed.

“Daphne,” Zanzibar, June 15, 1873.

(Signed)

RICHARD BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 92.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," at Zanzibar, July 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the capture of a dhow (name unknown) engaged in the Slave Trade, the circumstances of which are as follows:—

On 26th of June, 1873, Mr. McCausland, Sub-Lieutenant, being in the pinnace at Moura Bay, a little north of Tanga, observed a dhow at anchor and boarded her. He found eight people on board, with an Arab, who said he was the owner; the dhow's papers only allowed seven for the crew, and there was a boy on board who said he was a slave. This the master at first denied, and offered money to the interpreter to mislead Mr. McCausland, and afterwards said to that officer, "I will give you my slave, I will give you the cargo, if you will leave the dhow." "You said the slave was not yours," said Mr. McCausland: "he is mine said the Arab; but take the cargo and him, and leave the dhow."

Finding this useless, the Arab then attempted to commit suicide, but was prevented by the pinnace's crew. Mr. McCausland being unable to spare a hand to keep constant watch over him, he was let go. Mr. McCausland then towed the dhow out of harbour to sail her to Zanzibar, but she drifted on a reef, and he, being unable to get her off, was compelled to burn her.

The case was brought before the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar this day, and the dhow condemned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 92.

RETURN of Vessels Detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where: if at sea state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Tons.	Guns.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—				Where Shipped.		
																Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
1873 June 25	Off Mesal Island, near Pemba.	Coomba Coomba	Eddi bin Daddi.	Salim bin Sallan. Not known.	Arab	Dhow	17	241 48	...	Zanzibar	Pemba.	Pemba	1873 June 23	None	Not known.	...	...	2	...	Zanzibar.	Slaves good. Dhow destroyed, being unseaworthy.	

“Daphne, at Zanzibar, June 15, 1873:

(Signed)

RICHARD BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 93.

Captain Jones to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, July 22, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 21st ultimo I sent the second launch, under the command of Lieutenant Moore, to cruize off the south end of Pemba. On her return on the 30th of that month, Lieutenant Moore reported to me that about ten miles to the southward of Chak Chak he had boarded a dhow, and found apparently all correct on the evening of the 22nd June.

2. At about 10 P.M. the same day, a slave boy came alongside the launch in a small canoe, and said he had come for protection; that he had been originally bought at Kilwa, and resold at Zanzibar, whence he had been brought by the master of the dhow and had been exposed for sale at Chak Chak, but had been again taken on board the dhow by the master, and made to work as part of the crew, and that the master of the dhow had threatened to kill him if he mentioned this on the dhow being boarded by boats from a British man-of-war, which was his reason for not having made this statement when the dhow was boarded by the launch.

3. Lieutenant Moore then got the dhow under weigh, with the master and crew on board, with a view of bringing her to Zanzibar; but about six miles from her previous anchorage her mast became badly sprung, and she shipped so much sea that it was impossible to proceed further; he therefore returned to the anchorage, but being unable to procure a new mast he was compelled to destroy the dhow, having first removed the cargo, which he sold by public auction.

4. The case was put into the Vice-Admiralty Court at this place, and the dhow was condemned on the 21st instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. MORTON JONES.

Inclosure in No. 93.

Return of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Regd.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Where Shipped.		
1873 June 22	Off Chak Chak	Mambo Commuk	Sahid In-barika	Governor of Mombaza	None	Dhow	9	Nil	47.54	Chak Chak	Zanzibar.	Not known	Not known	Cloves and cocoa-nuts	Not known	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Kilwa	Destroyed	Slave—good. Vessel—good. Slave retained on board for passage to Sey-chelles.

“Glasgow,” at Zanzibar.

(Signed)

T. MORTON JONES, Captain.

No. 94.

Rear-Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Glasgow," at Zanzibar, July 29, 1873.

FORWARDED for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

2. I consider the measures adopted by Mr. Hockin, on this occasion, reflect great credit on this young officer, resulting as they did in the capture of the dhow without one of his boat's crew being even wounded, in spite of the determined opposition of from 150 to 200 armed Arabs, who not only fired on him and his men, but threatened that if the dhow was taken none of them should leave the place alive. I beg to bring Mr. Hockin's gallantry and determination, fraught as it was with discretion and judgment, before their Lordships' favourable consideration.

(Signed) ARTHUR CUMMING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 94.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming, July 28, 1873:

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 49.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 94.

Acting Sub-Lieutenant Hockin to Commander Bateman, July 28, 1873.

[See Inclosure 3 in No. 49.]

No. 95.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," Zanzibar, July 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the capture of a slave dhow by the boats of this ship, commanded by Sub-Lieutenant M. McCausland.

2. On the 26th of May, while the pinnace and the whaler were procuring fresh water at the watering place at Pemba, a dhow arrived from Zanzibar, flying British colours. Mr. McCausland accordingly proceeded in the whaler to board her; seeing his intention, the dhow, instead of stopping, proceeded up the channel, and when the boat had nearly overtaken her, a canoe was observed to leave her with four people on board, one dressed and three naked.

The dhow then anchored and was boarded by the whaler, and the master being inquired for, it was found that he had left in the canoe, and at the time four people were observed running up the beach; these, some of the crew said, were the master and three slaves.

Mr. McCausland's suspicions being aroused, he went in pursuit of the master, as did also a Banyan passenger who was on board the dhow; but, being unsuccessful, the dhow was taken to Chak Chak and placed in charge of the Custom-house officer of that place.

Notices were then posted throughout the neighbourhood to the effect that, if the master of the dhow did not return in forty-eight hours, his dhow would be destroyed. Mr. McCausland then left with the boats for Zanzibar to report his proceedings.

On returning to Chak Chak, on the 24th ultimo, it was found that the dhow's mast had been taken out of her and a large hole made in her bottom, which rendering her unseaworthy she was destroyed.

The case was brought before the Vice-Admiralty Court this day and the dhow condemned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 95.
RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.	
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			From.	Bounts.	Belonging.	Number of—						Where Shipped.							
										Men.	Guns.	Tons.					Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
1873 May 26	Chak Chak, Pemba ...	Kasamba	Ranmis...	Doubtful	English ...	Dhow ...	0	None	149-27	Zanzibar .	Chak Chak Zanzibar .	—	1873 May 24	Cloth goods ...	A Banyan of Chak Chak	...	...	...	...	...	Unknown ...	Zanzibar	Slaves were landed by master of dhow and not recovered. Dhow was strong and seaworthy when captured and placed in charge of Custom-house officer at Chak Chak, but on return of boats from Zanzibar the dhow was quite unseaworthy—mast having been removed and a large hole made in her bottom.

“ Daphne,” July 10, 1873.

(Signed)

RICHARD BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 96.

Rear Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

“Glasgow,” at Zanzibar, August 8, 1873.

FORWARDED for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
(Signed) A. CUMMING.

Inclosure 1 in No. 96.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir, “Daphne,” at Zanzibar, August 8, 1873.
I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that the dhow captured on the 27th July last, as reported in my letter of 28th July, has been condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this place.

Inclosed is the “Return of Vessels Detained,” as required by the Station Orders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 96.
RETURN of Vessels Detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where; if at sea state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—				Where Shipped.		
																Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
1873 July 27	Off the town of Saadani.	Not known	Sheriff	Banahaise, Chief of Saadani.	No colours	Dhow	7	...	32	Zanzibar.	Zanzibar.	Saadani	1873 July 25	Sim sim seed.	Custom-house officers at Zanzibar.	...	...	1	...	Saadani	Zanzibar	Of slave and vessel good. No deaths; 1 emancipated.

“Daphne,” August 5, 1873. (Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 97.

Rear-Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Glasgow," Seychelles, September 13, 1873.

I BEG to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, in compliance with the instructions contained in your letter of the 5th of March last, directing that inquiries should be made as to the probability of employment being found at Johanna for any slaves that might be landed there with safety to their freedom.

2. On the occasion of my late visit to that island, I waited upon His Highness the Sultan and conferred with him, on this subject, when His Highness informed me that much labour was required, and that ample employment could be found on sugar and coffee plantations for any slaves that might be landed there, and that they would be well cared for and at perfect liberty.

3. As so few slaves have been captured this year, I would suggest that a certain number in future captures should be sent to Seychelles, where there is a great demand for free labour, with the additional advantage of Her Majesty's Chief Civil Commissioner to superintend their welfare, as their Lordships are aware that there is no Consul at Johanna who could see that His Highness the Sultan fulfilled his promise.

4. During my stay at Zanzibar, M. Lafont, the French Commodore, expressed a wish for liberated slaves to be landed at Mayotte, and vouchsafed for their proper care and liberty, as will be seen from the inclosed copy of a letter I received from him on this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CUMMING.

Inclosure in No. 97.

Commodore Lafont to Admiral Cumming.

Amiral,

Frégate la "Clorinde," au mouillage de Zanzibar.

J'AI eu l'honneur de vous exposer que la Colonie de Mayotte recevrait avec plaisir tous les ans 200 ou 300 noirs pris parmi ceux qui sont capturés par les croiseurs de Sa Majesté Britannique. Les noirs employés comme travailleurs dans nos Colonies sont bien traités, on veille à ce que leurs gages leur soient payés régulièrement par les maîtres qui les emploient, et au bout d'un certain temps ils sont parfaitement libres de quitter la Colonie.

Je vous serai très reconnaissant de me faire savoir si je puis annoncer au commandant supérieur de Mayotte que les noirs dont vous pourrez disposer jusqu'à concurrence de 200 ou de 300 par an lui seront envoyés, afin qu'il puisse prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour les soins à leur donner à leur arrivée dans la Colonie.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) J. LAFONT,

Le Capitaine de Vaisseau, Chef de Division.

No. 98.

Rear Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

September 23, 1873.

I BEG to acquaint you that I left Zanzibar on the 13th ultimo in Her Majesty's ship "Glasgow," and arrived at Seychelles on the 12th instant, having on my way visited the Island of Johanna, where I remained for a fortnight.

2. The presents recently sent out from England in Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress" for presentation to His Highness the Sultan of Johanna, and other members of his family, were duly delivered and highly appreciated.

"Briton," on her way through the Mozambique Channel, captured a dhow with 120 slaves, and, in consequence of their sickly state, and some deaths taking place, proceeded to Port Natal, and landed the survivors (113), at which place free labour is much required.

"Daphne" has just arrived with the mail and 45 slaves on board, and the immediate departure of the homeward-bound mail prevents my writing further.

No. 99.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," Aden, September 11, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the capture of a dhow engaged in the Slave Trade and fifty slaves by the boats of this ship, under Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, as reported to me by that officer.

2. On the 13th August, 1873, the boats being off Oozy Point, a large Bhooty dhow was observed closing the land from seaward. On being chased she stood out, and was lost sight of in the dark. Next morning a fisherman said that a Bhooty answering the description had been seen entering Lamoo Harbour. After the dhows at anchor had been searched, the interpreter was sent on shore for information, and a man told him that a Bhooty had landed slaves.

Mr. McCausland then went to the Chief of Lamo, told him that he had chased a Bhooty from the southward, but that she had escaped, and landed a cargo of slaves at Lamo. This the Chief admitted, and after a little talking pointed the vessel out and showed where the slaves were inclosed. The Bhooty had been run on shore, and her mast broken, so there was no course but to destroy her. The Chief gave every assistance in Mr. McCausland's endeavour to lure another dhow to take the slaves to the ship, but without success. He then gave a plot of ground some little distance from the town to which the fifty slaves were removed and encamped, the boats' sails and awning serving for tents. •

The necessary food for their sustenance was obtained from the Banyan Custom-house officer. Mr. McCausland reports that the slaves were many of them in a very emaciated condition, and up to my arrival in the ship at Lamo two had died and two had run.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RICHARD S. BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 99.

RETURN of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			How Rigged.	Under what Colours.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.				To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel, the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.									
1873 August 14	Lamoo ...	Ranger ...	Unknown	Unknown	Booby	Arab	Un- known men had run.	None	...	Quiloa ...	Originally to Muscat, put in to Lamoo from stress of weather.	Quiloa ...	Unknown	Slaves	Unknown	13	8	19	10	Quiloa ...	Slaves much emaci- ated; some very ill with dysentery, others with skin dis- ease, and some in- jured on board dhow. 3 deaths; 2 run; 44 emancipated. Dhow unseaworthy; mast broken.

“ Daphne.” Aden, September 11, 1873.

(Signed) RICHARD BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 100.

Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir, "Briton," at Zanzibar, October 20, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith reports from Commander G. R. Hope, of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and Lieutenant A. S. Phillpotts, of this ship, of the murder of Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," at Kionga, and the steps the latter officer took on learning the event.

2. It appears to me that the murder was due to Sub-Lieutenant McCausland trusting the natives too much, and going amongst them unarmed. I have always warned officers under my orders to mistrust, without showing it, the natives, and always to be prepared for an attack.

As far as I can learn Sub-Lieutenant McCausland was, as a rule, kind in his intercourse, and neither on this or any other previous occasion had he irritated the people.

3. It is very much to be regretted, but we must expect these accidents now and then. They belong to the nature of the service on which we are employed, and every one of us whose duty takes him on shore amongst the natives, always does so, to a certain extent, at the risk of his life.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

Inclosure in No. 100.

Commander Hope to Captain Malcolm.

Sir, "Daphne," Melinda, October 16, 1873.

IT is with the sincerest regret that I have to report to you that Mr. Marcus McCausland, Sub-Lieutenant of this ship, was treacherously assassinated at a village called Kionga, opposite Synambaya Islands, about forty miles north of Lamo, by the inhabitants of the tribe Banguni, or Wagunia.

2. Mr. McCausland was in charge of two boats belonging to this ship that were cruising for the suppression of the Slave Trade, the second boat being under the command of Mr. Percy Hockin, Acting Sub-Lieutenant. It appears that they had called at this village on their way up the coast, some three or four days previously, and had been fairly received; on the 15th they returned, Mr. McCausland being some distance ahead in his boat. On coming to the place he landed with his interpreter to talk to the nakhoda of an English dhow lying on the beach. Whilst talking to him a message came from the Chief, inviting him up, which, accompanied by the nakhoda and interpreter, he did, incautiously, not first taking the precaution to arm himself. He was given the usual seat of honour by the side of the Chief, the attendants being on one side and the women, &c., on the other. After a little talk, the Chief told him that he had sent for a goat, a customary present on this coast. Almost immediately afterwards a man (whom the Chief called his brother, but not necessarily a blood relation) who was standing by, thrust his spear through him, the weapon entering at the belly and coming out at the kidneys. The interpreter and nakhoda immediately ran, the former having several spears thrown at him, without effect. On getting to the beach, the cutter was just coming in, and Mr. Hockin learning the news immediately advanced with the two crews. He found the Palisades closed, and no entrance; he immediately opened fire through them, and himself set the example of cutting them down. Some shots were fired in return, but no casualties occurred.

The nakhoda of the English dhow, who seems to have been perfectly unconnected with the affair, appears to have got in by some other way, but anyhow he acted as intermediary, and called out that if the English would cease firing they might have the body.

Mr. Hockin, rightly, as I think, accepted this, not knowing whether Mr. McCausland's body was dead or not; he accordingly entered the Palisades and found everybody fled. On finding the body, life was extinct, although quite warm. Besides the spear-wound there was a gash across the temples, sufficient to cause death, and gunshot wounds, showing that it was a combined attack.

The tide falling, and, as the boats might ground, we withdrew, and buried the body on the Island of Synambaya.

3. This account is as given me by Dr. Kirk Consul-General and Political Agent, who

has had the advantage of being able to talk to both the nakhoda and the interpreter in their own tongue. I have not yet succeeded in joining Mr. Hockin, but I will append his report, if possible, before the mail leaves.

4. With regard to Mr. McCausland, I never myself met him, but Commander Bateman particularly mentioned him to me as an officer peculiarly adapted for detached duty. I append a letter from the Senior Lieutenant, giving his opinion of this officer; and I can only say that his loss appears to be deeply felt by everyone on board.

5. The conduct of Mr. Percy Hockin seems to me, and Dr. Kirk also is, I believe, of my opinion, that it reflects the utmost credit on his promptitude, determination, and energy in attacking the place, as also it does on his judgment in accepting a compromise when he was unaware as to the actual state of his comrade. This conduct, after the event, I consider to be even more praiseworthy; he had the strength of mind and moral courage to give due consideration to the fact that he was the only officer in the boats, that they were some 200 miles from the rendezvous of their ship, that the force he had was not very large, and the strength he had to oppose was unknown to him, that there was unfavourable ground, such as mangrove bushes and muddy flats to be taken into consideration, and therefore that a falling tide might have left him for the night in the presence of an excited body of men protected by mangroves. He restrained the natural impulse he had to be himself the avenger of this murder, knowing that vengeance complete, if not prompt, would be sure to follow.

6. Considering that this officer has already been complimented by their Lordships for his zealous and gallant conduct, now that it is shown that discretion is combined in him with these former qualities, I trust that you will be pleased to recommend their Lordships to bestow some substantial mark of their estimation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. R. HOPE.

Approved and submitted to Commander-in-chief.

(Signed) G. MALCOLM, Captain.

Inclosure 2 in No. 100.

Lieutenant Smith to Commander Hope.

Sir,

"Daphne," off Melinda, October, 1873.

IN compliance with your order, I have much pleasure in being able to report on the indefatigable zeal displayed by the late Mr. Marcus McCausland, Sub-Lieutenant of this ship. I feel justified from what I know, in saying that Captain Bateman placed in him the fullest reliance that a commanding officer could place in one of his officers. This will be seen from the following extract from a certificate awarded him on Captain Bateman giving up command of the ship.

"This officer has proved himself to be most zealous in the discharge of his duties, particularly on detached service in search of slaves, when, in addition, he has shown much judgment and discretion."

Before his lamented death Mr. McCausland was, during the last five months, almost continuously employed in boats under arduous and trying circumstances at all times when opportunity offered, requesting that he might not be relieved; as he felt that the knowledge and experience he had gained would be of service in the suppression of the Slave Trade. In conclusion, I almost think it unnecessary to mention the very high esteem in which he was held, not only by his brother officers, but also by the ship's company, and that his untimely death has caused the profoundest regret and indignation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. P. SMITH.

Inclosure 3 in No. 100.

Lieutenant Philpotts to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

"Briton's" Pinnace, Lamo, October 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the 21st September, being then near the Ozy Reefs with the pinnace and jolly-boat of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," I fell in with the pinnace and cutter of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne."

2. On communicating, I learned from Sub-Lieutenant P. Hockin, the officer in command, that Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland had been murdered at a village

called "Kionga," near the island called in the charts "Simambaya," under the following circumstances:—

It appears that about three weeks ago Sub-Lieutenant McCausland had been at Kionga, where he was received in a friendly manner. On the occasion of his last visit, as he had had no unpleasantness with the natives, he went unarmed with the Interpreter to the village, was received by the Chief, and sat down in the shade outside the Chief's house, who, after some conversation, left him saying that he would bring him a goat.

Whilst sitting there a native rushed in and speared him through the body; on this the interpreter ran down to the beach hotly pursued by several natives, when it appears that Sub-Lieutenant Hockin landed as many men as he could and attacked the village from which he was fired at. Whilst so doing the master of a dhow lying in the harbour hailed to say that if they ceased firing the villagers would give up the body. Hearing this they ceased firing, and the body, much mutilated, was brought to them.

3. On hearing the details of this cold-blooded murder, I considered it imperative that some steps should be taken, for, if unpunished, attacks on boats might be expected. I therefore proceeded at once to Lamo, Her Majesty's ship "Daphne's" boats in company, where I arrived the same evening. Next morning I had an interview with the Governor, Seyed bin Ahmed, who said that he had sent to Kionga to try and entice the Chief to come to Lamo. On my informing him of my intention to proceed there he tried to dissuade me, saying that the arrival of the boats would make the people take to the bush. As I considered that if the men sent by the Governor were able to apprehend the murderers, they would have done so before the boats could get there, I told the Governor that I intended to start at once. A short time afterwards I met the Governor again, when he tried to persuade me to wait until he could get soldiers from Zanzibar, giving as a reason that we should have some fighting, and might be beaten off, also that he had sent orders to the chief men at Faya to apprehend the murderers.

4. On 22nd I left Lamo and arrived off Kionga shortly after noon, when I proceeded to attack the village; leaving a sufficient number of men to work the pinnace's gun in charge of Sub-Lieutenant G. K. Gordon, I landed the remainder of the boat's crew.

5. On landing, I directed Sub-Lieutenant H. R. Adams and a party of men to go round to the back of the village and cut off the retreat, the rest of the landing party, in charge of Sub-Lieutenant Hockin and myself, entered by a gate through the stockade which surrounded the village. As we approached the natives took to the bush, one being shot while so doing, and we were unable to secure any prisoners. After searching the houses I gave orders for them to be set on fire, and in a short time the whole village was in flames.

6. Next morning a party was landed to complete the destruction of the village, after which I proceeded to Shakain, a village about three miles to the northward. On landing, and finding the place deserted, I posted a notice in one of the houses giving the reasons for the destruction of Kionga, but hearing that some natives had been seen in the bush close to, I went to look for them, accompanied by Sub-Lieutenants Gordon and Hockin and an interpreter. On approaching the place where the natives were concealed, I told the interpreter to call out that we had not come to hurt them. After some delay a man came forward, and shortly afterwards about fifty men appeared. I told them why Kionga had been burnt, and asked if they could give any information about the murderers. The chief said that his people were on bad terms with the Kionga people, and were anxious to be friendly with the white men. He also said that the Chief of Kionga had gone to the Somali country, near Kisinayo, about six days' journey from Shakain.

7. Having completed this service I returned to Lamo, where I arrived on the evening of the 29th, and had an interview with the Governor the next morning, when he told me that he would do his best to catch the murderers, and would send round to the different Chiefs along the coast to arrest them.

8. On the 3rd October I went to Faya, where the representative of the Sultan of Zanzibar told me he had received no orders relative to this affair at Kionga from his superior, the Governor of Lamo, which shows that the latter had been very lukewarm in his endeavours to apprehend the murderers.

9. I have to express my entire satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and men under my command on this service.

10. Trusting that my proceedings will meet with your approval, I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR PHILLPOTTS,

Lieutenant commanding Pinnace and Jolly Boat.

No. 101.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," Aden, September 11, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the capture of a slave dhow by the boats of this ship, under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, as reported to me by that officer.

2. On the 14th August, 1873, the boats being off Lamo, a dhow was observed, and the cutter in charge of Mr. Percy Hockin, Acting Sub-Lieutenant, sent in chase.

On being pursued the dhow altered course, and stood straight in for the beach, followed by the cutter.

A shot was fired over the dhow, and another through her sail, and she was hailed to lower, but instead of doing so she stood on, and grounded, and on her grounding both officers observed several people jump overboard, four or five of whom were very small children quite naked, who were dragged through the water by the others. Mr. Hockin and two of his crew jumped overboard to intercept the party, but were unable to do so. The dhow was got off, and the landing of the children and the other circumstances of the chase being considered conclusive proof of her being engaged in the Slave Trade, the dhow was destroyed, it being impossible to take her to the rendezvous to meet the ship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. S. BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 101.

Return of Vessels detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade.

Date of Detention.	Where. If at Sea, state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on board.				To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; the Number of Deaths before Adjudication; and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—		Where Shipped.			
																Men.	Women.		Boys.		
1873 August 14	Near Lamoo ...	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No colours flying	Tapee ...	Crew ran	None ...	Unknown	Lamoo ...	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Slaves	...	Not known.	Slaves were landed and run into the bush, and boat's crew were unable to capture any. Several small children were seen being dragged through the water.	Unknown ...	Dhow destroyed.	Slaves were landed. The dhow—being impossible to beat her against the monsoon to the ship, she was destroyed.	

“Daphne,” Aden, September 11, 1873.

(Signed)

RICHARD BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 102.

Admiral Cumming to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

Seychelles, October 6, 1873.

"DAPHNE" arrived at Seychelles on the 23rd September with forty-five slaves on board, having left Aden on the 12th, to which port she had been obliged to proceed from the coast for the purpose of obtaining coal, in consequence of meeting with strong adverse currents. Before leaving Zanzibar I had given Commander Bateman discretionary power to pursue this course if absolutely necessary.

"Rifleman" arrived at Bombay 2nd July, and having landed her 64-pounder gun, completed with provisions, &c., sailed on the 7th and arrived on the 21st, of that month at Gwadar, to which port she had been dispatched to protect British interests during the existing hostilities between Abdool Aziz and Gwadar.

4. "Columbine," by last accounts, dated 14th August, was at Gwadar, but on the eve of departure for Muscat, the hostilities between the before mentioned Chiefs having ceased.

No. 103.

Commander Bateman to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Daphne," Aden, September 11, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report the capture of a slave dhow on the 14th August, 1873, by the boats of this ship under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Marcus McCausland, as reported to me by that officer.

2. The boats being off Chipangani, a dhow was seen standing out from Lamo Bay; on boarding her, one slave boy was found, who had been placed there that morning, he did not belong to the crew, and was not working the dhow, he states that he belonged to a Somali Arab at Lamo. He was bought three years ago at Kilwa, taken to Zanzibar, and bought by his present owner. The dhow was captured, and being unseaworthy, destroyed. There not being sufficient food in the boat to keep the crew until the ship was rejoined, they were permitted to land.

The boy is now on board this ship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD S. BATEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 103.

Return of Vessels Detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade.

Date of Detention.	Where; if at sea state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board—					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.
		Vessel.	Master.	Owner, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—			Where Shipped.			
																Men.	Women.	Boys.		Girls.		
1873 Aug. 14	Off Lamoo ...	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Arab	Dhow	8	...	...	Chipungani.	Unknown	Lamoo	1873 Aug. 14	Passengers and 1 slave.	Unknown	...	...	1	...	Chipungani.	Boy was recovering from small-pox. No deaths. Emancipated 1.	

“ Daphne,” Aden, September 11, 1873.

(Signed)

RICHARD S. BATEMAN, Commander.

No. 104.

Commander Harington to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Nimble," in the Gulf of Aden, September 19, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the morning of the 13th ultimo, whilst Her Majesty's ship under my command was lying at anchor in the port of Mombas, a male slave, who had been paddling about the ship in a canoe during the night, came on board and stated that he was a runaway slave from the dhow "Metsahal" (which he pointed out and was then lying at anchor not far from this ship), that he had been enticed on board her at Zanzibar, and detained against his will, that when all were asleep he made his escape and came to me for protection; further, that his dhow had brought and landed at this port about ten other slaves, for which purpose she had put in, upon seeing a ship of war in the offing.

2. Upon this I sent an officer to board and examine the dhow, and had the Nakoda and a part of the crew brought to this ship and examined, from which it transpired that she was a small vessel of about 50 tons, with a cargo of rice, glue, and cocoanuts, &c., bound from Zanzibar to the noted slave ports of Melinda and Lamo. She carried rather a large quantity of water for the number of her crew (seven). Had a second set of food-pounding and cooking apparatus on board of much larger dimensions than the utensils in use by the crew; also a large quantity of spare matting and feeding utensils, besides a supply of inferior and uncleaned rice, the property of the Nakoda.

The boy's knowledge of the dhow, her cargo, and destination, &c., was moreover corroborated by the crew, and he recognized two of them who were brought on board for examination. These at one time admitted some knowledge of him, but subsequently denied it.

3. The case seemed so suspicious that I immediately seized the dhow and proceeded with her (and crew) in tow to Zanzibar. At the time of seizure a large quantity of papers were secured, which had not before been produced; these subsequently proved beyond doubt that this vessel had been a very old offender, having previously carried several cargoes of slaves under the same owner and Nakoda, and even accounting for several deaths which had occurred on one occasion when she had been very crowded.

4. Dr. Kirk, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar being absent on duty, and it being impossible for me to await his return, Mr. Holmwood, the Assistant Resident held a preliminary inquiry, when it was decided to make affidavits of the circumstances, in the Consular Court, to be handed over to Dr. Kirk upon his return; the dhow crew and slave being handed over to the Consular authorities in the meantime.

5. A few days since I received a semi-official letter from Dr. Kirk informing me that he was much obliged to me for having secured a dhow belonging to a most notorious slave dealer (Saied Auter), that he had gone carefully into the case and thought the slave boy "is a questionable business—he is such a liar;" he has "no hesitation whatever in decreeing condemnation" of the dhow and cargo upon the other points of the case, by which he hopes to shake the confidence of merchants having dealings with such men as Saied Auter is well known to be.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. H. HARINGTON.

No. 105.

Commander Harington to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Nimble," in the Gulf of Aden, September 19, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, having to return to Zanzibar, from Mombas, with the slave dhow "Metsahal" in tow for adjudication, I dropped the cutter and a gig, with instructions to cruize for slave dhows as far north as Manda Bay, where I made arrangements for subsequently picking them up.

2. On the 18th ultimo, Lieutenant Lang, in charge of the boats, whilst cruizing along the north shore of the Manda Bay, observed two small dhows, of about twenty tons each running along the coast, and proceeded in chase of them; upon the approach of the boats the dhows were run on shore and a large number of people, amongst whom were several children, were seen to land from them, and to be driven into the country by Arabs. Mr. Lang landing shortly after, sent the interpreter on shore to endeavour to overtake and communicate with the fugitives, and obtain an explanation as to why they left their

dhows ; upon his return he informed Mr. Lang that the Arab men had tried to entice him into the bush, but observing that they had their knives drawn, he did not think it safe to advance further and returned. Mr. Lang then landed the boats' crews in chase, but only succeeded in capturing one of the slaves, who stated that there were about ten slaves in each dhow.

3. Upon examination of the dhows they were found to be entirely deserted and everything taken out of them, but were evidently employed in the local Slave Trade, bringing slaves from the interior to the coast, their names and nationality being unknown ; they have been described as A and B and proving to be unseaworthy, were destroyed on the spot.

4. They were placed in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Aden on the 15th instant, and condemned as lawful prizes to Her Majesty's ship under my command, and the slave liberated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. H. HARINGTON.

Inclosure in No. 105.

RETURN of Vessels Detained as being engaged in the Slave Trade, and sent into Port for Adjudication.

Date of Detention.	Where; if at sea state Latitude and Longitude.	Name of—			Under what Colours.	How Rigged.	Number of—			Where—			Date of Sailing from last Port.	Nature of Cargo.	To whom Consigned.	If with Slaves on Board.					To what Port sent for Adjudication.	Condition of the Slaves and Vessel; stating the Number of Deaths before Adjudication, and the Number Emancipated.	
		Vessel.	Master.	Owners, and of what Place.			Men.	Guns.	Tons.	From.	Bound.	Belonging.				Number of—							
																Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.				
1873 Aug. 13	Mombas	Metshah	Ali bin Abdula	Said Antar, originally Zanzibar, now unknown.	Arab	Dhow	7	..	40-35	Zanzibar	Melinde and Lamoo.	Unknown	About Aug. 8, 1873	Rice, glue, and coconuts.	Unknown	One boy who said he was brought in this dhow, into which he had been enticed, and was detained against his will. He escaped from the dhow, and applied to this ship for protection.					Zanzibar	Boy handed over to the Vice-Admiral Judge for disposal. He was in good condition, also the vessel. No death.	
Aug. 18	North shore of Manda Bay 2° 5' 5" 40° 57' E.	Unknown—described as (A).	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ditto	Not known	..	20-33	Ditto	Unknown	Ditto	Unknown	Unknown	None	Ditto	From information obtained about 10. Supposed local Slave Trade bringing slaves from the interior to the coast. Further particulars unknown.					Aden	Condition of the vessel unascertained; of the slaves unknown. The dhow ran on shore, and the crew and slaves escaped; the boats' crews attempted to prevent their escape, but were unsuccessful.
Aug. 18	Ditto	Ditto (B)	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	..	20-39	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Condition of the vessel unascertained; dhow ran on shore, and crew and slaves, with the exception of one man of the latter, escaped; the boats' crews attempted to prevent their escape, but were, with one exception, unsuccessful. This slave was in a filthy and emaciated condition, and was emancipated and handed over to the authorities in Aden.					Ditto	

“ Nimble,” Gulf of Aden, September 19, 1873.

(Signed)

R. HARINGTON, Commander.

No. 106.

Captain Malcolm to Rear-Admiral Cumming.

Sir,

"Briton," November 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency a copy of letter addressed to me by Dr. Kirk, which may be looked upon as the result of letter of 19th May, 1873, relative to slaves held by Her Majesty's Indian subjects and others under her protection. In pursuance of your memorandum dated Glasgow, at Seychelles, 27th September, 1873, I have forwarded the duplicate to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. MALCOLM.

Inclosure in No. 106.

Dr. Kirk to Captain Malcolm.

Sir,

Zanzibar, November 7, 1873.

PERMIT me, on returning from an official inspection of the northern stations of this agency district, to acknowledge the assistance you have rendered, and to thank you for having placed at my disposal the means of efficiently carrying out the important duty on which I have been engaged, thus giving effect to that part of the Treaty of June 5th which binds us to see that the Indian community is not implicated henceforth in either slave-holding or in the Slave Trade.

So far as that part of the station visited is concerned I feel satisfied that this has been accomplished, and the capital of the most active trading part of the Zanzibar community removed from or rendered unavailable in slave trading operations of Arabs. At the same time steps have been taken that will, I think, encourage honest trade, and assure these Indians of support and protection in their legitimate dealings.

The Indians among whom I have been in contact on the coast are, as you are aware, men who were permitted to renounce British protection and become as Arabs; this they did for the purpose of having domestic slaves, and until the signature of the Treaty of June 5, by the Sultan, it has remained a delicate and always a disputed point how far we could proceed to interfere with a large body of men who had renounced our protection and been permitted to do so for many years.

That they could not enter directly into Slave Trade had for some time back been settled, but it never had been in this way; the trade was encouraged by them as a class.

To prevent the stipulations of the late Treaty from becoming a dead letter, it was necessary they should be enforced, as has been now partially accomplished, and I shall follow up the course begun at other points within the Agency jurisdiction, as soon as opportunities offer.

The general result of the work done at Mombasa, Lamoo, &c., is as follows:—

						Slave holders.	Slaves freed.
At Mombasa	..	..	..	..	..	55	220
Takaunga	..	..	..	..	..	8	19
Melindi, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	41	131
Lamoo	..	..	..	..	..	32	80
Lina Fagi	..	..	..	..	..	7	21
Wasin	..	..	..	..	..	2	8
Total	..	..	..	..	..	145	479

Of these, about one-half elect to remain for the present with their former masters, while steps have been taken for the protection of the others.

While at Lamoo, I was able to bring influence to bear upon the Chief of the Wa'gunia and the Governor of Lamoo, which, I trust, will result in the arrest of the murderers of Sub-Lieutenant MacCausland.

I would, in conclusion, acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered on this and a former occasion, to which, in a great measure is to be attributed the good results attained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

P.S.—The value of 479 slaves equals a sum of 4,000*l.* confiscated.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 7 (1874).

FURTHER REPORTS

ON

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

(In continuation of Slave Trade No. 5, 1874).

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty
1874.

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Further Reports on East African Slave Trade.

(In continuation of Slave Trade No. 5, 1874.)

No. 1.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 18, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to forward, in continuation of my letter of the 7th ultimo, further reports which I have received from Captain Elton, and in which that officer details his proceedings in the Samanga and Mungao districts, and at Kilwa.

At the date of Captain Elton's last despatch, 1,326 slaves had been liberated, and had been given the option of remaining with their former masters or of gaining an independent livelihood by their own exertions. That this result should have been attained with so little difficulty is, in my opinion, chiefly attributable to the great tact and resolution displayed by Captain Elton while carrying out the mission entrusted to him by Dr. Kirk, and I venture to hope that your Lordship will concur with me in the expression of approval which I have addressed to him with reference to his proceedings.

Under the instructions laid down by Dr. Kirk, Kilwa formed the terminal point of Captain Elton's mission. Shortly after his arrival at that port, however, I received a note from him, in which he requested permission to complete his work by visiting the ports lying between Dar-es-Salam and Wagseen, and I willingly assented, as it was of the highest importance that a thorough inspection of all the Indian Colonies should be made before the commencement of the rainy season. Captain Elton's proceedings at these more northerly ports will form the subject of a future report.

Captain Elton appears on the whole to have met with civility and attention from the native officials at the various places visited by him. He especially draws attention to the assistance rendered him by the Sultan's Akhidah at Dar-es-Salam, Rizk-allah, and I would respectfully express a hope that some slight token of the approbation of Government may be awarded to this officer.

Captain Elton was accompanied as far as Kilwa by Navigating Sub-Lieutenant Pullen, of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," to whom he states he was much indebted for his efficient and willing assistance in taking observations and notes during the journey. He also records his obligations to Captain Foot, of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and to Mr. Hampden Whally, who volunteered their services in registering the slaves freed at Mangoa and Kilwa, and the latter of whom returned with the party to Bagamoyo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Kilwa Kivinjä, February 10, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to forward my report on the Samanga district, which has been unavoidably delayed for some time in consequence of the state of extreme weakness to which I have been reduced by repeated attacks of fever.

On the 14th of January, as soon as the morning tide served, I left Cholé for Samanga, and light fair winds brought us off the entrance to the creek about sun-down, where the pilot clumsily ran on the bar, and the only course was to spend a night of the greatest

discomfort on board, or trust to one small leaky boat belonging to the dhow. However, in this latter craft I embarked with Lieutenant Pullen, two of my men, and the owner, a Battiah, who assured us a good reception. About half-an-hour stuck in sand and mud, with the sea breaking into the boat; another half-an-hour, in dead darkness, on men's shoulders, and we reached the land, where a guide with a lantern was found, who, after an hour's walk through the mangrove creek, brought us to Samanga, wet through and tired out, and here we found a comfortable hut prepared, but the night journey earned another relapse of fever that clung to me persistently for three days.

Here I found 133 slaves, of whom 81 left their masters and 51 elected to remain. 123 were held by 15 Banians (Battiahs), and 10 by 2 Khojas, who represented the Indian population of the Samanga group of villages.

Concealment of slaves was most deliberately attempted by two Banians here, both of whom I detected and punished in consequence of a dispute which arose over a slave boy I had freed, which ended in a village row, and, in the total absence of anybody in authority, led to my seizing the promoters, when, in the investigation which followed, it appeared that one of them was appointed to hold and keep out of the way certain slaves belonging to Indians as long as I remained in the neighbourhood, and on careful search twenty-six additional slaves were discovered. These were, of course, registered in the free list, all leaving their masters' service.

Previous to my arrival I learnt that an attempt on the part of the Banians to send their slaves inland to avoid the loss entailed by freedom, was successfully defeated by a combination on the part of the latter, who threatened to leave *en masse* if interfered with before my arrival.

Samanga-Fungu (on the sea-beach), Samanga, Kuajo, Murenga, and Furu form the Samanga group of villages, the four latter holding Indian subjects, and being all built near mangrove creeks, by which produce can be shipped at high tides in vessels drawing a light draught of water. They are well built, populous, and, for a wonder, clean; a large trade is daily carried on in barter for copal, a little ivory, wax, woods, and grain. There is, however, no authority exercised by Seyed Burghash, and the only control is, that established by common consent in each place for local convenience.

Difficulties in consequence constantly arise from disputes with the local Chiefs, who assume some show of strength as the Rufigi is approached, and the Indians brought several bitter complaints before me, but in almost all cases I found either side equally to blame; thus, at Muredengu the best wells were closed, and water sold by the principal native "jumbe," or local head man, whilst, at the same time, daily extortions were levied on the Banians for supplies of cloth and beads, did they not immediately cause rain to fall. But it was clearly proved that some years previously, the arrival of the complainants was accompanied by such opportune rains that crops were extraordinary. This good harvest they claimed the credit of having occasioned, and received presents of ivory and copal from these very natives. Thus, through their own "lache" of presenting themselves, first, upon the scene as "rain makers," and actually using an unusually fine season as a means of robbing the villagers, their present grievance was, of course, totally indefensible.

Beyond Muredengu towards the Mohoro river (the Pemba Utagiti of the Admiralty charts, but not a branch of the Rufigi river), and beyond, towards the Rufigi itself, the fertility of the soil is astonishing; but rice and Indian corn were past by the same day, just sprouting from the ground, half-grown, and ripe, and three crops a year are not considered to be an astonishing yield. Nearly all this grain is bought up by the Indians (there are three at Mohoro, eight miles from the Rufigi), for the purposes of speculation, and finds its way to Kilwa, Zanzibar, and, for the moment, to Mungao, where disturbances with the Maviti have almost led to a famine.

The slave caravans pass nearly daily within sight of the village, but do not often halt for the night in it. I cannot think that they receive assistance here from Indians, their arrangements being necessarily completed at outset from Kilwa, and I feel sure that any recent case would have been reported to me on my second visit here on return from the Rufigi, which I struck at Mpenbene far above the Delta, and at the ferries used by the slave drivers, and hope to fully report on in a separate paper.

In closing this letter on the Samanga villages, I must allow that nearly all the Indians, in fact all the older inhabitants, have been actively concerned in Slave Trade in former years, but to rake up the past too far, and to punish in this district or in Kilwa every one guilty of trading in slaves, would be to make a sweep of a community, and to create an adverse feeling to the Government, where, I am persuaded, the contrary feeling now exists. Slave-holding, and mortgages of and dealing in slaves, are now so completely upset and pronounced to be illegal, and so severely do such transactions expose the Indian to direct pecuniary loss through repudiation on the part of whoever he may be

transacting business with, that it is my belief a total abandonment of all commerce connected with the traffic must result if the present vigilance is maintained; for in such case the one tie between the Arab and Swahili and the Indians being severed, the latter, in sheer defence, is compelled to look for protection and justice to us.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Kilwa Kivinja, February 17, 1874.

IN continuation of my last letter of 10th February, I have the honour to report that on 23rd January I reached this town in safety after a tiring journey from the Samanga villages. Besides swimming three rivers, several hours were spent wading through the mangrove swamps in the heat of the day, with nothing on but a shirt and a hat, and the donkeys had long been worse than useless, the hardest work being driving them on and preventing them from giving up altogether in the deep mud.

Before leaving Samanga, I was pleased to receive a favourable report of the aspect of affairs at Kilwa, and was assured by my informant, upon whom I could depend, that I should find the Indian community ready to submit to whatever measures I had to propose, the best effect having been produced by the slow detailed way in which all the villagers had been successfully cleared out on the Kisiju road, and by the fact that no order had been issued which had not been thoroughly carried to an issue.

On passing the Nijingera River I was met by about thirty of the Banians and Khojahs, who, joined by others of their sects, accompanied me on the road into Kilwa, where, although the townspeople flocked out of their houses to see our arrival, there was no expression of feeling—indeed, but few Arabs were to be observed in the crowd.

On the following morning I called all Banians, Khojahs, &c., together, and registered their names and the numbers of slaves they owned to, with the following results:—

							Slaves.
25 Battiahs	..	..	..	..	..	..	217
3 Memons (Scindis)	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
59 Khojahs	..	..	..	..	..	..	327
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	561

(some few of the poorer Indians being unavoidably absent and unable to leave their daily work), and I then proceeded to write and free in due course.

Captain Foot, of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," hearing I was ill, had already written to me by his boats from Cholé to Samanga, and on the 27th the vessel arrived in Kilwa harbour. On showing my instructions to Captain Foot, he at once offered to take me to the various ports of Mungao, the district south of Kilwa, and stretching towards Cape Delgado, and to reland me again at Kilwa. This offer I gladly accepted, as the ground had now been felt in the town, (I had already registered 77 slaves, 36 of whom elected to leave, and 41 to remain), neither did I foresee any future opportunity, and, as a further reason, I was again suffering severely from a third relapse of fever brought on by the Samanga journey, and this I trusted a few days' change and the sea air might remove.

Accordingly, on the 28th I sailed, and on the 29th visited Kiswarra and released the slaves there; on the 30th I did the same at Mchinga, a small village where only 2 were found; but on the 31st January, at Lindy, and on the 2nd February, at Mkindani, was too utterly prostrate to even move from my cot, without assistance. At these places I therefore sent ashore my men to collect all Indians and arrange the slaves and papers, a work which they carried out satisfactorily; and, then Captain Foot, assisted by Mr. H. Whalley and Lieutenant Nankivill (who has passed in, and talks, the Swahili dialect), wrote out and registered the free papers, Captain Foot signing in my name. This work was most carefully executed without any hitch, and in the only intricate case which arose the parties were brought on board and the question settled there.

The other villages of Mungao and the settlement on the Rovuma, being deserted by Indian settlers in consequence of serious disturbances with the surrounding tribes, were not visited; the district was thus completed, thanks to Captain Foot's most kind and very laborious assistance and co-operation, with the following result, viz.:—

					Battiahs.	Khojahs.	Slaves.
Kiswarra	..	..	..	..	2	1	26
Mchinga..	..	..	..	..	2	0	2
Lindy ..	..	..	..	..	11	5	107
Mkindani	..	..	..	..	11	11	127
Total Slaves released					..	..	262

of whom 201 elected to remain with their former masters, and 61 quitted their service.

For many months this district has been subjected to constant attacks from the inland and neighbouring tribes, who have burnt the houses on the outlying plantations, destroyed the crop, and lifted the cattle. The other ports are in consequence, as well as the rising settlement on the Rovuma, abandoned; and it is proposed to desert the Mkindani and make a stand at Lindy. Trade is at a standstill, copal digging is entirely stopped, the diggers being sold as slaves when seized on their way to the coast, and the insecurity outside the towns no doubt led to the large proportion of the slaves, who remained with their masters, preferring their present service to the almost certain future of again going through the operations of re-capture, re-transport, and re-sale.

I was now so seriously pulled down that Captain Foot and Dr. Burnell, Surgeon of Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," both endeavoured to persuade me to accompany them on their cruise to Mozambique and return from that town by mail-steamer to Zanzibar, but I conceived the interest of the important work at Kilwa to be quite paramount to any consideration of health. I therefore assured both Captain Foot and Dr. Burnett that I was sure the interest I had in my mission would carry me through, and at the same time gladly accepted the kind services of Mr. H. Whalley, who accompanied me ashore as a volunteer, and who already had assisted in writing free papers in Mungao and taken a great interest in the objects of the mission.

Thanks to his assistance, I have up to this date now written 624 slaves, of which 214 leave and 410 remain with former masters, thus bringing the total of work accomplished up to date to 1,285 slaves held by Indians under British control set free, and at perfect liberty under local rule and law to elect their own manner of earning their bread.

The question of the actual situation of affairs at Kilwa, and the state of the Slave Trade, I will defer until my next letter, in which I trust also to report the conclusion of my work in the town.

Trusting the steps taken may meet with approval, I have, &c.

(Signed)

F. ELTON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Kilwa, February 23, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 3rd February, and to thank you most sincerely for the flattering terms in which you are pleased to express your approbation of the manner in which my work has been conducted, and I trust that this approval may further be extended to the conclusion of the northern ports.

• Within five days I hope to leave for Konduchi, &c., working up by sea in a dhow which I shall charter for the purpose, and, I need hardly add, shall use my best endeavours to justify the confidence placed in me.

Could an introductory letter be procured from the Sultan to his chief men at Tanga and Pangani (similar to one given me to the Akhidahs, south of Dar-es-Salam), and sent to the care of the French Mission at Bagamoyo, I should find it there on finishing at Konduchi and Burni, and such a document would certainly be useful.

There is no news of importance here. About a dozen Arabs have arrived by sea from Lamo, and are reported to have brought extensive slave orders. As slaves are already largely collected in the vicinity of Lamo, this shows plainly the determination to run dhows to the northward as soon as the monsoon changes, and on the success or non-success of these ventures will mainly depend the supply of capital for working the traffic the ensuing season.

From all sources of information, slaves have been marched up in caravans by the Kisiju road in undiminished numbers during the past month; that is, over 4,000 have crossed the Rufigi since the 21st of January. The supply left in Kilwa at present is

small, and said not to exceed 500. It is, however, daily increased by arrivals in small numbers, and I have actually caught and convicted both a Khojah and a Banyan of direct slave dealing, carried on almost under my eyes, and punished them, with a salutary effect, as examples.

Still, on leaving Kilwa I shall be able to report a marked improvement in the bearing of the Indian community, who do not, I feel sure, now bear us hostility as heretofore.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 4 in No. 1.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

(Extract.)

On board Dhow, off Rufiji Delta, March 2, 1874.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 17th February, I have now the honour to conclude my report on Kilwa, from whence I sailed yesterday morning, on my way north to Konduchi.

Twenty-two more slaves have been freed by me since the 17th instant, and must be added to the list previously furnished, making a corrected total of 646 slaves freed at Kilwa, of whom 234 left their former masters and 412 remained in their service.

On my first arrival I contented myself with registering the inhabitants under British jurisdiction, and freeing the slaves declared, and at the same time collected information, through daily intercourse with the people, which proved useful in guiding future measures.

From the outset it was plain that every Indian in Kilwa could be implicated in the trade. Many men fully allowed cases could be proved against them of advances to slave-dealers, were past years raked up, whilst the stagnation of business in the town showed the dead-lock under which the operations of the late Treaty and the recent policy had brought the community.

As formerly carried on, the Indian connection with the slave traffic was mainly represented by three classes of traders:—

The first, The Custom-house officials, who received the duties on slaves, and were often willing partners in large ventures.

The second, The well-to-do merchants, who advanced guns, cloth, beads, and money to Arabs and Waswahili, and also to

The third class, The smaller Khojah and Battiah speculators, who traded slaves in the immediate neighbourhood, and supplied goods to Mrima kidnappers and other riffraff of the coast at an enormous rate of interest.

Of these classes, the first is out of work. No duty is paid on slaves either to the Custom-house, the Sultan, or the local authorities, and the wealthier Battiahs are now too fearful of detection to engage in such dangerous work as supporting the dealers. The second has suspended operations of late; but the third, tempted by high and immediate profits, continues operations on a reduced scale, as will be seen further on.

Advances made by the second class were frequently worked through the hands of some influential Arab, who passed them over, either directly or through a second pair of hands, to the slave-trader, for per-centage and consideration duly received; the idea being that the Indian, if called on to produce his books, would be exempted from further inquiry in consequence of the entry of sale being made to a man of known position, who was not bound by law to account for his disposal of articles purchased. On the road down I passed a large caravan (over 1,000 slaves were counted), which, report says, was fitted out only three years ago by a Banian, and I believe that in this case the goods were passed from hand to hand for the express purpose of concealing the illegal transaction.

As a specimen of the trade carried on by the third class, a Battiah, during my temporary absence in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," had four slaves brought into Kilwa by a party of his own men (freed by me only a few days previously), and deliberately sold the whole four to a caravan leaving for Pangani. His defence was, that he gave his men cloth to trade for ivory only, and that, instead of obeying orders, they bought slaves, whom they sold to repay him for the loss of his goods. This defence was simply ridiculous. Ivory is not to be so readily purchased just beyond the town, and, moreover, the Battiah accompanied his men to the house of the public auctioneer, quarrelled over the price offered there, and subsequently sold directly to the leader of the gang leaving the next morning for a higher sum. Unfortunately, it was too late to recover the slaves, but I inflicted a

* fine of 400 dollars, trying the case with assessors, one of whom was a prominent man of the offender's own religious sect.

In a second case a Scindi (Memon) had, in almost a similar manner, traded six slaves and sold them, I being in the town at the time. This man pleaded guilty, and the same fine was imposed, whilst in a third case a Khojah, being unable, or, as I believe, only unwilling to pay the same fine, for the same description of offence, I proceeded to levy the amount by public sale of his goods, a decisive measure, which strengthened my hands at once.

The Arab population I found passive. I was neither opposed, assisted, or thwarted by the Government authority, represented by the Kathie (Masood); but that the Kilwa population, as represented by Arabs, Waswahili, and the free Merima people, purpose to maintain the present inland trade, and carry on the traffic by the Kisiju road is thoroughly understood, and the Wali, Salim bin Said, is universally referred to as the supporter of public opinion in the matter.

Salim bin Said was Governor of Kilwa when Sir B. Frere visited it last year, and has always been under suspicion of actively promoting slaving interests. Possessed of considerable property, the island of Songo Songo, and land at Mafia and on the Mrima, he is considered by the Kilwa people to be independent of the Sultan, and not only ready, but able, to disobey his orders. When summoned to Zanzibar on the death of the late Sheikh Suleiman, he retired to his estates at Terenia, on Mafia, where he still remains, and, so report says, informed Seyed Burghash "he might do what he pleased about Kilwa, but he could not hurry." It is of little moment, however, to notice reports, as it is positive he favours the slave trade, is engaged in it himself, and has raised a very bad feeling against the Sultan within his district.

Complaints were urged by the Indians about the insecurity of property in the town, a scanty force of ragged mercenaries loiter about in the day; there is no police, and justice, it is said, follows the longest purse. There appeared a fair case for remonstrance, on the whole; but I told the complainants it was first their duty to show some intention of obeying the orders of the Government with regard to the slave traffic; when that was done it would be a more fitting time to claim protection and interference than at the present moment.

The majority of slaves declared being registered, I thought the time had arrived to make a direct attack on the system of supplying the slave dealers with advances, and I accordingly affixed on the Custom-house walls a notice, written in Arabic and Guzerathi, calling on Arabs and others who had mortgaged slaves to Indians to declare the transactions, and further warning the public that all advances made by Indians for the purpose of slave dealing, or slave caravan use, exposed the Indian to the loss of his money, and could be repudiated by the borrower, dealings whether in advances, mortgages, or otherwise connected with slave traffic being illegal whenever any one under British jurisdiction was concerned.

This step led to several meetings in the town, attended both by Arabs and Indians, and resulted in a deputation of the principal Battiahs and Khojahs, 38 in number, waiting on me. The spokesman, Pira Jaitani, a Khojah, commenced by stating that, although all had declared the slaves in their possession, yet many held mortgages, some of them renewals of ventures on which they had advanced years ago, these they were ready to cancel and write off as bad debts, and for the future would only advance on ivory, and carefully insert a stringent clause in every trade agreement made against slaves being purchased with their goods, such agreements to be witnessed by the Kathi. They all now understood the position, and begged I would take steps to inform the Government that they would do their best by an example of refusing credit to suspicious parties to put down the Slave Trade amongst their sects.

In reply, I told Pira that his promises in the names of those present would certainly be reported to the Government, but that results and not words were required, and I pointed out, in reference to the cases of slave dealing lately detected, that it was their first duty to prevent the re-occurrence of similar offences; had Government, I added, acted in a hard spirit, every one in the room could have been proved guilty of connection with the trade, but, as it was, every excuse had been made in their favour, and no one had been interfered with but those who had deliberately concealed or sold slaves, or been recently engaged in the traffic.

I was then asked to appoint two of the body to report on cases of slave-dealing, local disputes, &c.; but this, after two days' consideration, I refused to do. I concluded by assuring all present that Kilwa would not be left unvisited for long, and warned them that the register of liberated slaves would be again compared, so that the future depended on their own good faith with regard to the promises they volunteered.

The practical result the Kathi at once made known in the town that no mortgages on slaves could be enforced if in the hands of British subjects, and that any and every future mortgage was illegal, subjecting the Indian to punishment on complaint being made, and it had been previously published that advances for slave purposes could not now be recovered by law in Zanzibar territory.

Slaves have risen enormously in price, and there is but little doubt that, independently of the direct money loss entailed on Kilwa by the release of 646 slaves, representing, at current rates, between 4,000*l.* and 5,000*l.* in value; very heavy amounts were outstanding to most traders in Kilwa, owed by men engaged in the slave-trade. These debts, secured, as they invariably were, by slave mortgages, being now irrecoverable, represent a heavy blow to the commerce of the town, which is but very indifferently covered by the arrival of 1,500 tusks of ivory from the interior, including those reported by Dr. Kirk in August last, when, I think, from 800 to 1,000 were in the Custom-house, during the past ten months. Copal is hardly a staple produce of the neighbourhood, all received passing through other trading stations for the Custom-house, and sesamum is brought in but sparingly, whilst grain, vegetables, and sheep are imported from Kisiju, Chole, and Samanga. But little agriculture is carried on, and it is almost incredible the extent to which the surrounding country is debauched by years of slave-trade. The one fixed business and idea is slave-dealing. You free a slave and find his ambition is to join a slave caravan! You ask a free-born man of the Mrima "Why he does not cultivate his land?" His answer, with a laugh, is, "Why should I take the trouble, I can buy slaves when I want money." Kilwa, in short, simply remains the head-quarters of ruffianly adventurers from Lamo, Sheher, Zanzibar, &c., guided by keen Shylocks, who manage the finances, and are bred up to the underhand roguery by which the machinery of this great oppression produces rapid returns, and affords an almost unlimited field for speculation. One is often tempted to agree with a sweeping Arab remark, "That as long as Kilwa stands so long will slave-trade flourish!"

There are daily arrivals of slaves from the interior, who are often met yoked with sticks or in chains, but they come in in small parties and represent the ventures of petty expeditions which remain out a week or ten days and barter cloth, beads, &c., with the adjacent tribes. In advancing goods to the traders of these wretches, who are sold at once to the caravans leaving for the north, the Indian holders of small shops are certainly to blame, and require strict detective discipline and punishment to thoroughly deter them. In the grain trade and ivory trade these men cannot compete with their richer countrymen, and the temptation of large profits and quick returns, with only a remote chance of detection, is too great a temptation for their innate thirst after money-making.

The almost daily departure of caravans north during the past two months and more, has, I have already reported, drained the stock of slaves in Kilwa to about 400, but fresh supplies are reported as near, and fresh expeditions are being organized, the presence of agents from Lamo and Pemba showing that the demand even at the present advanced prices continues steady. 30 to 40 dollars a head were paid for the large gangs which I first met on the Kisiju Road; since then the prices in Kilwa have risen to 30 and 35 dollars, and this without, as before, any stipulation of delivery at a port further north. As one of the Indians I convicted had traded slaves at 12 dollars, it is evident the profits are immense.

All "collected" slaves destined for one purchaser or caravan are kept away from the town on the outlying plantations until all is ready for the march, but the rains not having yet set in, no alteration whatever has taken place in departures, the Rufiji still being at its usual level.

In conclusion, I can safely say that, although unable to report the Indian community of Kilwa as thoroughly cleared of complicity in slave dealing, yet the trade, as formerly practised, is now so undermined, and the danger rendered so apparent to all, that with vigilance and occasional inspection it may reasonably be expected that the small traders must be forced to stop, and more particularly if any action is taken by those who have previously been in the habit of supplying them with goods. Already the better class of Battiahs and Khojahs show increased civility and a marked improvement in their bearing towards us, and, I am glad to say, that Captain Brook, of Her Majesty's ship "Vulture," intends reporting on this favourable change which he and his officers noticed on the occasion of their recent visit, on his return to Zanzibar.

Some good work has, at any rate, been done; the Indians feel that they can be both reached and punished, all mortgage transactions are at an end, the system of advances on a large scale for slave purposes rendered too dangerous to be meddled with by trading settlers, who view every transaction from a pecuniary point of view only, and in conse-

quence a considerable number of men have put themselves prominently forward as on our side.

The broad sands and mudflats of Kilwa, its enervating climate, bad water, and severe fevers, the native huts and the few stone houses surrounded with slave inclosures, the Custom-house, and so-called fort, and the scattered cocoanut trees fringing the fetid beach, the grass-flats stretching away in the background to a wooded and prominent range of sandstone hills in the distance, have been too often described of late to require any further mention.

"Places of Skulls" mark the various roads upon which the traffic continues to flourish, and skeletons lie thickly scattered on the beach. Although the days of sea transport are at an end, there is a busy scene, morning and evening, daily before the Custom-house, where a motley crowd assemble both to do business and to idle; however, evidences of legitimate commerce are few and far between, and it does not require much observation to see that Slave Trade is still the main-stay of Kilwa. Without that support I believe the place would be speedily abandoned by the traffickers, and that in time, as confidence was established, a sound and lawful business would arise with the interior.

No. 2.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 25, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of a letter dated the 9th instant, from Captain Elton to my address, covering two reports, the first on the copal diggings passed through by him while proceeding southward from Dar-es-Salam, and the second on the Rufiji (or Lufiji) River.

The second of these papers is a valuable contribution to our scanty stock of knowledge of East African geography. It should be read in connection with the report of Dr. Kirk upon the Lufiji Delta, which, accompanied his letter dated 27th August, 1873, and which has since been published in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for January, 1874.

I have, &c,
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Bagamoyo, East Coast of Africa, March 9, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to inclose two Reports, one on the Copal diggings passed through from Dar-es-Salam to the south, and the other on the Rufiji River, which, I hope, may prove useful.

In forwarding the first of these, I think it proper to allude to the hindrances and evils which arise from the mixtures of the Slave Trade with the copal commerce.

The merchants commenced by giving Washenzi copal diggers advances of cloth, beads, &c., to buy slaves with in small numbers, little by little such a combination of trade became common and popular, until matters rose to such a pitch that at Samanga one Battiah alone found himself the holder of 400 slaves, brought down by threes and fours by the natives who supplied him with copal. The transaction, however, was a profitable one, and, after selling off his stock, he retired to Kutch.

No such large cases have occurred of late, and the Kwale settlers have, I think, quite abandoned such speculations, but in Kilwa they continue on a small scale, and it is my belief that they have been carried on up to a very recent date in the Mungao District, the slaves being shipped to the Comoros and Madagascar. For the present, trade there is at a dead-lock, owing to troubles with the neighbouring tribes, but the settlers at Lindy and at Mkindani are so far removed from any inspection that I should fully expect them to resume operations as soon as the country is re-opened, and take their chance of detection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Report on the Copal Districts south of Dar-es-Salam, East African Coast.

THE "Msandarusi," or Copal tree, is largely scattered over the extensive tract of country stretching from the Marui Hills and the Uzeramo, through the rich district of Kwale, away to the Matumhui range of mountains on the south-east of the Rufiji River, and lies within the limits which are bounded to the east by the sea-coast line of cultivation and settlement, and to the west by the highlands which form an irregular barrier to the Mrima at a distance of from 30 to 35 miles inland. Throughout these limits, immense quantities of the semi-fossil "Amini" are dug by the natives, and this produce constitutes the most lucrative commerce of the Indian settlers at the small trading ports.

Farther south, beyond the Samanga villages, there is a break in the supply, probably occasioned by the surrounding slave traffic, which rapidly drives legitimate business and all confidence out of its path, but also affected to some degree by the increased difficulties of communication caused by the marshy swamps which here fringe the coast more deeply than above the Rufiji. However, beyond Kilwa, copal again re-appears, and is largely bought up, in tranquil times, at the numerous trading-stations which dot the sea-board down to the Rovuma River.

The tree I have already described in my former report (December 18, Dar-es-Salam), and I have also explained (December 26) the rough system adopted by the natives in digging for the fossil gum.

The "old workings," close to the villages of Massonga on the Kisiju road, from which many ships' cargoes of "Animi" have been extracted, appear to be now almost exhausted, for, although small parties re-work the ground occasionally, it is neglected by the men, who habitually supply the Indians, for a tract of land bordering on the same road a little further to the south, and situated in the district of Mangatani. In this country a forest, called the "Kiregesi," contains many "Insandarusi," and between the belts of these trees and in the broad transverse glades which always intersect African woodlands, some of the finest fossil gum is dug. This never reaches the trader, however, without a large admixture of copal from the neighbouring trees, and the contents of the digger's basket are made up with wet sand and small stones in order to gain a little extra weight, it being war to the knife over the barter of "Animi" between the Indian and the Washenzi, a contest in which both sides are equally unscrupulous.

Dar-es-Salam is only sparingly supplied with the gum, the trade being diverted to Ingogoni Juliani, &c., but the immediate vicinity furnishes this part of the coast with ease, and at Mangatani the agents of the Banians buy for Kisiju, Bosa, &c.

The extent of the produce is not fully realized until the Kwale district is entered. Here are found the following stations where the trade is carried on systematically: Kitmangao, Zerare, Nusseebgani, Kunderani, Demuni, Makrora, Kivinja, Sandazi, Mji Mema, Pemba, and Kikunia, all of which are almost solely occupied in this one commerce. In the early morning, strings of natives are seen on the paths, each party led by a few men armed with old muskets and bows and arrows, and consisting of women and lads carrying copal baskets, and except during the very dry season, these arrivals take place daily. Yet even here there is no organized system of working "prospects," and shafts are seen almost everywhere, but a regular supply cannot be insured; no pressure can induce an increase when enough gum has been bartered to satisfy the present demands of the petty Chiefs. Neither do the Indians venture to send out parties of their own, each village and each working is represented by a head man, or "Jumbé," and the natives are only too ready to unite against the slightest encroachment on their monopoly, the "Trade Union" system being here represented in its strongest form.

However, during the rains there is not much slackness, the ground being soft and easier to work with the rough hoes and pointed sticks used to clear out the holes. Below 4 feet no fossil gum is found worth taking, and, indeed, very few diggers appear to go beyond 3 feet in search of it; but all is grist that comes to the mill—copal from the tree, the copal dug beneath the branches, fossil copal, and the decayed gum—and the difficulty of arriving at any fair valuation of a quantity must, in consequence, be great.

My opportunities of visiting both diggings and trees in this district were frequent, and it is from here that the specimens forwarded were collected, as also the fruit, which the natives state to be fit for planting, and I find no reason to induce me to alter any points in my former report on the "Msandarusi."

Sandazi boasts of a giant copal tree, which overshadows the main street of the village and is superior in size to any others I met with, but even this really noble specimen is often excelled, I was assured by the natives, by trees found nearer the hills. At Kikunia a

brisk trade flourishes in the gum with the Rufiji tribes and the Intoti. Past the Mpenbeno ferries on the Rufiji, and skirting the plains which stretch to the Matumbwi mountains, Mohoro is reached (a village on the river of that name, which enters the sea as Pemba-Utagiti, but does not belong to the Rufiji Delta), and both here and at Furu, Murdengo, Kuajo, and Samanga, and at an inland station called Chabwani, the principal business is copal.

Beyond the Samanga group of villages the road towards Kilwa Kivinja passes through difficult mangrove swamps, and the country is thinly populated and very unhealthy. Kilwa reached, Slave Trade and ivory monopolise all attention, and what little copal trade there is has dwindled down to small quantities brought in by the slaving expeditions which venture a few days' journey from the town.

The district of Mungao is now in such a disturbed state that all trade is closed, except at Lindy and Inzinga, several natives having been killed whilst on their road to the settlements laden with the gum, but in peaceful years large quantities arrive from this part of the country at Zanzibar. Kwale and Delgado exported 40,000 dollars' worth so long ago as 1867-68, since which date I believe no correct returns of the Southern trade have been kept.

The Indian trader on the Mrima has many extortions to fight against and heavy duties to pay, neither can his life be a very pleasant one, spent as it is in one continual succession of haggling and quarrelling with the natives, competition with his neighbours, and a monotonous round of coast fever. The local "Jumbe" extracts a ground-rent from him, and he is fortunate if only one claimant to territorial dues appears on the scene! The "Jumbe" is followed by the Jemadar, who levies an arbitrary percentage on his supposed profits, and besides estimates the amount himself in order to save discussion. The custom-house then abstracts 20 frasilahs from every 100 frasilahs of copal shipped as the Government duty, and in addition, charge him on expenses, storage, and delay; add to all this freight and interest on money, and a considerable addition is made to cost price.

Three, to as high as $5\frac{1}{4}$, dollars are the Kwale estimated costs of the barter per frasilah of copal from the Washenzi, prices varying according to the season of the year and the numbers of the men of the various tribes at work, demand, &c.; and at Zanzibar the merchants buy at from 7 dollars to 8 dollars, according to their written agreements with the coast agent.

Against all difficulties the trade undoubtedly prospers, and affords large gains to all concerned, whilst it is clear the apparently inexhaustible supply of copal under a settled rule, and with systematic working, would furnish the means of supporting a far larger community than that now sparsely scattered along the coast.

The tree would appear to have lined the shores in old days, but the extent of the ancient forests can now only be estimated by the area of the present workings and by the position of the existing "Msandarusi," which are found away to the foot of the low hills bordering the Mrima and on all the terrace and lands sloping down from the present sea-beach. It seems also impossible to estimate the time required to effect the change of the tree gum into the so-called "fossil" Animi, although all local evidence confirms the identity of the origin of these two articles of commerce, the difference in the value of which is so great.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
First Assistant to Political Agent, and Vice-Consul, Zanzibar.

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Report on Rufiji River.

WHEN approaching the Rufiji river, my instructions from Dr. Kirk were "to pass inland from the village of Kikunia, so as to cross the river, if possible, about 30 miles from the Coast, in order to report on its navigability and branches." I was, however, unable to follow the route indicated, in consequence of my party being attacked with fever immediately on its arrival in Kikunia.

We had passed several days in visiting the Indian trading stations in the Kwale district, situated on the malarious creeks which indent the shore, and often only to be reached by wading in black mud through the narrow paths which intersect the surrounding mangrove thickets, the birth places of the coast fever. On the road from Kitmangao to Sandazi, through the ignorance of a guide, we struggled for three hours in the mazes of a swamp—a veritable hippopotamus haunt, cut up in every direction by channels waist deep in mud and ooze, and covered with an almost impenetrable thicket, where the projecting

roots of the mangroves and the heavy entangled coils of monkey rope made progress heavy work. At Sandazi, which is carefully placed on a low ridge near stagnant marshes and mud flats on the banks of a tidal creek, the first man was taken ill, and by the evening of the next day, at Kikunia, nine of our party of twenty-one were prostrate under violent attacks, accompanied with vomiting and ague.

On the morrow, affairs were worse instead of better, so I resolved to sail in a dhow for the Islet of Cholé, near Mafia, to allow the party to recruit their health (only two men escaped attack in the end), and accordingly left on 2nd January.

It was, I think, as well this route was thus unavoidably followed, for, on discovering that the Kikunia creek ran to the eastward into the Simboranga mouth of the Rufiji, we understood the position and general lay of the country more clearly than if the Kisiju road had been travelled over.

After passing Kivinja, we had left the coast, and at Pemba, although on high ground, could not distinguish the shore line, a dead flat furrowed by winding creeks, and a waste of mangrove forest alone forming the horizon seawards. Then from Kikunia the distant Matumburi range beyond the Rufiji was visible; besides we had rapidly approached the line of hills which imprison the Mrima, all evidences that our course was bending inland instead of, as we had been led to expect, towards the sea.

After a miserable night aground on a mud bank in the Dhow, we entered the Simboranga mouth with a fair wind, and were enabled to mark the Pemba and Mji-Mema creeks, and at last understood the position of Kikunia, which had always been previously placed to the north-west of its true site and on the coast, whereas it lies at the head of a "khor" and well inland.

From Cholé, which has been described, we sailed on 14th January for Samanga, south of the Delta, and from there I worked back to the upper Rufiji, in order to carry out my instructions.

During these two coasting trips, and a third in February, the embouchures of the river were clearly observed, the various mouths being the Simboranga, Saninga, Twana, Gumba (called Mzinga on Captain Wharton's chart?), Kiazi, Mbwerre-barra-Jaja, and Mbombwe(?); Pemba-Utagiti, or Mohoro, not being an outlet, but a river apart from the Rufiji.

Of the above, Simboranga, Bumba, and Jaja appear main streams, of which the Simboranga is the broadest, and, the natives say, the most used. The Saninga is the direct water path to Kikunia, and the Jaja broken up into islands, Mbwerre-barra and Mbombwe forming its delta. Throughout, this low mangrove clothed country has, however, many villages, and is thickly populated by a race who, during the inundations, must live half their time in the water.

The Banyans of Samanga tried to dissuade me from my journey, by asserting that the natives on the river were badly disposed and suspicious, and had, moreover, been worked up by Arab reports against my visit, and, although I did not pay any attention at the time, I found in the end there was some truth in the matter. Leaving Samanga I proceeded north on the caravan road, and passed through the villages of Kuajo, Murengo, and Furu, which communicate with the sea by creeks, and carry on a considerable trade with the interior. At Murengo, two slave caravans were met, one of 200 and the other of 100 slaves, but nothing unpleasant occurred, the headmen of the villages coming out, as well as the Indians, to salute us on all occasions.

From Furu the path strikes through a forest country, and is choked up with coarse high grass and undergrowth. Here, for a considerable distance, no signs of cultivation were seen, water being scarce, indeed, missing the road in the thick brushwood, it was not until near sun-down, that we found a muddy pool and made our first meal for the day. A few villages and patches of cultivation then appear, the Matumburi range to the westward assuming larger proportions until a wide plain is entered, spreading from the low hills towards the distant Delta country. Covered with brushwood and bounded by the blue mountain ranges, now rising to a height of about 6,000 feet, the change of scene is abrupt and pleasant, although the narrow path is difficult, and obstructed by ravines and mud to such an extent as to make our journey across it occupy two hours, the distance being about three miles; Mahoro is then reached, a village on the river of the same name (Pemba Utagiti) surrounded by rich fields of maize and millet, banana and fruit trees. Three Indian traders carry on a lucrative trade in copal, grain and simsim; the fertility of the district lying between the two rivers being extraordinary. Maize, rice, millet, ground-nuts, &c., are largely cultivated, and, although during a portion of the year the lands are subject to inundation, failure is not remembered, and heavy crops confidently relied upon. Sheep, cattle, and goats thrive and are bought for export via Samanga.

Through this land of plenty, three hours' march brought us to the banks of the

Rufiji, the high wading Indian corn hiding the river from view. As we emerged on a belt of coarse thick grass and rushes, we first saw it and were greeted by shouts and screams from the slaves of a caravan which was preparing to cross the ferry. The Arabs took fright at our arrival, and some made for the canoes, driving off the gangs, whilst the others prepared to cover the retreat; however, after a little talking, the leader moved every one away, and within half an hour, had shipped the whole party (sixty-five in number) into the crazy ferry craft, which charges a dollar for every four slaves taken across.

I then chose a large tree near the bank for our camp, and we were cooking breakfast, when crowds of natives trooped down from the adjacent villages. In less than ten minutes we were surrounded by about 800 men, more than half of whom were armed with guns, the rest carrying spears and bows, and headed by a man who approached and sat down near the tree. He commenced operations by making a long speech on the merits of the Rufiji tribes (an exceedingly ill-favored and dirty race, even amongst East Africans!) lauding them as a fierce and dangerous people. "Did not the Arabs fear them? Had not the white men in the steam-boat turned back to the sea from Fugulia? (Dr. Kirk and Captain Wharton.) The Arabs had told them about us. We had feared and went away from Kikunia, and now we had come back. Why had we come? To fight with a caravan and interfere with the slaves, and close the road, when the country would be ruined? To take away the trade and the boats? They wanted to know what I could say, they heard there was to be a fight, and they would join the fight."

Finding the man was only a messenger, I told him when the Chiefs come to see me I would speak, but that I wanted to eat, I could not afford time to talk to him. In the end the three head men of the country arrived, and in about three hours after the armed men had been sent away a complete peace was made and ratified by exchange of presents, blue and white calico and turban cloths on the one side, and rice and vegetables on the other. The old man of the three, up to our leaving, muttered to himself about the evil days that we should bring on the Rufiji!

We struck the river at Mpenbeno, on the only caravan route, a group of villages above the Delta and some ten miles higher than Fugulia, reached from the sea, via the Simboranga, by Dr. Kirk and Captain Wharton. The river here is about 260 to 300 yards in width, with a current running about two knots, and, from soundings taken by Lieutenant Pullen, R.N., averages three and a-half and runs to four and five and a-half feet in depth at this the driest season of the year.

The scene was very African, the broad flats covered with rich crops glittered in the sun, dotted over with baobabs and fig trees, here and there a shady grove marking a group of villages, to the north-west rose the lower hills, from which the white smoke of large grass fires stood out against the purple ranges of the Matumburi mountains in the background to the north and north-east; the highlands of the Intote and the coast ridge behind Kikunia, were visible, whilst through the midst of the enclosed plain rolled the Rufiji in rapid bends and with one long reach past Mpenbeno. An island with steep banks and covered with brushwood is a prominent feature, and a few sand banks fringed with long rushes, infested, the natives say, with crocodiles, are not promising signs of depth. There are no rocks or rapids to be found for twenty days' journey, where, from the descriptions given me by a man who came from the upper country, the Matumburi hills are probably passed through gorges. Hippopotami are rare, and game scanty, owing to the many villages which line the banks far into the interior.

The country is healthy, but suffers from the inundation of the river, when fevers are prevalent. Copal is collected in the neighbourhood, and large quantities of wax, ivory comes down but irregularly. cereals being the produce of the alluvial lands and the mainstay of trade. Large tracts of land exist where the sugar cane might be grown advantageously and transport by water could be made available; the Arabs, however, have no hold on the country, the native tribes being in undisputed possession.

From here to Kikunia is called seven hours' journey, and a bearing of the hills distinctly visible on the horizon, gave the direction of the road which crosses the unimportant rivers, the Nkora and the Rolie. The village of Fugulia is three hours distant in a canoe, six by land, according to the natives, and in this case the river must wind considerably, which apparently is the case. Canoes, however, are used only for the ferries, in consequence of the strength of the current. "How we get them up again," said the chief, "when they get down, and we walk when we travel." Coal is reported to exist five days' journey inland, the seam being visible on the banks of the river. The Indians all believe this to be a true report and show specimens of the coal, some of which reached Zanzibar, and, I think, even Bombay.

Unless coal was discovered worth the working, I do not think that it would be worth while to expend money on the Rufiji. During the dry season, like most African rivers, it

is a snare and a delusion, sand banks and shoals, and an average depth of from four to five feet, do not look well even in the driest season; yet, if after a visit to these coal localities the future looked promising, it would become a question whether steam launches could stem the strong current, and at what seasons, and how far they could ascend.

No attempt should ever be made to stop the slave caravan route on this river, great exposure and loss of life would be certain, and success, owing to the intricacies of the Delta and the opposition of the natives, doubtful.

A complete map of the route travelled will be forwarded with my concluding letter. In the construction of this, I am greatly indebted to the assistance of Sub-Lieutenant Pullen, who accompanied the party as a volunteer, and who, notwithstanding severe illness, was most indefatigable in taking observations and notes, and a willing assistant whenever work was to be done in any shape.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
First Assistant to Political Agent, and Vice-Consul, Zanzibar.

No. 3.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 26, 1874.

WITH reference to paragraph 3 of my letter dated the 18th instant, I have the honour to forward a Report, of the same date, which Captain Elton has furnished of his proceedings after leaving Kilwa.

Captain Elton was unfortunately prevented from visiting Tanga, a port from which a large smuggling trade is carried on with the island of Pemba; but I am in hopes that an opportunity will shortly present itself for completing the work of inspection, both at that place and at Chak Chak, the capital of the island.

I beg particularly to invite the attention of your Lordship to the valuable suggestions made by Captain Elton, on the subject of the land traffic in slaves.

Whether an organized system of transporting slaves by land will be permanently established, will depend, I think, in a great measure upon the success which may have attended the efforts lately made for the enforcement of Article IV of the Treaty of the 5th June last. If the Indian traders are once convinced that we are thoroughly in earnest, and that our vigilance will not hereafter be relaxed, they will cease to make advances upon these ventures, and the trade must necessarily languish, and finally perish for want of sustenance. I am not, therefore, inclined to look upon the present flourishing state of the caravan trade, as an indication of what it may become in future years, but should rather judge the current season to be an exceptional one, in which every one has been anxious to make the most of the money which he has already invested in the trade, under the apprehension that a fresh supply may not be forthcoming. Should, however, my anticipations not be fulfilled, the plan proposed by Captain Elton for the stoppage of the trade, will have to be taken into serious consideration, although the difficulties attendant upon carrying it out effectually seem to me to be of no light nature.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 18, 1874.

EARLY in February I received your favourable reply to my proposal to visit Konduchi, Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Tanga, for the purpose of registering and freeing slaves held by Indians under British jurisdiction, so soon as the work I was then occupied upon in the southern districts was completed.

I have now the honour to report that in accordance with your instructions, on the conclusion of business in Kilwa, I chartered a dhow, and sailed from that port on the 1st March, for the north.

Konduchi was reached, after a tedious voyage, with light baffling winds, on the 5th, where I discovered twenty slaves, held by two Bhattiahs and two Khojahs, nineteen of whom remained with their masters, only one electing to leave.

Konduchi is the name given to a group of villages, scattered in cocoa-nut tree groves, on the shores of a shallow bay, about twelve miles north of Dar-es-Salam, and on the

direct road following the coast. The inhabitants are hard-working fishermen and cultivators; the locality tolerably healthy. Cattle thrive, and are exported to Zanzibar. Maize and millet grow well, and amicable relations being kept up with the Washenzi, copal is brought in in large quantities from the interior. The slave caravans pass through the centre of the principal village, and unanimous evidence proved the immense number of slaves now travelling up from Kilwa.

From Konduchi, Burni was touched at, but without result, as no slaves were found, and the few Indians in the place, many being absent at Zanzibar and at Bagamoyo, denied (and, I believe, in this case they spoke the truth) owning any. A system, however, exists here, as well as at Konduchi, which accounts for the small number of slaves freed. Instead of running the risk of purchasing, the Indian hires from the Waswahili, at the rate of 1 dollar or 2 dollars per month; the master receives the wages, the slave, in most cases, getting not only no remuneration for his work, but neither clothing nor food, and being left entirely dependent on the labour of his own hands during the two clear days a week upon which he is allowed, in order to keep alive, to labour for his personal benefit. This arrangement is one almost impossible to check, and, although in force all along the coast, and at Zanzibar, flourishes as an institution more especially on the Mrima, between Dar-es-Salam and Tanga.

Bagamoyo presents a more active and stirring scene than Kilwa. The ivory trade is carried on briskly, and a large caravan had arrived a few days previously, which had brought over a great many speculators from Zanzibar. Here, on the 8th March, I registered seventy-four slaves, held by eighteen Khojahs, two Memons, and nineteen Bhattiahs, of whom forty-nine remained with their masters, and twenty-five preferred leaving them.

Although I was well received by the Indian community, there was a great reluctance to produce the slaves; however, only one case of actual concealment occurred, and that a trifling one.

On the 13th, after a narrow escape of being wrecked on the bar of the river, from the tiller of the dhow breaking, Pangani was made. I was careful here to send ashore to the acting Wali, to inform him of my arrival, and explain the object of the visit, and was very civilly treated by him, as, indeed, by all the Arabs, of whom I found large numbers about the town, a sure evidence that slaves were in the neighbourhood, waiting for shipment to Pemba.

Sixteen Bhattiahs, three Khojahs, and two Bohras, form the population of the town. Amongst them I could, however, only find seven slaves, and the strongest protestations were made that none were concealed. I could hardly believe such to be the case, and carefully questioned each man, but with no result, although I warned them that, after this visit, any concealment of slaves would be tried with assessors, and the full fine of 1,000 dollars inflicted on conviction.

Here, the system of hiring from Waswahili is in full force, and would appear to have supplanted actual slave-holding amongst British subjects, the hired hack being, in my opinion, worse off than ever when away from his master, and working for a man who does not entertain a particle of consideration for his welfare. I have seen cases where natives had worked for years, half-starved all the time and even deprived of part of their two free days by Battiah masters, who paid a few shillings to lazy Waswahili for their monthly services, and, in some, have forced a release, where a suspicion of mortgage appeared raised; but, in the majority of instances, complaints made by slaves in such a position, and many complaints are made, have to be dismissed, and a discontented slave goes back to an angry master a great deal worse off than before.

Here, as at Konduchi, and as at Bagamoyo, my reports from Kilwa, as to the number of slaves brought up by the caravans, were fully confirmed. Several successful runs have been made from the river, the dhows ostensibly loading goods from the town during the day. The slaves, at the favourable moment, are shipped by night, their irons knocked off, and a fair wind lands the cargo at Pemba in a few hours, no one in Pangani being wiser than any body else until after the event.

Bueni, on the opposite bank of the river, a village built under a lofty escarped bluff, is the favourite resort of the caravan leaders, the coast road and ferry lying between it and the sea.

Should it ever be proposed to put a stop to this caravan route, I am convinced, from very careful inquiry and from my own observations, that any operations on the Rufiji, at Samanga, or even in the Kwale district, would fail. The climate is malarious, fevers attack both white and black men virulently, and the inhabitants, to whom the traffic represents only an easy means of livelihood, would be as one man against its suppression; but such would not be the case here, the Usumbarra have declared against Slave Trade, and would assist.

With 200 men, under an active and intelligent leader, distributed along the river at Maoya, Chogwé, and Tongwé, with head-quarters at Pangani, and constant communication by canoes between the posts, it would be impossible for any caravan to pass further north, unless with the permission of the Usambarra, and then almost impracticable jungle tracts would have to be traversed.

Were a similar number of men stationed at Dar-es-Salam, with boats and posts on that river, and an arrangement made with the Uzeramo, the same effect would be attained, but with more difficulty, the country presenting fewer obstacles and being better disposed towards the trade. A man like Rashkallah (the Akhidah of Dar-es-Salam), not given to half-measures or hesitation, and if furnished with clear and concise instructions, would, I feel sure, succeed at Pangani, and effectually close the road. Attempts would be made to run the gauntlet by sea, no doubt, which would of course be watched by the Navy.

A very large ivory trade is carried on from Pangani by the Banians to the Umasai, Nguru, and Chaga countries, the ivory from here being considered superior to any on the coast, and Slave Trade is not a heavy blot on these parts. Some of the plantations in the neighbourhood of the town are well cultivated, but not to any distance in the interior; commerce, and not agriculture, is the employment of the inhabitants.

On the 14th I sailed for Tanga, and, after crossing the bar, beat against a strong head wind for five hours without doing much good. The weather got heavier, and every wave broke over the bows, the water being over everything in the hold, and all the men employed in baling out. The dhow was old, leaky and crazy, and it was manifestly a certainty that we must be swamped if we continued to force her against the sea. Pangani could not be re-entered without danger; the bar broke heavily, and the captain, after his former experience, hesitated to venture at it again; so I, in consequence, gave the order to run down before the wind to Zanzibar; it was fortunate I did so, for the heavy seas rolling in, would have certainly been too much for the wretched craft, had I kept on, and we could never have reached Tanga.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

No. 4.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, April 6, 1874.

I DO myself the honour to transmit, in a tin case addressed to your Lordship, a report, accompanied by a map, which Captain Elton has drawn up on the country traversed by him between Dar-es-Salam and Kilwa on his late tours. Should your Lordship think proper, Captain Elton would be glad if the paper were forwarded through Dr. Kirk to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society. I need scarcely say that Captain Elton has been careful to exclude any matter of a political nature, and has confined himself to describing a country of great natural capabilities, the development of which is chiefly retarded by the unnatural traffic which is concentrated upon the town of Kilwa and its vicinity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 4.

Report by Vice-Consul Elton on the Country traversed by him between Dar-es-Salam and Kilwa.

PREVIOUSLY to Dr. Kirk's departure from Zanzibar I received his orders to proceed to the Mrima to undertake the important mission of freeing all slaves held by Indians under British jurisdiction from Dar-es-Salam, south to the Rovuma, in pursuance of the policy enforced by our Government on the conclusion of the Treaty of June, 1873, with the Sultan.

These orders gave me great freedom of action, and whilst instructing me to visit and report on the copal fields, and to cross, if possible, the Rufigi River above its Delta, permitted me to alter the route as circumstances might require.

Dr. Kirk was anxious for all information regarding these hitherto closed southern districts, and gave me free access to his valuable notes on the coast, at the same time

pressing upon me the importance of drawing up a geographical paper on the new country passed through, and the present sketch is the result which, as it is for the most part confined to a description of fresh ground, hitherto untravelled by white men, will, I trust, be found deserving of some interest.

I.—*Dar-es-Salam, Chungu-Bueni, and Kwalé Districts.*

The town of Dar-es-Salam, situated in latitude $6^{\circ} 49'$ and longitude $39^{\circ} 42'$ east, was the starting point of the expedition.

Dar-es-Salam is built on the north side of the river of the same name, which spreads into a large land-locked basin, where vessels of considerable draught can anchor with security. The harbour and approaches have been recently surveyed by Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater" on a 6-inch scale (this vessel drawing 15 feet, ascended the river for 4 miles), and is navigable for some distance to small craft. The Sultan's residence is at the inland extremity of the basin, on the extreme right of the town, and a line of stone houses forms a crescent facing the anchorage, fronted by a broad road from which flights of steps lead to the narrow strip of sandy beach fringing the shore. In the intervals between the stairs stone wells are sunk, the water being perfectly fresh. Time, neglect, and weather are, however, rapidly destroying both steps, wells, and houses. Only two of the latter are completely finished; the broad streets are overgrown with tall grass; shops locked up, and, except at one quarter of the town, where a few Indians and Waswahili congregate, trade is comparatively dead. House property is almost valueless and land a drug. The site of the town is charming, the surrounding country fertile, well wooded, and, for East Africa, tolerably healthy, but the desolation is despairing, and the scene suggests a fashionable watering-place which has been run up in a hurry by a Limited Liability Company suddenly compelled to stop work from scarcity of funds and an over plenitude of ideas.

The late Sultan Seyyid Majid was both projector and patron of the town. After his death all work was stopped, and the present ruler Seyyid Burgash is not likely to resume operations, hence its existence appears to be doomed. Bad management has had something to say to the decay, the copal trade being ruined owing to a dispute which arose between a slave of the Seyyid's and a native belonging to one of the neighbouring tribes. The native was killed, and his people demanded as a right the slave's life from the Sultan. This was refused, and orders came from Zanzibar to employ force if necessary. The distrust thus occasioned was intensified by the action of an over-zealous soldier, who cut down one of the Washenzi copal diggers in the streets of the town, and as a result, but few natives continued to trade, Mgogoni, Tuliani, &c., being resorted to by them in preference to Dar-es-Salam. The caravans, which at one time were diverted from Bagamoyo and other coast towns with a view of forcing the trade, have long resumed their old beats.

Seyyid Burgash has extensive plantations worked by about 300 slaves, cocoa-nut trees, rice, 'mhogo, and maize being cultivated; the oil-palm introduced by Dr. Kirk also appeared to thrive. Cattle do well, and do not suffer from the special coast murrain, the country being dry and open, and stretching away to the Marui hills in an undulating succession of woodlands and broad glades, inhabited by Washenzi, who claim to be divided into almost as many tribes as they number villages. A few Arabs and many Waswahili idle upon neglected estates; and in the villages of the district, some sixty Battiahs and Khojahs, scattered between Mgogoni, Tuliani, Sasani, and Dar-es-Salam, monopolizing the trade, principally in copal, grain, and sim-sim, with a little ivory and wax. India-rubber, extracted from a Uiana commonly found in the neighbourhood of the copal tree ('Msandarusi) is no longer exported, its collection being stopped by leopards, which killed several of the lads whilst at work in the woods. The Wazeramo do not meddle with the Washenzi-traders, and may often be seen shining with red clay and grease, scantily clothed, and adorned with armlets of iron-wire, carrying spears or bows, and heading parties of women and boys laden with copal baskets, themselves intent on barter; the Arabs, however, fear them, and do not venture carelessly beyond the hills, or trust themselves in the power of their petty Chiefs.

On the 20th December arrangements were complete, and I moved south, the party consisting of eleven carriers, eight followers, Sub-Lieutenant Pullen, of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater" (a valuable volunteer), and myself, in all twenty-one men, with provisions for a month, five guns, two tents, and two donkeys. After crossing the mouth of the harbour in canoes, and swimming the donkeys across, the path led past Mgogoni and Tuliani to Mbuamaji, all coast fishing villages of the usual type, built a little back from the sea, and screened by cocoa palms and mango trees, scattered groups of thatched and

wattled houses, with here and there more pretentious structures in coral rag belonging to Indians, a Dewan's house rejoicing in a "baraza," or raised stone bench before the door, and a dingy-looking mosque.

From here a second road follows the coast line past Ras Mdege, Kimbiji, &c., but is so cut up by mangrove swamps and creeks that it is practically useless, and the existence of a third, or upper inland route, which I had heard rumoured of, being disproved, the road we were upon, known as the Kisiju road, remains the main, and indeed the only land communication passing through Chungu-Bueni and Kwalé to Kilwa.

For about twenty miles south the path ran through an undulating grass country, with extensive belts of forest trees (amongst which the copal tree was common), sloping gradually towards the coast from the Uzeramo hills, broken rarely by outlying huts and their surrounding cultivation. The ground was thickly honeycombed with old copal workings, holes sunk to the depth of about three feet, making any rapid progress off the beaten track dangerous, and for many years these diggings have furnished the main supply of semi-fossil gum to the Zanzibar market; they are now, however, deserted for the richer fields to the southward. Kigonga, a small village buried in cocoa palms, was deserted, a slave caravan which was resting in it hiding away in the surrounding woods at our approach, and there was no change in the park-like scenery until the Bezé (a brawling stream which we crossed twice) was reached. Here we entered a cultivated country, the sub-district of Foonzé in Chungu-bueni. Broad fields of 'mhogó and maize thrive on the rich alluvial soil between the rivers, and stretch towards the coast, the only danger dreaded by the cultivators being the nocturnal raids made by the hippopotami from the mangrove creeks near the sea, to guard against which huts are built on raised platforms, where men are posted to frighten off the intruders with rusty old matchlocks and guns, and occasionally (so the natives assert) are turned over, hut, scaffolding, and all, by the blind rush of "behemoth."

In this, the Chungu-bueni district, which comprises Foonze and Mangatani (Dar-es-Salam may be considered to end near the huts at Massongae), Kimwere is the acknowledged chief of all tribes as far as the Coast Hill Range. He is a fine, stalwart specimen of a free African, an athlete, a good shot, and a hardworking hunter, and is reputed to be an admirable "Crichton" by the natives, who recount tales of his prowess over the camp fires. Placed over the people by Seyyid Majid, of whom he was a favourite, he still claims a royalty from settlers, and as the local village "Jumbe" (chief), has likewise to be subsidized, and the representatives of Seyyid Burgash claims a per-centage on trade profits, which he estimates himself, there does not appear to be much encouragement held out to traders arriving in the district, which only counts one permanent Indian merchant, a Battiah. He was wise enough to form an alliance with Kimwere, and now almost monopolizes the Foonze copal, as well as taking the lion's share of that brought in by the Washenzi in Mangatani. The "msandarusi" is found extensively as far inland as the coast range, and Kiregesi, a forest west of the road in Mangatani, is celebrated both for the trees and for the rich semi-fossil diggings which are worked in its vicinity. An average tree measured by Lieutenant Pullen and myself was over 60 feet in height, girth at ground 4 feet 3 inches, and from the ground to the first branch 21 feet 6 inches. The trunk is covered with a moderately thick bark, resembling that of the birch, and grows perpendicularly in most trees to a height of from 20 to 25 feet. At this point the main limbs fork, and from the extremities of the branches the foliage spreads into that flat, crowned appearance so common to many African trees. The fruit is of a brown colour and an irregular almond shape, studded with rough excrescences, the leaves glossy and of a vivid green. Wherever the tree is injured a resinous gum collects, which is also frequently seen on the lower sides of the branches and dug from the soil under their shadow. This, the tree gum, is of comparatively small value, the so-called "semi-fossil" animi commanding a far higher price; but all native testimony and my own observation confirm the theory that the latter must be the product of ancient forests of the same tree, although it is impossible to estimate the time required to produce the fossil appearance.

The coast road interrupted by tidal creeks, either to be crossed through mud and ooze at low tide, or in canoes at high water, after passing Sara, Kimbiji, and Suna, reaches the "Chungu" creek on which are the villages of Bujuni and Bosa, and then crossing the swamps of Yegea and Kuruti skirts a few hovels at Paracha and Dendeni before reaching Kisiju. These places are sparsely inhabited by fishermen who are reputed to couple wrecking with salt-fish trade, and are given a bad character by dhow owners and traders.

On the 22nd a large slave caravan was met while crossing the Pafuni. Several gangs marched past us quietly, heavily armed and guarded by Arabs; but our party arrived suddenly on the main body, halted in the long grass by the river bank, and a panic was the result. One of my followers, a boy who had put a large sun helmet on the top of his fez,

and headed the line of "Wapagazi" through the reeds a little above where I had crossed, appeared to the slave driver's fears the leader of a subtle flank movement, and with loud cries of "wazungo," "wazungo" (white men, white men), a *saute qui peut* commenced. Arabs, throwing away their arms, disappeared into the bush, loose slaves and excited drivers ran in all directions, water jars, rice bags, papers, the strong-box, and all the baggage of the caravan lay strewn about upon the trampled reeds and long tiger grass. Here stood a gang of wretched children whose connecting chain was entangled in the thorn bushes, wailing piteously; there a gang of emaciated men doggedly waiting with bewildered eyes to see what new evil would befall them; whilst the screams, shouts, and general confusion were deafening. I estimated the number of slaves at 300, although it afterwards appeared there were 600, including those already across the river. Their condition was horrible, marched as they had been almost without a halt from the Miao country near the Nyassa Lake. But nothing could be done to help them; any conflict with the Arabs would have been fatal to further progress. Fortunately one Arab was secured, and, as he witnessed the punishment of one of my men who was caught meddling with the strong-box, and saw that none of the party interfered with the wreck of the caravan, I dispatched him forthwith to hunt up his fellow-ruffians, and pushed on beyond the Yegea River. When after a halt we subsequently toiled through the deep tenacious mud of the long Yegea swamp, where, fresh as the men were, we could hardly manage two miles in an hour, all realized what a terrible morning the weary, heavily-ironed slaves must have endured.

The truth of sundry warnings received at Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salam, was now evident; the road was thick with slaves on their way up from Kilwa, and great caution was requisite. Indeed, on the Mkoondi River, it was only by great good fortune that a serious collision was avoided. An Arab, guarding a caravan, keeping me covered with his matchlock for several minutes, and in the end only being prevented from firing, by the arrival of his leader, who had sense enough to see that force was his worst policy.

Past the Mkoondi the Kwalé district is entered. Miles of 'mhogo surround Kisiju. Rice is grown in large quantities; and maize yields abundantly. Both mango and coconut trees bear profusely. This fertility, the people say, is owing to the constant showers which favour the country round Kisiju; hardly a week passes without rain; and when the rest of the coast is parched and burnt up, "the garden of Kwalé" is green and flourishing. The Indian community here are chiefly engaged in grain speculation, and store large quantities, awaiting a rise in the Zanzibar market; they supply Kilwa, and export largely at present to the Mungao district, where the crops have been destroyed by the Washenzi.

The town of Kisiju is a straggling row of houses and plantations on the Magassi River, hidden from view by cocoa-nut groves, and sheltered by the opposite, the right bank of the river from the sea. A dangerous ford, breast-high at low water, crosses the Lagoon, the road from here following the sea-beach for some miles. This is a resting-place for the caravans; huts being built for the slaves, cooking trenches dug, stocks and extra irons kept in readiness, and an Arab overseer in charge of the arrangements for victualling. A new branch of industry has also been established; the inhabitants having discovered that buying up sick slaves from the gangs, feeding them into condition, and re-selling them, is a profitable and easy means of additional income.

In the town and the neighbourhood are ruins to which fabulous traditions are attached; but they are evidently Portuguese; and on the coast, about three miles to the south, a ruined fort is manifestly not Shirazi, but Portuguese handiwork. The masonry still holds together, as well as the inclosing wall, although built on an exposed bluff, facing both wind and wave.

The adjacent island of Kwalé is cultivated by a few Arabs and Waswahili, but the Indian traders have deserted it and formed numerous colonies on the sea-board of the district from Kisiju to the Rufigi, which previously to my journey were almost unknown, even by name, in Zanzibar; Zerare, Kitmangao, Kunderani, Kivinja, Sandazi, Mji-Mema, and Pemba being considerable trading stations for Copal, in which the Khojah and Battiah element are predominant. All are similarly situated a few miles inland on the indenting "Khors" peculiar to the coast, where at spring-tides there is sufficient rise of water to admit small dhows to run up and load within an easy distance. The settlers do not venture into the interior, the tribes strictly stipulating that all copal must pass through their hands alone, and always being ready to combine against any incroachment on their territorial rights. In the season—after the first rains—brisk trade is carried on, and long strings of natives arrive with the gum, carefully escorted by an armed guard. Each village adopts the name of the headman as a tribal designation, hence an endless confusion and great difficulty in making arrangements for continual supplies. It is only near Kikunia that a respectable tribe appears, the Mtoti; and again the Rufigi people break up

into the village system, and a dozen men reign over a few miles of country, to the great hindrance of everything and everybody. An annual tribute is paid to the local "Jumbe," and a share of the profits levied by those high in authority, whenever they have power at hand to enforce payment, but the wholesale taxation, which drives settlers from Changuabueni, does not exist in Kwalé.

Kaniki, satini, and amerikano are the cloths which, with beads, wire, gum, and powder (the latter is scarce and valuable now, owing to Seyyid Burgash's enforced monopoly) are used in the trade, the frahsilah of copal being usually bought at from 4 to 5½ dollars. On this, the Sultan's Custom-house levies 20 per cent. (*i.e.*, they take 20 frahsilahs away out of each 100, 24 out of each 120, &c.) on shipment; on grain 5 per cent.; add to this various petty extortions, fees, storage, freight, &c., and it will be readily seen what a flourishing trade could be carried on on the Coast under equitable rules.

Approaching the Kikunia villages, a ridge of rounded sandstone hills runs in a south-westerly direction, the lands bordering the road, and even on the hill slopes, being cultivated. The other trading stations are, for the most part, surrounded by woodlands, but here abundant crops are harvested and a large export trade in grain carried on, whilst in addition to copal, ivory and wax often find their way from the Upper Rufigi. The water here is scarce and bad, and the locality unhealthy.

Unfortunately, the hot sun (we were in December, the hottest time of year) and constant work amongst the malarious swamps here exacted tribute, and, within twenty-four hours, nine of the party, including Lieutenant Pullen and myself, were attacked with the severe fever and ague peculiar to the coast. Matters did not mend, only two out of twenty-one escaped scot free in the end; and, finding it impossible to continue the march, I procured a dhow and sailed across to the island of Cholé, south of Mafia, which is used as a sanatorium by the traders of the Kwalé District, and there gave everyone a fortnight to recruit in.

Kikunia we found situated at the head of a broad creek, communicating with the Simbarango mouth of the Rufigi Delta, down which and past the embouchure of the Rufigi branch we sailed on our coasting voyage, which afforded a good opportunity of working out and noting the various indenting "khors" with which the shores here are serrated.

Very little game was observed in the districts passed through, two or three small deer and one "sunder" of wild pigs with a few guinea fowl was all seen.

II.—Rufigi, Samanga, and Kilwa.

The small islet of Cholé is incorrectly laid down on Captain Owen's chart, it covers about one-fifth of the area given to it, and is confused with the adjoining island of Jirani or Jiwani, from which it is separated by a channel, indeed, it is under two hours' walk round the whole island. The vegetation is luxuriant, large mango and cocoa-nut trees, oranges, jack-fruit, and the baobab shade the paths, cattle and goats thrive, fish are plentiful, fruit and vegetables being brought across from Mafia daily. It is but scantily populated, not having recovered from severe losses by cholera which, a few years ago, almost swept the island, and deserted houses and neglected estates bear witness to the heavy mortality.

Mafia and Jirani are both considered unhealthy, landowners there preferring Cholé as a residence, with its fresh sea breezes and good water, and, as a consequence, small craft constantly ply to and fro between the islands. Every woman in the place appears to be engaged in plaiting the grass mats, which are largely exported. Cowries are collected and dried in considerable quantities, but the principal trade is in grain speculation carried on with the coast, the Indians here keeping agents in Kwalé and Samanga to buy for them.

On the 14th January Samanga was reached, and here a relapse of fever and ague caused a few days delay, during which the Banyans endeavoured to dissuade me from going to the Rufigi, declaring that both Arabs and natives were suspicious of my movements, and that the road was unsafe; however, on the 18th January, being a little stronger, I started with Lieutenant Pullen and fifteen men.

The Samanga villages are Samanga, Samanga Furu, Kuajo, Murengu, and Furu, all situated on creeks by which produce can be conveyed in dhows and are well-built clean villages, doing a thriving trade in copal, wax, ivory, woods, and grain. The recognized authority in each village is the local "Jumbe," or Chief who presides over a council of the head men; the Sultan being unrepresented save by the Custom-house at Samanga, guarded by a few ragged "askari" paid by the agent. The Indian settlers (who allow their profits are very considerable) complain of the oppression of the Chiefs, but in the majority of

cases the Kutchi gives as good as he gets. At Murengu, for instance, I found the wells guarded by natives, and the three head Battiahs compelled to purchase water at an exorbitant daily outlay of "amerikano" and beads, and this system would be continued, the "Jumbe" told them, until rain fell. However, on investigation, it appeared that the Battiahs, on their first arrival in the village some years ago, had claimed the credit of bringing with them such opportune showers that the harvest was an unqualified success, and in the character of "rain makers," received ivory and copal and tithes of grain from the credulous Washenzi. Now the day of retribution had arrived, Murengu called for rain and there was none, and the villagers, convinced of the incapacity of the foreign medicine men, invented this clever method of enforcing the restitution of their original outlay, and one may be sure with heavy interest. My verdict was, "Served them right."

Proceeding towards Kuajo, Murengu, and Furu, the road from Samanga crosses the heads of numerous creeks and mangrove swamps. At high tide the water in many places is breast high, and at ebb the fetid exhalations from mud and ooze are particularly oppressive and trying under the hot sun overhead. In Murengu two slave caravans were halted, one of 200 and the other of 100 slaves, but nothing unpleasant occurred, the leaders as well as the Indians and the Jumbe coming out to meet and salute my arrival.

From Furu the path strikes into a forest country, and is choked up with long, cutting grass and brushwood. For a considerable distance no signs of cultivation were seen, owing probably to the scarcity of water, for that day it was not until the sun was nearly down that we found a muddy pool and were able to eat our first meal. A few miles further a few scattered villages and clearings planted in 'mhogo and maize break the woodland, until a wide plain is seen extending from the lower hill ranges to the west, until lost in the fringe of cultivation, mangos and cocoa trees of the country towards the Delta. Following a beaten track through the low brushwood and stunted trees covering this plain where some difficult nullahs and mud holes obstruct the way, broad fields of maize and sesamum at last show the vicinity of Mohoro, on the river of the same name, which is marked on the charts, at the sea, as Pemba Utagiti, but does not belong to the Rufigi Delta. Here the Matumbior hills rise range beyond range, and the most distant were estimated by Lieutenant Pullen and myself to attain a height of not less than 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. The river, about 120 yards wide, is still affected by the tide, and runs in a deep channel between escarped and high banks of red alluvial soil. Two ferries ply and canoes are used generally, but dhows only ascend as far as the village at stated periods of the year to carry away the grain crop, the bar being dangerous and hippopotami nearer the sea, so the natives say, in large enough numbers to be an actual hindrance to small craft! The village itself consists of widely scattered huts, and three Indian settlers carry on a lucrative barter for copal, sim-sim, and grain, with the tribes on the Rufigi. The fertility of the lands lying between the Mohoro and Rufigi is extraordinary. Maize, rice, millet, ground nuts and peas are largely cultivated, and heavy crops are garnered every year, the periodical inundations bringing fresh life to the soil. Sheep, cattle, and goats are in sufficient numbers to be bought for export and shipped at either Murengu or Samanga. In fact, from the Mohoro to the Rufigi was a three hours' march through a land of plenty. High fields of waving Indian corn hide the Rufigi from view, and it was not until we had cleared them and passed through a belt of reeds and grass that our men found themselves suddenly brought up on the river bank. Shouts and screams from the reeds greeted the arrival of the party, which had fallen upon a caravan preparing to cross the ferry. The slaves were driven away towards the canoes, and their retreat covered by the Arabs, who did their best to show a bold front, but as soon as they were convinced I had no intention of interfering, gladly moved off at a quick double, and were not long before placing the river between us.

I pitched the camp under a large fig tree, and was busy getting breakfast under weigh, when the natives trooped down from the neighbouring villages armed with muskets, spears, and bows and arrows, and several hundred men had squatted round us within a few minutes. On parleying with a man who appeared to be the leader, he commenced a long speech with a voluble eulogy on the great merits of the Rufigi tribes:—"Were not they known to be fierce?—were not the Arabs even afraid of them? Why had we come, here to rob them of the money they made by the ferries, and interfere with the caravans? We had gone back from Kikunia as the white men went back from Fugulia (Dr. Kirk and Captain Wharton). Now, why had we returned by another road and fought with a caravan on our arrival? We must go back or fight with them. The Arabs had warned them against us. We came to rob them of trade and ruin their people. What had I to reply to this?"

Further conversation elicited the fact that this orator was only a messenger, so I refused to answer him, and sent a message to say that my mouth was shut until the Chief

arrived. This produced the three head-men of the district, who soon ordered off the armed natives, and, after about three hours, negotiation for peace was ratified by an interchange of presents. Blue and white cotton and chequered turbans on the one side, and rice, vegetables, and Indian corn in tall conical baskets on the other.

Five or six ferries ply near these villages (known as Mpenbeno), and make a good thing out of the caravans, as the ford is dangerous, and never used except as an emergency. Crocodiles, it is said, are legion, although none were seen. From Mpenbeno to Fugulia (reached from the sea via the Simbarango mouth by Dr. Kirk and Captain Wharton) is about ten miles, three hours' journey with the stream in a canoe, the river winding considerably. Here it is about 260 yards wide, with a current running about 2 knots an hour, and above tidal influence, and, from careful soundings taken by Lieutenant Pullen, averages $3\frac{1}{2}$, 4, and 5 feet in depth from bank to bank, this being at the driest season of the year.

The scene was thoroughly African; broad flats bright with crops, and dotted over with villages shaded by clumps of baobab, tamarind, and fig trees spread away to the north-west to the lower hills, beyond which the Matumbroi range forms a noble background. To the north and north-east the hills and high lands behind Kikunia bound the landscape, whilst through the centre of the wide alluvial plain winds the river, bending westward until lost in the distant mountains. A steep, green island overgrown with brushwood, arose in the nearest reach, and here and there a few sandbanks mostly overgrown with rank grass and reeds. To the eastward, fields of maize stretched to the flat-wooded distance bordering on the Delta.

The natives of the Rufiji tribes are intensely black, by no means good-looking, and rather below the average stature; a skin or piece of blue cloth round the waist and iron armlets are worn by the men; the women affecting the blue "kisuto" in a few instances, but being mostly clad with aprons of dressed hide. Their ornaments are few, fetish necklaces with pieces of horn and bone and shells attached were seen, and many of the guns were adorned with brass-headed nails driven into the stocks; the spears and bows and arrows neatly finished off with brass wire displayed some taste, but the wants of the people are few, and limited to "kaniki," firearms and powder. Near every village bark hives are fixed on cross branches about 6 feet from the ground, bees being very numerous, and the wax brought to Samanga for barter of good quality. The villages themselves are built on one long central street, and the wattled huts are constructed with a circular verandah porch over the doorways, which gives them a regular and rather finished appearance. The country must be quiet, for I only saw two small villages furnished with a protecting thorn fence. The broad-tailed, dew-lapped sheep attain a large size; poultry is abundant, and fish are plentiful, heavy ones being speared from the sand islands in the river. Men, women, and children work together in the fields, and the race is evidently of an agricultural bent; they, however, bear the character of being thieves, litigious and quarrelsome, and I should fancy are not to be trusted, but require careful handling. They sell but few slaves to the Arabs, who do not care to meddle with them, but the slave-hunters are reported to be working round the lower Matumbroi hills, where the country is in a dangerous state. Hippopotami are scarce, and game driven away.

From Mpenbeno to Kikunia is seven hours' journey, the road crossing two rivers of no importance, the Nkora and Rohé. Canoes (which are simply hollowed logs) are used only to ferry across the Rufiji, in consequence of the strength of the current. "If we want to travel we go on foot," one of the Chiefs said; "how can we get our canoes up against the stream?" A general report states coal to exist in surface seams visible on the banks, five or six days' journey up the river, and specimens said to have been brought from this country were, I believe, given by the Sultan to Dr. Kirk and forwarded to Bombay. Should the coal prove of value and the report as to locality correct (which I see no reason to doubt) the Rufiji would rise rapidly in importance, and it would be important to test whether steam-launches could ascend the stream at other time of the year. During the dry season it is, I fear, like most other African rivers, a snare and delusion; sand islands, rapid bends, and an average depth of from 4 to 5 feet only, are not promising signs; however, the natives agree that neither rocks or rapids exist for about twenty days' journey, where, probably, from the descriptions given, the Matumbroi range is passed through a succession of mountain gorges. The country is said to be healthy, although during the inundations fever is common about Kohoro and Kopenbeno, from both of which places, however, the Matumbroi hill would furnish a healthy change, even the distant sight of their clear blue peaks cheered one up after the dismal, sweltering mangrove creeks of the coast.

By a meridian altitude of Canopus, Lieutenant Pullen placed Mpenbeno in latitude $8^{\circ} 9'$; but the young moon not being visible, no lunar could be taken, and the longitude on the map is calculated by the line of march, distances from Kikunia, Samanga, and

Fugulia, and valuable cross bearings, which were obtained of the Mtoti Hills, and the more prominent points of the Matumbwi range.

The morning we left, the Chiefs sent a deputation, to beg us to bring them rain ; "they had seen us talking with the stars ; if we did that, we could open the clouds." As we were on the eve of departure, Baraka, my head man, told them "it was all right, they should have rain that day." The morning was bright and cloudless ; but within an hour a heavy thunderstorm worked up from the hills, down came the rain ; and our fame as "medicine men" travelled as far as Kilwa !

After our return march to Samanga, the subsequent journey overland to Kilwa, was terribly hard work. Three miles from Samanga the mangrove swamps are entered, cut up by black dismal-looking streams, often breast-high. The Sequani and the Kipelété we had to swim ; and beyond the latter, a considerable tidal stream, the path lay for a couple of miles through variations of hot sand, and black, warm, oozing mud, no fresh water being found until we reached the scattered plantations and villages called Matombiani. From this the road follows the sea-shore, until the creeks of the Mzinjera are crossed ; on the river itself there is a ferry, and beyond them the outlying "Shambas" of Kilwa are reached.

Kilwa has been described so often of late, that there is no need to dwell on an unpleasant subject. Broad sand and mud flats face the sea ; bad water and severe fevers fall to every one's lot ; and the town itself, with its scattered stone houses, winding streets, and thickly-peopled native huts, looks dry and feverish in the hot glare of a January sun ; the green hills in the distance, and the broad, rippling sea, being the redeeming features of the scene. "Places of Skulls" mark the various roads on which the Slave Traffic is carried on ; and skeletons are strewn on the beach. The country behind is a desert for a week's journey ; and at every step some new experience of the desolation of the Slave Trade is apparent.

The transport of slaves by sea appears to be at an end, but has given place to the transport by land, over the route by which I travelled ; and the trade is diverted into other channels.

From Kilwa my journey was continued by sea to the various ports southward ; after which, Kilwa was re-visited, and subsequently the ports north of Dar-es-Salam to Pangani. As a practical result I registered as free 1,408 slaves, held by Indians, British subjects ; and of these, 920 remained with their former masters, and 488 began life again, working for pay, or in many instances uniting in small bodies, and settling near the villages.

As far as my work took me over untravelled ground, I have given a brief description of the country passed over, and the inland route, which will be rendered intelligible by the accompanying map ; and I must, in conclusion, record the assistance of Lieutenant Pullen, Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," who, although suffering from continual attacks of fever, missed no opportunities of observing, and rendered me most valuable aid.

(Signed) F. ELTON.

April 2, 1874.



THE
SLAVE CARAVAN ROUTE
from
DAR ES SALAM
to
KILWA.

of F. H. S. & P. H. S. & P. H. S.
of F. H. S. & P. H. S. & P. H. S.



Table of Distance and Times. (On Foot.)	Hours occupied in March.	Estimated Distance in Miles.	Direct Geographical Miles, Point to Point.
	H. m.		
Dar-es-Salam to Mgogoni	1 30	4	
Tuliani	1 0	2½	
Mboamaji	2 0	5	
Massonga	4 0	12	
Bilali	4 0	10	
Cross Mkote	1 0	3	
„ Pafuni	2 0	6	
„ Yegea	1 0	2	
(Mangatani) „ Mkoondi	1 30	3	
Kisiju	1 0	3	
Kitmangao	4 0	11	
Kivinja	4 0	11	
Sandazi	1 0	2½	
Pemba	3 0	9	
Kikunia	1 30	4	
	32 30	88	45
Samanga to Kuajo	2 0	5	
Murengu	1 0	2½	
Furu	1 0	1½	
Pool in forest	3 0	7	
Mohoro	2 0	5	
Rufigi	3 0	9	
	12 0	30	25
Samanga to Kilwa—			
Sequani	3 0	6	
Matapataasa River	1 30	3	
Kipeféfé River	2 30	5	
	4 0	8	
Mjuijera	3 0	6	
Kilwa	2 0	5	
	16 0	30	15

NOTE.—With reference to longitude of the track, it has been presumed that the coast line is correct. The running survey was made by Captain Wharton, last August.

Latitude of Kisiju (Sun M. A.)	7° 27' 47"
„ Samanga (Canopus M. A.)	8° 32'
„ Mpenbeno (Canopus M. A.)	8° 9'

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

Map illustrating preceding Report.

No. 5.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord,
Zanzibar, April 8, 1874.
IN continuation of previous correspondence, I have the honour to forward copy of a final Report by my First Assistant, Captain Elton, giving the results of his mission to the southern territories of His Highness the Sultan, which was undertaken under the direction of Dr. Kirk in December last.
2. From this it appears that a total of 1,409 slaves held by British Indian subjects and protégés were manumitted, of whom 927 elected to remain with their masters, and 482 to quit their service.
3. It will be observed that Captain Elton does not entertain very sanguine views with respect to the cessation of the land traffic in slaves. So short a time, however, has elapsed since the conclusion of the Treaty, that I scarcely think we are yet in a position to form a decided opinion on the subject. A certain number have no doubt been smuggled across the channel from Pangani and Tanga to Pemba; but although two boats have constantly,

and six occasionally, watched the island for some months past, such is the secrecy and skill with which the operations of the slave runners are conducted, that only one prize has been made since last December. At Lamo the Governor, I think, may be depended on to prevent their export, but between that port and the Somali country there are many convenient spots for shipment. During the south-west monsoon boats can hardly venture beyond the mouth of the Jub, and the dhows would thence put out to sea with tolerable security, but to transport slaves by land so far north would involve a heavy outlay.

4. The success which may attend the operations of our cruisers this season will afford a test, though by no means a crucial one, of the extent and probable future of the traffic. If captures should be made, it is important that inquiries should be made and data collected relative to the slaves themselves, most of whom, if carried by land, would belong to the Nyassa, Zao, and Giudo countries.

5. The other matters touched upon by Captain Elton in his report have already been fully brought to the notice of your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Zanzibar, April 4, 1874.

IN conclusion of my former letters I have now the honour to report the successful termination of the work entrusted to me by Dr. Kirk in his letter of 21st November, 1873, in connection with the Treaty of June last, and slaveholding by Indians.

From Dar-es-Salam the caravan route was followed, via Kisiju and the Kwalé Settlements, to Kilwa Kivinja, and the copal fields, and the Rufigi river (struck at the Fords of Mpenbeno), reported on.

All the Mungao trading stations on the coast were next inspected in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," as far south as Mkindani Bay, the Rovuma Settlement being deserted in consequence of local disturbances.

A month was occupied in Kilwa and its vicinity, and subsequently Konduchi and the towns on the Mrima opposite to Zanzibar were visited.

The annexed return will show the practical results: 1,409 slaves have been registered and freed; 499 of whom have commenced life anew; 920 remained with former masters, and, I believe, a very heavy blow has been struck at the Slave Trade. Some few cases of concealment have necessarily escaped detection, but the scandal of slave-holding by British subjects on the 300 miles of sea-board travelled over may be considered virtually at an end, although it cannot be disguised that occasional inspection and prompt punishment in cases of offence against the law, will be necessary to prevent matters gradually sliding back into the old groove.

Active support and money lending for the purposes and ends of the traffic by the better class of Khojah and Battiah merchant has beyond doubt ceased, neither do I think will be renewed. The pains and penalties attached to complicity with the trade are known to all, and the Indian will hesitate before placing himself in the power of the Arab and Swahili, who can at any moment repudiate his debts and procure his creditors punishment.

One of the results of the policy adopted has been to throw the Indian merchants more completely under our protection, their only link with the Arab Government being broken, a strong anxiety is evinced for increased Consular superintendence of the coast and a suppression of the injustice exercised by the local officials.

As shown by my previous reports, slaves continue to be marched up from Kilwa, almost daily and by hundreds, over the Kisuju Road, North, destined for Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, and Brava. Smuggling is rife from all the Mrima between Mboamaji and Waseen, and preparations it is said are made on a large scale to run with the change of monsoon to Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The transport by sea has, in fact, been replaced by the inland route. The removal of all Customs duties is an advantage to the dealer. Formerly he had to pay 2 dol. 50 c. to the Sultan's dues on each slave, besides chartering a vessel at a heavy rate for which freight was paid in advance, and in order to get clear of Kilwa was compelled to borrow money at a ruinous rate. He was invariably in debt in former days; now he finds himself working on his own capital. After the Treaty, he at once repudiated his accounts with the Indian merchant, and as an experiment marched his slaves to the north, where he sold them at a large profit, returned by sea to Kilwa, and was able to take advantage of the immense rise in prices owing to the demand for labour in Pemba. As a

result, the slave-trader who a year ago was heavily in debt and trammelled in every way is now a capitalist, and able to pay cash for the goods required to equip his next large venture towards the Nyassa or the country at the back of the Upper Rufigi. He no longer asks for credit, and it is not the merchant's business to inquire whether his ready-money customer is engaged in the traffic.

At Brava and Lamo slaves are in large demand, and Pemba is still unsatisfied; neither will Arabia and the Persian Gulf be contented to forego their usual supplies. Hence it is positive every encouragement is given to reckless smuggling. Should ventures from these ports succeed, a large access of capital will be the result; but even if they fail, sufficient capital is in hand from the immense profits of the past year, to carry on the trade in 1874-75.

I trust that satisfaction may be felt at the manner in which my mission has been accomplished. At times it was uphill work, labouring against repeated attacks of coast-fever, and had it not been for the hearty co-operation of Captain Foot, Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and Mr. H. Whalley, who volunteered to assist me, I hardly think I should have been able to carry out my instructions in their integrity. To Sub-Lieutenant Pullen, R.N., who accompanied me on my land journey, great credit is due. Until completely prostrated by illness, he continued to observe and take notes for the map of the route, and rendered me every aid with the expedition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

Sketch of Coast visited by Vice-Consul Elton during the Months of December 1873 and January, February, and March, 1874.

Inclosure 3 in No. 5.

RETURN of Slaves held by Indians, Registered and Freed, on the East African Coast, Pangani to Rovuma River, December 1873, and January, February and March, 1874.

Number of Indians found holding Slaves.	Name of District or Town.	Slaves who remain with their Masters.	Slaves who elected to leave their Masters.	Totals.	Note.
61	Dar-es-Salam District ..	31	57	88	Extracted from Register Book placed in Con- sulate.
48	Kwalé District ..	130	22	152	
6	Chole Island ..	24	3	27	
17	Samanga District ..	51	81	132	
43	Mungao District ..	201	61	262	
87	Kilwa ..	412	235	647	
4	Konduchi ..	19	1	20	
42	Bagamoyo ..	52	22	74	
5	Pangani ..	7	0	7	
313	Totals ..	927	482	1,409	

Total number of Slaves released, 1,409 souls.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
First Assistant Political Agent and Vice-Consul.

Zanzibar, April 4, 1874.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 7 (1874).

FURTHER REPORTS ON EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

(In continuation of Slave Trade No. 5,

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by
Command of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 6 (1874).

ENGAGEMENT

OF THE

JEMADAR OF SHUHR

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

IN HIS

DOMINIONS.

signed at Shuhr, November 17, 1873.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

1874.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—985.] Price 1d.

Engagement of the Jemadar of Shuhr for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in his Dominions.

Signed at Shuhr, November 17, 1873.

THIS 17th day of November, A.D. 1873, answering to the 26th day of Ramadhan, A.H. 1290, I, Abdoollah bin Omar Ali Kaiatee, Ruler of Shuhr, engage with the great English Government to abolish and prohibit the import and export of slaves to or from the port of Shuhr and all the dependencies thereof, from or to any other place in Africa or Asia, or elsewhere ; and whereas his Excellency Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Special Envoy, has impressed upon me the advantage of adhering in perpetuity to the terms of the Agreement* entered into by Ali bin Najee, Nakeeb of Shuhr, with Brigadier William Marcus Coghlan, on the 14th day May, A.D. 1863, answering to the 25th day of Dhil Kaada, A.H. 1279, therefore I and my brothers, Awadh and Salih, on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and successors, do hereby solemnly confirm and engage to be bound by the terms of that Agreement.

(Signed) ABDULLA BIN OMAR ALKAIATEE, KATUBH
AWUZ BIN OMAR ALKAIATEE SULTAN } (in Arabic.)
NOOR AHMED BAHADOOR. }
J. W. SCHNEIDER, *Brigadier-General, Political Resident at*
Aden.
W. F. PRIDEAUX, *Assistant Resident at Aden,*

(L.S.) (Signed) NORTHBROOK.

Ratified by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Calcutta, on the 11th day of February, 1874.

(Signed) C. U. AITCHISON,
Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Note.—This Agreement is precisely similar to that concluded on the same date with the Nukeeb of Maculla (see Slave Trade No. 4 : 1874).

SLAVE TRADE. No. 6 (1874).

NGAGEMENT of the Jemadar of Shuhr for the
Abolition of the Slave Trade in his Dominions.

Signed at Shuhr, November 17, 1873.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command
of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 2 (1874).

TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND THE

SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR

FOR THE

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Signed at Zanzibar, June 5, 1873.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—883.] Price 1d.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

Signed at Zanzibar, June 5, 1873.

In the Name of the Most High God.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness the Seyyid Barghash-bin-Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have appointed as their Representatives to conclude a new Treaty for this purpose, which shall be binding upon themselves, their heirs and successors, that is to say, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland has appointed to that end John Kirk, the Agent of the English Government at Zanzibar; and His Highness the Seyyid Barghash, the Sultan of Zanzibar, has appointed to that end Nasir-bin-Said, and the two aforementioned, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The provisions of the existing Treaties having proved ineffectual for preventing the export of slaves from the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Sultan above named agree that from this date the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease. And His Highness the Sultan binds himself, to the best of his ability, to make an effectual arrangement throughout his dominions to prevent and abolish the same. And any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such Naval or other Officers or Agents and such Courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of Her Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

His Highness the Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for the buying and selling of imported slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness the Sultan above named engages to protect, to the utmost of his ability, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or to reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall be prohibited from possessing slaves, and from acquiring any fresh slaves in the meantime, from this date.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, at Zanzibar, as soon as possible, but in any case in the course of the 9th of Rabia-el-Akhir [5th of June, 1873] of the months of the date hereof.*

* The Sultan of Zanzibar's Ratification was attached to the original Treaty. That of Her Majesty was delivered to the Sultan in September 1873.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed their seals to this Treaty, made the 5th of June, 1873, corresponding to the 9th of the month Rabia-el-Akhir, 1290.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Political Agent, Zanzibar.*

The mean in God's sight,
(Signed) NASIR-BIN-SAID-BIN-ABDALLAH.
With his own hand.

The humble, the poor,
(Signed) BARGASH-BIN-SAID.
With his own hand.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 2 (1874).

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of
Zanzibar for the Suppression of the Slave
Trade.

Signed at Zanzibar, June 5, 1873.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command
of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 1 (1874).

TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND THE

SULTAN OF MUSCAT

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Signed at Muscat, April 14, 1873.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—887.] *Price 1d.*

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Muscat for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Signed at Muscat, April 14, 1873.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness the Seyyid Toorkee-bin-Said, Sultan of Muscat, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have agreed to conclude a Treaty for this purpose which shall be binding upon themselves their heirs and successors; and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having appointed as her Plenipotentiary Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, he, having communicated to the Sultan of Muscat his full powers found in good and due form, and the aforesaid Sultan of Muscat, Seyyid Toorkee-bin-Said, acting on his own behalf, they have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The import of slaves from the coasts or islands of Africa or elsewhere into the Dominions of Muscat, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan of Muscat's Dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease, and any vessels engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such Naval and other Officers or Agents, and such Courts as may be authorised for that purpose on the part of Her Britannic Majesty; and all persons hereafter entering the Sultan's Dominions and Dependencies shall be free.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan engages that all public markets in his Dominions for slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

The Sultan engages to protect, to the utmost of his power, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall, from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, be prohibited from possessing slaves, and in the meanwhile from acquiring any fresh slaves.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by Her Majesty, and the ratification shall be forwarded to Muscat as soon as possible.*

In witness whereof, Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Seyyid Toorkee-bin-Said, Sultan of Muscat, on his own behalf, have signed the same and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Muscat this fourteenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three.

(L.S.) H. B. E. FRERE. (L.S.) SEYYID TOORKEE-BIN-SAID.

* Delivered to the Sultan in September 1873.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 1 (1874.)

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of
Muscat for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Signed at Muscat, April 14, 1873.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by
Command of Her Majesty: 1874.*

LONDON :
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 5 (1874).

REPORTS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—946.] *Price 3d.*

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Reports on the Present State of the East African Slave Trade.

No. 1.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received January 14, 1874.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, December 17, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a letter received this day from Captain F. Elton, First Assistant to the Agency, reporting his arrival at Dar-es-Salam, and the steps there taken in pursuance of my orders, copy of which is annexed.

I have approved the proceedings here recorded, and the course followed by Captain Elton in dealing with the cases that have come before him of slaveholding among Indians at Dar-es-Salam.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Dr. Kirk to Captain Elton.

Sir,

Zanzibar, November 21, 1873.

I HAVE to instruct you to hold yourself in readiness to proceed with all despatch to the mainland, and there to complete and carry out in the southern district the policy adopted towards Indian slave-holders in the parts which I have of late been able to visit.

What this policy is you are well aware, both from persual of my Reports and from personal intercourse, and you will in all particulars be guided in the consideration of each case that may come before you by following a similar course.

At the same time while intrusting to you this highly responsible and more important duty, which had it been possible I should have personally conducted, you will keep closely in view the objects of the Treaty of 5th June, 1873, which are the suppression and discouragement of the Slave Trade, and the removal from this odious traffic of all aid or support direct or indirect on the part of the Indian community.

In giving you the following instructions it is not my desire to lay down the route you will strictly follow, provided that the objects indicated are gained, and I leave the detail to your own judgment in full confidence that better results may thereby be attained. I shall, therefore, briefly sketch out the various points it is my direction you attend to.

The following will, I think, be found a convenient programme. Proceeding first to Dar-es-Salam you will there carry out the same system I have found so successful elsewhere, calling upon all natives of India to appear before you and declare severally their slaves. Of these a nominal roll will be made, and either then or on the following day you will require for each slave a free paper written by an acknowledged Kattu of the place.

These being countersigned by you, you will yourself give them to the slaves, explaining to each his or her position, and inquiring how they purpose supporting themselves now they are free, noting any case in which the freed slave may elect to remain with his former master.

You will further take all due diligence to find out if any evasion has been made, and either punish the offender or commit him for trial at Zanzibar before the Consular Court.

Being satisfied that your work has been efficiently carried through at this station, you will then proceed south to Mogogoni, Mboamazi, Miji, Mema, Mwamba, Mker, &c., all villages and places where Indians are settled.

Should an opportunity then offer of visiting Khivale Island, you should go there, if

not you will reserve the visit to that place, which is one of importance, until your return journey.

* Approaching the Lufji from the village of Kikuya, you will pass inland so as to cross the river, if possible, about thirty miles from the coast, in order to report as to its navigability and branches; and you will be guided by information collected by Captain Wharton and myself, as already reported by Government.

On crossing the Lufji you will again make for the coast and visit the Samanga villages, where I am given to understand certain Hindoos are deeply implicated in the Slave Trade, and in assisting caravans that follow the newly opened land route.

You will throughout your journey bear in mind that at every step you are approaching nearer to the centre of the Slave Trade, and therefore take diligent pains to find out any underhand traffic on the part of Indians; as it is to be presumed that such will partake more of the nature of a commercial venture, and less of the character of domestic slavery the nearer you approach Kilwa.

As you will have occasion to pass through the best copal diggings, I shall expect you to prepare a full Report thereon. You will particularly observe and make inquiries as to the localities in which the modern copal tree is found, and the depth to which the true copal exists, its comparative abundance and manner of distribution, the extent of diggings and manner in which they are worked. In fact collect all the information on this important and interesting subject that an intelligent knowledge may suggest on the spot in the face of new material, and in a country absolutely unexplored by any white man.

I am aware that in doing this some time will be lost, but this will be fully compensated should you be able to supply information on the subject, and all matters connected with the produce of the surrounding country.

At Kilwa you will find it expedient to remain a sufficient time to enable you to get information beyond what can be ascertained on any passing visit.

On the present Governor at Kilwa you can place but little reliance, and you will recollect that here the Slave Trade has hitherto constituted the only commerce of the place, and that everything there bought or sold has been bought or sold in some way for the direct or indirect furtherance of the Slave Trade, in which every resident must have been more or less implicated.

Your duty with regard to domestic slaves will here be of small significance compared with that of making an example of any one involved in the traffic, and you will take such steps as were adopted by me at Lamo to stop all mortgage of slave property to Indians.

Having visited Kilwa, Kisiwani, you will return to Zanzibar *via* Chole and Mafia, touching at Kwale, if you have not already called there, unless the presence of a ship-of-war should enable you to visit the towns and settlements of Mungao, the Delgado district, such as Kiswara, Mkindani, &c.

These, however, you will not find it expedient to approach by land, nor will you allow this division to cause lengthened delay.

I may, however, mention that should you visit the towns in this district, you will probably find some of the Customs Agents personally concerned in the slave dealing. At the station just south of Kilwa, one has been already punished by me for complicity, and I have every reason to think that other such offenders will be found.

You will remember that in intrusting to you this important Mission which I had fully intended personally carrying out, I shall expect from you the most careful and intelligent execution of your duty. You will report fully on every point in my absence to the officer acting for me, and will bear in mind on your journey, what it is almost needless for me to impress upon one who has had experience in Africa, that the smaller your party and the lighter your baggage, the greater is the certainty of success.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Captain Elton to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Dar-es-Salam, East Coast of Africa, December 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report for your information the steps adopted by me up to date, to carry out the instructions conveyed in your letter of November 21, 1873.

On the 11th of December I sailed from Zanzibar in a dhow, and for that night anchored under the lee of Georgia Island, reaching Dar-es-Salam the following morning.

Here I was received with every attention and civility by the Sultan's Akhida, Rashk

Allah, and as soon as possible convened a meeting of all Indians under British jurisdiction and protection living in the town and immediate neighbourhood, which was attended by fifteen Banians, three Bokras, and three Khojas, in all twenty-one people; one Bokra being reported absent in Zanzibar. To this assembly I conveyed the Orders of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the holding of slaves by Indians, and called upon each man present to register his name, and to declare the slaves in his possession; further stating that any concealment, any future dealing in slaves, or the accepting of slaves as mortgage securities, must in the end lead to the most severe punishment.

On the following day, accompanied by the Akhida and a guard, I proceeded on foot to the village of Mgogoni, situated on the sea-shore to the eastward, where the Jemadar called together the Banians, thirteen in number, who, with three Khojas, compose the Indian community, and to these, when congregated, I also explained the action now taken both in Hindustanee and Kiswaluli. From Mgogoni I walked on to Juliani, where a considerable trade in copal is now carried on, and there found ten Khojas and eleven Banians, summoned by the local officials, whom I addressed in similar terms to those used on the two previous occasions.

From Juliani I sent on to Mboamaji to fetch the one Indian inhabitant of the village, and some slaves (formerly the property of a deceased Banian) reported to be there, and then returned to Dar-es-Salam, after a tiring journey in sand, of some eighteen miles, under a hot sun.

The rest of the day and to-day were occupied in writing free papers for the slaves brought forward, which work, up to the present, has been attended with the following results, viz:—

At Dar-es-Salam, Mgogoni, and Juliana,—						Slaves.
24 Banians	originally declared	..	..	..	..	8
3 Bokras	„ „	..	..	..	..	2
10 Ahojas	„ „	..	..	..	..	13
Total						23

and in addition to these, who have all received free papers, I have also released eight other slaves who have come to light, making a total of thirty-one.

Of these twenty-one remain with their former masters, five have elected to leave their service, two I found deserted and left to starve by a Banian, who has gone to Kutch, and three I have judged it prudent to send by this opportunity to Zanzibar, to be provided with service on the island.

In two cases I have been compelled to punish; one of concealment and confinement of two young slaves by a Bokra, and the other a case in which it was proved a Khoja had received a female slave in connection with a mortgage transaction, and held her for two years in slavery, without wages, and against her will. But whilst inflicting fines in the above instances, to the justice of which all allow, I have been careful to keep in mind the importance of preserving the goodwill of British Indian subjects, and am able to report that I find all castes and classes express a strong desire to see periodical visits so arranged from Zanzibar as to be able to adjudge upon their disputes upon the spot, in many of which a local inspection and knowledge are absolutely necessary.

The recent exodus of Indians from Dar-es-Salam, which has taken place within the last three months, was occasioned, in the first instance, some five months ago, by a dispute regarding a woman, which arose between a slave of Seyd Burgash (he has about 200 here) and a native of one of the neighbouring tribes of Washenzi. In it a Washenzi was killed, and his people demanded as a right the slave's life from the Sultan's Akhida. On the Akhida referring to His Highness, he was ordered on no account to give up the man, but to attack the natives if necessary. No fighting actually took place, though, as a natural result, the surrounding tribes on hearing the orders received, stopped sending in produce from the interior. The bad effect being further intensified by another native belonging to another tribe who came in to trade with an Indian being cut down and severely wounded in the streets by an over-zealous soldier, although protesting he had nothing to do with the people engaged in the original dispute; all local barter in consequence ceased, despite the payment of a considerable "zawadi" (present) by the Akhida to the wounded man; hence the Banians and Khojas migrated to Mgogoni, Juliani, and surrounding villages, where a brisk copal trade (on which I hope hereafter to report fully) has rapidly sprung up to the prejudice of Dar-es-Salam.

It is said, however, that a native caravan with 100 frasilahs of ivory is now within four day's journey, and should this arrive, the few merchants now left in the best laid out town on the Mrima, trust that trade may be reattracted, and that people may return, for

all property. already greatly depreciated in value since Seyd Majid's death, has, during the past few months, again diminished very considerably in price, to the prejudice of the many Indian mortgagees.

On the completion of my work at Dar-es-Salam, Sasani, Mgogoni, Juliani, and Mboamaji, I proceed towards the south, where I fear I shall be obliged to report a most systematic arrangement of the inland slave route, but I send this rough Report of the first steps taken by what perhaps may be the only opportunity of communication for some weeks.

I must, in conclusion, not omit to state that I have received every civility from the Arab officials, and especially from the Sultan's Akhida, Rashk Alla, who is invariably ready to render all necessary assistance, and is himself personally an active and energetic officer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. ELTON,

1st Assistant to Political Agent and Vice-Consul.

No. 2.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 2, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to forward two Reports which I have received from Captain Elton, detailing his proceedings up to the 26th December.

In carrying out the difficult mission entrusted to him by Dr. Kirk, Captain Elton appears to have acted with much energy and judgment, and, in particular, to have displayed great tact and discretion in his encounters with the slave caravans.

The transport of slaves by land is now carried on to an unprecedented extent; and, although it is not forbidden by the late Treaty, I shall not fail to take an early opportunity of drawing the attention of His Highness Seyd Burgash to the subject, though it is doubtful whether he possesses the requisite means for the suppression of the traffic. Most of these slaves are destined for the Island of Pemba, where, in consequence of the ravages committed by the small-pox, labour is greatly in request.

The most effectual mode of stopping the traffic would be by means of a rigorous system of police by sea; but, with the present paucity of boats and officers, this is an impossibility. A chain of well-manned boats, stationed a few miles apart, but continually on the move within their respective beats, would have proved an effective check to any operations of the slave-dealers by sea, and probably would have put a final stop this season to the sea traffic, and, as a consequence, to the land traffic also.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

(Extract.)

Mboamaji, December 20, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that my work in the Dar-es-Salam district was brought to a close this day, without any hitch or unpleasant circumstance having occurred during my stay.

The Return annexed shows to what an extent the concealment of slaves was practised by the Battiahs of the so-called Banyan community, from whom, in despite of continual warning, it was most difficult, I found, to get correct answers as to the number of slaves held by each individual.

I was, in consequence, forced to make an example; and the effect was produced by my prosecuting one of the principal men of the Battiah division, through his acknowledged agent and wakil, in a case of deliberate and wilful concealment of six slaves. The evidence was overpowering, and scarcely an attempt was made to raise any defence, the defendant's co-religionists being among the first to allow the justice of the conviction which resulted.

In a second case I should have followed a similar course, but the Battiah implicated left for Zanzibar the very day of my arrival at Dar-es-Salam, and returned (so I have just heard) to-day on my departure. The papers relating to this case are, however, in such order as to admit of a prosecution being instituted should such a course appear to

you necessary, and the witnesses can always be found. At the last moment, eight more slaves were reported to me as being farmed out by the same man in the town; but, as I had already started on the way south, all I could do was to note their names and beg the Sultan's Akhidah to give them his protection until hearing further on the matter from Zanzibar. These eight, in addition to sixteen freed by me, make a total of twenty-four slaves who have passed through the hands of this man Hari within the last few years, most of them being purchased for him in the interior by traders and agents whom he supplied with goods.

There was marked and very evident relief observable in the manner of both Battiahs and Khojahs prior to my finally leaving the Dar-es-Salam district, the natural result of the removal of the apprehension with which they have for some time watched the policy of the Government with regard to their slaveholding. Indeed, towards the end of my stay, several disputes and claims for money, houses, &c., were brought before me for settlement, and information freely given, when required, upon all subjects; whilst a great anxiety for increased protection and inspection from Zanzibar was universally expressed.

In consequence, I followed Dr. Kirk's precedent action at Mombassah, Melinde, &c., and named the Head of the Custom-house, Gokuldas Pertumbar, to settle any petty disputes which might arise in the district amongst Indians, and particularly to watch over the interests of the freed slaves, and report directly to Zanzibar any case in which they are ill-treated or re-enslaved, after procuring, in the first instance, the Akhidah's assistance, if necessary, in order to secure their immediate safety.

Gokuldas, from his position as Customs Master, the respect in which his late father was held, and his caste—he is a Wannia—already possesses considerable influence. Whilst feeling assured he will not neglect to report irregularities, I am at the same time confident he will not abuse the trust placed in him.

Five slave caravans, with about 350 slaves, passed Dar-es-Salam from Kilwa up the coast to my certain knowledge during my stay; and I received repeated warnings from various quarters that a strong feeling was aroused at Kisiju and at Kikunia, where the slave-drivers had not only openly declared their intention of shooting me if I took the main road, but had also actively worked up the members of the Indian community in the Kwale district to disregard all orders issued from Zanzibar, and offered them assistance if they would actively resist the freeing of their slaves. However, as the main, or as it is called the Kisiju road, is undoubtedly the only practicable one, and leads directly to my work, I have resolved to go by no other.

The Akhidah, Rashk Allah, an Arab of Sheher, leaves us here. His assistance has been most cordially rendered at all hours, and has contributed to the prompt action with which the work at Dar-es-Salam, Tasani, Mgogoni, Tuliani, Mboamaji, and the outlying plantations, has been accomplished in so short a space of time.

I have, indeed, ventured so far as to promise the Akhidah that he will receive some present from the Agency, in recognition of his services, and hope that, in so doing, and in other matters, my proceedings may be approved.

At a future period I shall have the honour to work up from my notes a detailed report on Dar-es-Salam, the district, inhabitants, trade, &c.; and trust that my paper on the copal trees, and specimens and sketch, which I forwarded a few days ago, have arrived safely.

P.S.—My letters are written in the verandah of a mud-hut, so I must claim some license for careless writing and dirt.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

RETURN of Number of Slaves liberated at Dar-es-Salam.

Castes.	No.	No. of Slaves Declared.	No. found Concealed and Freed.	Total No. Freed.	Remarks.
Wanniah	1	1	..	1	Out of this total number of 54, there are 23 who elected to leave their masters.
Mooltani	1	1	..	1	
Barber	1	..	..	..	
Battiahs	36	4	25	29	
Bohras	3	5	..	5	
Khojahs	16	13	5	18	34 leave their masters.
Battiahs (absent)*	1	..	16	16	
„ (deceased)	1	..	12	12	
Bohras (absent)	1	..	6	6	
Total No. given free papers and registered	..	..	..	88	

* NOTE.—In addition to the above total number, 8 more slaves, held by the one Battiah (absent), are placed under protection and will be subsequently freed; and 3 have been sent to Zanzibar as witnesses against their former masters, who illegally effected their sale: total, 11.

Two settlements of 22 slaves freed were formed; 2 boys and a woman sent for service to Zanzibar; and the rest, electing to leave their masters, were found able to look after themselves.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
1st Assistant to the Political Agent.

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Kisiju, District of Kwale, December 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report my safe arrival at this town on the 22nd instant.

All arrangements being complete, and carriers engaged for the journey, I left Dar-es-Salam on the 20th, and, after holding a Court, and freeing some slaves under a tree in the village of Tuliani, proceeded to Mboamaji. Here, as reported in my last, the Akhidah left us, and we remained for the night in the hut of the Jemadar Ibrahim.

On the morning of the 21st our caravan, consisting of—2 soldiers of the Akhidah's, 6 Government peons and followers, 11 Wapagazi, Sub-Lieutenant Pullen, of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," and myself (total, 21 men in all) again set out, and made a good morning march to Massonga, crossing on our path the Moua Maji, a narrow, rapid stream, which falls into the sea near Ras Ndege, and abounds in hippopotami.

The road we were on is known as the Kisiju road, and was adopted by me in preference to the coast line when I discovered that no Indians lived at any of the villages on this latter route, with the exception of one man, Vissonji Nersi, resident at Bosa, in the Chungu bueni district, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The latter district is, moreover, impracticable in places, in consequence of the many estuaries running inland, and deep mud renders the mangrove swamps impassable, except at high tide and in boats.

Various reports reached me when at Dar-es-Salam of the existence of a third, the Upper road, and upon this, and upon the Kisiju road, slave caravans were said to be moving northwards, under leaders who declared their intention of shooting us if we appeared on the scene. I doubted the truth of the story about the third road from the first, and am now quite satisfied that the only main track available to Arabs is the one we followed; the interior country being in far too disturbed a state for regular traffic, more than a very occasional visit would be opposed by the Washenzi, and no certain supply of provisions could be counted on for the sustenance of the slaves, whereas on this line there is an organized system of halting-places and commissariat.

After six hours' march, we reached the deserted village of Kigonga, where a party of copal diggers told us a slave caravan had turned out of the path into the woods, in order to avoid us. Half an hour later brought us across the Berze into the Foonze sub-division of the Chungu-bueni district, where we were met by the Battiah of Bosa,

Vissonji Nersi, who had prepared us quarters in the house of one Bilali, the owner of an extensive and well-cultivated plantation situated on a hill overlooking a bend of the river, and, as it afterwards appeared, a halting-place for the slave caravans.

Our day's journey, which I estimate at nineteen miles, lay through a gently undulating grass country, with extended belts of fine trees (amongst which the *mtisandarusi* was frequently to be seen) stretching away to the foot of the hills, marking the Uzeramo country, and only broken here and there by a gentle rise, or an outlying shamba, with its surrounding clearings and mohogo fields.

Everywhere signs of copal diggings were visible. In fact we were passing through the main fields from which the Zanzibar market was once almost entirely supplied, and which still produce this valuable gum in considerable quantities.

The process of digging is a simple one. Twenty or thirty men, generally of the neighbouring tribes or free men, form a party and spread over a stretch of country which they divide amongst themselves into claims, each of which is worked by five or six of their number. Operations are commenced in each instance by driving five holes to the depth of about 2 feet as a prospect. If the yield is encouraging four more holes are driven, which are followed by the levying of the whole square to the orthodox depth of about 3 feet, deeper than which no shafts are sunk. One square being worked out, a new one is commenced and prospected in precisely a similar manner until all likely ground is gone over; purely sandy soil without a substratum of fibrous and decaying vegetable remains being passed by. The salesmen, chosen from their knowledge of the coast trade and villages, then effect a sale for which they receive an increased share over and above the rest of the workers, and after the division of profits all knock off work until compelled by want of money, i.e. goods, to take to the fields again. The trading generally takes place at night in the house of the Indians (whose principal business is copal dealing), and should no bargain be arrived at, the Washenzi leave before daylight, sleep in the woods, and return again at dusk to resume negotiations. As the gum is brought in, it is an admixture of the tree, the Chakazi, and the true (so called fossil) copal, and, I fancy, is still further doctored on its way before reaching European merchants.

There was a very marked distrust shown by Bilali and his people at our arrival, which I was not surprised at when I learnt that we were reported as being ready to attack all slave caravans, and that our host's crops were grown for the express purpose of feeding them. This impression I did my best to remove, and sat up until a late hour before I could convince Bilali that we had no business whatever with the Arabs; even at the last he shook his head and said that it was bad to see white men on the road: our visit would be followed by the slaves being all set free, he knew that.

On the 22nd, after an hour, we crossed the Mkote, a brawling stream, the banks of which were overhung with fine trees and luxuriant ferns, running down a lovely valley. This constitutes a serious obstruction during the heavy rains, but can be crossed, I am told, further up. Near here we were overtaken by Kimwere, the petty Chief, whose word is law over the Chungu-bueni district, and who, if report speaks truly, has everything his own way on the inland road. He is a fine stalwart specimen of the Mrima, 6 ft. 2 in., and broad in proportion, enjoying the credit, and looks as if he earned it, of being a wonderful athlete and successful hunter. He had a long chase after us, for, thinking we were on the Coast road, he had sent canoes round to the creeks to meet us and was following in one when a messenger brought the news we had taken the main Kisiju path. This started him off and he ran us down, on foot and unattended, firing his gun several times on the way as a signal to stop us (which, of course, we did not understand) in order, as he said, not to miss seeing "the first white men who had been in Foruze."

Further on the road, at 10.30 A.M., our guide made a mistake, and, turning off the path, we crossed a bend of the Pafuni River and were brought up by the house of one Kazenga situated between two forks of the stream. Having previously arranged to meet Vissonji Nersi with some slaves to be freed from Bosa and the day's supply of food for my carriers, at our breakfast halt, I started the whole party off again on finding the error; the Wapagazi, two Akhidah's soldiers, and four of our men, taking a short cut to regain the main road by a ford with steep banks, whilst Lieutenant Pullen and I rode back on our donkeys with two men to recross the first and easier ford on the path by which we had arrived.

As we scrambled out through the mud and reeds we found ourselves on the top of a slave caravan ascending the hill, down which we had originally walked. Several strings had already passed by, chained in gangs of sixteens, with the strong ones put in front and the weak behind, and three or four more now defiled within two yards of where we sat on our donkeys, with only sticks in our hands, and our men standing behind us, one with my rifle in a cover and the other with Lieutenant Pullen's over his shoulder, both

unloaded. Two of the Arabs in charge came up, looked at us uneasily, and got past us as quickly as possible, hunting on the slaves but not showing any signs of fight. After they had gone on we were obliged to cross the river a second time, and here we were perhaps delayed ten minutes by the donkeys falling in the mud and being unable without much difficulty to climb the opposite bank.

When we did get across, shouting and cries led us to a scene which I can only compare to a rout after an Indian skirmish. Arabs were driving gangs of slaves before them through the long grass into the bush, loose slaves and excited slave-drivers running in all directions, the stick plying furiously the while; water-jars, rice bags, grain, papers, slave-irons, boxes, and all the baggage of the caravan, lay littered about and thrown aside in the hurry of retreat. One long gang of children, whose chain was entangled amongst the thorn bushes, wailing piteously as they were hounded away.

This was the main body, and its discomfiture had been occasioned by the appearance of one of my servants, a boy about twelve years old, who had put a sun-helmet of mine on the top of his fez, and so arrayed broke through the high grass heading the carriers who had taken the short cut. To the excited dread of the Arabs this was a subtle flank movement; they saw themselves separated from their advanced gangs by our arrival, and now the sight of an European hat coming from another quarter was too much for their nerves. Cries of "Wazungo" were set up and immediately followed by a stampede.

I was fortunately in time to find one of our men attacking the lid of, what evidently was, the strong box, and thrashed him soundly before the whole party and one of the Arabs, who, in charge of two gangs and completely bewildered, blundered right into our arms. To this man I explained that we had no business whatever with slave caravans, that the first division had passed in order, that we had only sticks in our hands, and that it was entirely owing to their own fault that the main body had dispersed; moreover, I showed him that all the scattered property remained untouched where it had been thrown down, and then moved all my party off, remaining myself to the last to see that no thieving took place.

Had we wished to do so, nothing would have been easier than to have taken away 200 slaves without any one to oppose our action. There were, I estimated, about 300 in all, in wretched condition. One gang of lads and women, chained together with iron neck rings, was in a horrible state, their lower extremities coated with dry mud and their own excrement, and torn with thorns, their bodies mere frameworks, and their skeleton limbs tightly stretched over with wrinkled parchment like skin. One wretched woman had been flung against a tree for slipping her rope, and came screaming up to us for protection, with one eye half out, and the side of her face and bosom streaming with blood. We washed her wounds, and that was the only piece of interference on our part with the caravan, although the temptation was a strong one to cast all adrift and give them, at any rate, a chance of starving to death peaceably in the woods.

We afterwards learnt at Kisiju that this caravan was 400 strong, and had come from the Nyassa direct to Kilwa, and there accepted an offer of 35 dollars a head all round for the slaves, made by an agent from Pemba, the money to be paid on delivery at either Saadani, Pangani, Wasseen, or Mombasah, the port to be named by the purchaser, who was to smuggle them across to the island at his own risk. So that these unfortunate people were now being driven on their second march of horrors.

Later in the day, when we crossed the Zegea creek, about one mile across, we could realize the terrible work it must have been to these wretched Miao when hunted through the tenacious mud of this extensive mangrove swamp, for we, fresh from a noon-day halt on the Zegea River, passed it with difficulty in an hour.

We now entered the Mangatani sub-division of the Kwale district, and, as we descended into the valley, leaving the copal forest of Kirigesi to the right, sighted another caravan crossing the Mkoondi. As soon as the Arabs saw us they drove the slaves off the road into the long grass, and made them squat down, chain-gang by chain-gang in double rows, then advanced with their guns in a threatening manner on our carriers. I hurried down the hill with my rifle, which I had been carrying for some time previously in my hand, and on drawing nearer to the carriers called out to the Arabs that we had no business whatever with them, and wished to pass quietly on. The leading man's answer to this was to tuck his loose sleeves out of the way, blow up his match, and point his matchlock at me. My reply was to hold out my express and tap the breech, in order to let him see all the shooting would not be on his side. He then took his matchlock down, imitated my action, and deliberately covered me again, shaking off one of his companions who tried to stop him, and moving forward a few paces. I was now positive he would fire, but did not bring my rifle, even then, to my shoulder, which, indeed, would

have been a useless exertion on my part if he had hit me, and if he had missed me I should, of course, have shot him at once.

However at this critical moment one of the Akhidah's soldiers ran in and stood in front of me, crying out, "Will you shoot Burgash's men, I am one; don't you see I am in charge of the Wazungo?" After a wordy wrangle the Arab ordered his matchlock very sulkily, and drew back with his companions to where the slaves were crouched in the grass, and we crossed our baggage over the river with some difficulty, the banks being steep and the water deep, a single tree felled, and lying across, forming a rude bridge for empty handed travellers alone.

The leader of the caravan then came up and expressed his regret for what had happened, and offering, if I wished it, to march the remainder of the slaves, who had been driven back from the ford behind a hill at the first alarm, past us and over the river, in order that I might count them; but this offer I declined, telling him I had no business either with him, his men, or his slaves, and should disturb no one on the road if I was left alone. I added, as a warning remark, however, that if his party had fired a shot we could have killed his men one after the other, and we certainly could have done so, unless the Arabs had closed, when, with their superior numbers and swords, it might possibly have gone hard with us.

I have been thus circumstantial in relating the occurrences of this day's work, in order to show that I in no way have interfered with the ruling powers of the South Road, the slave caravan traders and drivers, whose version is that we dispersed one caravan, which lost 200 slaves and all its baggage, and failed in a second attempt, in consequence of the bold front they displayed.

The plain truth is, and there can be no disputing facts, that a brisker Slave Trade has seldom been known than the one carried on from Kilwa *via* the Kisiju Road by the scoundrels who hold it in their power, and who will continue to use it until put down by a strong hand, Burgash's orders being totally disregarded, except absolutely on the sea-coast villages and towns, and even there only respected when they do not run counter to local and private interests.

An hour later we reached Kisiju, after travelling through thousands of acres of "mohogo," this, the Kwale district, being the garden from which Kilwa is supplied with food for its slaves; large quantities of millet and rice are also exported to Zanzibar, and here we were received with some restraint by the acting Jemadar, Abd-el-Kader (a Baluch), and the notables of the town; these, indeed, allowed, on better acquaintance, that the caravan traders had consulted them the day previously as to the propriety of "stopping our advance," and Abd-el-Kader's answer to them was, that "It was no question for him to decide, God alone knew the business we were employed on."

A regular square in the centre of Kisiju is set apart for the accommodation of the caravans, cooking places are built, huts for the wet weather, spare chains and rings in readiness, and an old Arab in charge, who receives a reward for apprehending any run-aways, and gets everything in order for the arrivals from the south. Here, at present, every caravan halts on its way north, and the inhabitants do a large stroke of business in buying half-dying children, fattening them up, and re-selling at a profit, the place being full of walking skeletons.

It soon came to light that the strongest feelings of distrust had been aroused throughout the large district of Kwale, in consequence of reports from Zanzibar that my real mission was to put a stop to caravan running. Not only had the Indian community been urged to resist the freeing of their slaves, but an alliance, both defensive and offensive, was proposed to them by the people of the Mrima. My first work, then, was to remove all suspicions as to my intentions by sending messengers on the road before me, talking with the various petty Chiefs, and carefully explaining to the Indians resident around, through Vissonji Nersi of Bosa, who was of the greatest assistance, the resolve of the Government no longer to tolerate any connection whatever between its subjects and the Slave Trade.

In this I have succeeded, for Indians in the many surrounding settlements of the district are now bringing in lists of slaves to be freed and cases to be tried (24th and 25th December); and I trust to be able to report that all difficulties are removed from the onward route by a little judicious delay and visits to the various villages and towns, in order to gain the confidence of the natives and show them my actual work lies amongst our own subjects.

According to Abd-el-Kader, we must have passed 700 slaves on the 22nd—350 in the first caravan; 150 in the second, which turned off the road for us and we missed, but which Vissonji Nersi an hour later met; and 200 in the third, the one met at Mangatani.

On the 23rd, 200 passed through Kisiju, and a caravan of 300 turned off yesterday, 25th, hearing we were in the town, and slept in an adjoining village; making in all a total of 1,200 slaves: to which must be added the caravan missed at Kingonga on the 21st (said to be a small one of 80), and one week's traffic on the Kisiju road represents a grand total of 1,280 slaves marched up from Kilwa for sale at the northern ports and Pemba. A "ring" of landowners in the latter island, after the rise in cloves, sent down agents to Kilwa, who have bought largely, paying 30, 35, and 40 dollars for each slave delivered at a named port, the purchasers taking, as I before stated, the risk of the sea passage.

As long as such prices can be procured the trade will flourish, and I can see nothing to stop the inland route (all arrangements are carefully completed and no insurmountable difficulties in the way) but rooting out the trade root and branch.

I should be wrong to conclude this report without stating that all my party are in good order and good spirits, and behaved well under trying circumstances, in which every one's temper was tested to the utmost. From Sub-Lieutenant Pullen I received great assistance when matters looked at their worse and a fight appeared imminent, and his coolness prevented any disorder whatever amongst our carriers, who were enabled by him to move away to the cover of the ford.

I leave to-day for Kitmangao, a purely Indian town on the coast, about 10 miles off, where the principal copal trade is carried on, and thence through the various settlements to Kikunia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

No. 3.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville,—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 7, 1874.

IN continuation of my letter of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copies of further correspondence which I have received from Captain Elton, in which he gives an account of his proceedings up to the 28th ultimo, and furnishes reports upon the Dar-es-Salam, Chungu-bueni, and Kwale districts.

With reference to Captain Elton's letter, dated 28th January, 1874, I have the honour to state that, in a private conversation which I held with the Sultan a few evenings ago, I brought the great extent of the land traffic to His Highness' notice, and asked him to lend his aid and co-operation towards checking it. He replied that there was no reference made to the land traffic in the Treaty; that it was chiefly carried on in districts which were quite beyond his authority; that with regard to the export of these slaves I was probably better informed than himself, but that if I could prove that the Governor of any of his ports connived at it, he would imprison him for life; and, lastly, that if he had a vessel of war it would be easy for him to co-operate with our cruisers in watching the ports, but that at present he could do nothing in that way.

At present Pemba is closely watched by the boats of our squadron, and I believe that few, if any, dhows can cross without the certainty of capture; but as soon as this vigilance is relaxed, as it must occasionally be, the information of the slave-traders is so good that large exportations will at once take place. A few more boats and officers are imperatively required upon the station, in order to effectually check the traffic between the mainland and Pemba.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Report by Vice-Consul Elton on Dar-es-Salam.

Island of Chole, January 7, 1874.

DAR-ES-SALAM is situated in latitude 6° 50' south, and longitude 39° 21' east, and lies south (magnetic) 41 miles from the town of Zanzibar.

Had the original plans of the founder, Seyed Majid, been carried out in their full integrity, he would have left a model settlement behind him on the Mrima. Various obstacles, however, hindered the completion of them, and it does not appear probable that much progress will be made under the existing Government, Seyed Burghash being disinclined to foster any project of which he has not been the originator.

The town is built on the north side of the Dar-es-Salam river, which spreads into a land-locked basin, where vessels of large size can anchor with perfect safety. This, the harbour and approaches, have been recently surveyed on a 6-inch scale by Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," in which Captain Wharton ascended the river for four miles (drawing 15 feet), and reports the waters navigable for some distance further to lighter draught.

The Sultan's residence is built at the inland extremity of the basin, and is the far right of the town, and from it a line of stone houses should form a crescent facing the anchorage, with a broad road and flights of steps communicating with the sandy beach, on the inner line of which wells, affording a good supply of fresh water, are conveniently constructed. But time, neglect, and weather are rapidly destroying the steps, terraces, and wells; only two of the houses are habitable, and the others are stopped short at the first story, a low thatched barn does duty for the Custom-house in the broad overgrown field which marks the site allotted by Seyed Majid for the erection of a more pretentious structure; the boldly designed main streets are choked up with rank grasses and brushwood, the houses for the most part deserted and locked up, or giving way to decay, except at one enterprising corner where a few Indians industriously strive to revive a failing trade with the interior. House property is almost valueless, and land around so depreciated that a plantation of some extent was shown me for sale, at a price of 40 dollars. A plot of land and a half-finished house in the centre of the town, mortgaged about two years ago for 500 dollars, would not fetch a reserve of 200 dollars when offered lately by auction; at the same time a thatched hut and two acres, in a good situation, went for 7 dollars. Yet the climate is healthy, the air clear, and fevers uncommon and easily shaken off,—so say the inhabitants,—the site a beautiful one, and the surrounding country green and well wooded; nevertheless there hangs about the scene a gloomy appearance, and the idea suggested itself that the desolation must be connected with the smash of some limited liability company, which has been compelled to stop work, and failed to attract the public by its preliminary outlays to see the advantages of a new seaside settlement.

The Akhidah, Rashk Allah, an Arab of Sheher, represents the Sultan's authority, and is supported by a few mercenaries, Arabs, Baluchis, and half-castes. A guard is kept at his house, where there are a quantity of muskets, matchlocks, and old powder-horns stored for the purpose of equipping the 200 slaves, who work on Burghash's extensive plantations, in case of disturbances with neighbouring tribes. Two or three Arabs pine on the outlying estates, and a host of the Mrima half-castes idle and shuffle about the town and adjacent villages, living from hand to mouth on the produce of their slaves, and on small trading ventures which they send in their charge towards the Uzeramo country. The Indian community of Dar-es-Salam is represented by:—

1 Wannia; 13 Battiahs; 1 Mooltani; 3 Bhoras and 3 Khojas, with families; whilst in the neighbouring villages, where the copal trade has gone, Mgogone contains 13 Battiahs, 1 Barber and 3 Khojas; and Tulwani, 10 Battiahs and 10 Khojas, the latter with families.

A primary mistake was made by an attempt to force the Dar-es-Salam trade, to the prejudice of other ports, further north, which had before enjoyed the monopoly of caravans from the interior, for, after a glimmer of success, the death of Seyed Majid, and the withdrawal of patronage from the town was at once followed by the natives resuming the popular and old times. It is now a long period since any caravan of value has been down, although the people live on rumours of a rich arrival *en route*; a small quantity of ivory, it is true, did reach from Unyamwezi during my stay, but it represented the venture of one man, and had no influence upon local trade. Ivory pays to the Dewan a "Moorba" of 3 dollars per frasilah, when brought in by those tribes of the Washenzi, who trade habitually, or by Arabs, or by Wasawahili; and a further 12 dollars per frasilah on arrival at Zanzibar. If brought in by Washenzi, who are not habitually traders to the port, it pays 6 dollars per frasilah to the Dewan, but 9 dollars at Zanzibar. Thus, in each instance, the total amount of duty per frasilah, 15 dollars, is the same. A few tusks find their way down from high into the Uzeramo country, where elephants are still said to be found in considerable numbers. The india-rubber Uiane is in abundant quantities in the close vicinity, and, at one time was exported largely at from 9 dollars to 10 dollars a frasilah. Its collection was stopped in consequence of leopards attacking boys gathering the juice, several being killed, and a fall in price; and it is now being destroyed wholesale, together with the copal trees, in the extensive clearings carried on by the Sultan, in order to add to his land under cultivation. These plantations are thickly planted with cocoa-nut trees, as yet young, and mohogo; some fine mango trees are to be seen, but the oil tree palms introduced are progressing but slowly. Wax is seldom brought in now by the Washenzi; the copal is almost entirely diverted to

Mgogoni and Tuliani, at these latter villages, towards evening, armed parties appear with the gum and spend the night in bargaining with the Indians, 2 dollars are often asked for what is worth 6*d.*, and long and difficult negotiations invariably precede the handshake which cements the deal, and this once given no dispute is known to follow. Millet, Indian corn, and rice, of several varieties, senna, and bungala are grown throughout the district, which exports to Zanzibar, but not to a great extent.

The copal trade, intermixed with grain speculations, and the lending moneys and goods at a rate of 8 per cent. per mensem to small traders who sneak about the upper lands and are seldom absent for more three months at a time on a single venture, these are the commerce of the Indian. Lower down in the Chungu-bueni district, and the fine Kwale district, he would find more copal, more ivory, more general trade, but would there have to pay black mail on all his profits to half-a-dozen self-styled Sultan's. Here he is effectually protected from oppression, the Sultan's authority being maintained, and, although he sighs for the greater gains, yet he deems it prudent to be in a secure atmosphere, and away from the slave caravan line and its lawless followings, and in the main he is, I think, right.

The slave caravans strike the coast above Dar-es-Salam, turning off from the Kisiju road, near Mboamaji, and making for the Dar-es-Salam river, which they cross about five miles from the sea, near Seyed bin Abdullah's (a worthless, cringing Arab, and a wine-bibber), from thence their path passes through the Sultan's plantations and skirts close past the town. The straighter road *vid* Tuliani and Mgogoni, is now seldom adopted as the ferry over the entrance to the river, which must be crossed, presents a danger. Their numbers and their destination might here become known, and they fear information finding its way across to Zanzibar. Recently, the caravans have so increased in size and numbers, that the Akhidah, who, as a rule, avoided the subject, one day expressed his astonishment, and went so far (he, an Arab of Sheher with natural Slave Trade propensities) as to say "he had never seen anything so shameful, it was only killing men, not trading."

Religion does not cause dissention in the Dar-es-Salam district. The Shafis and the Bohras coalesce in many points, the Khojas follow their own line quietly, whilst the prejudices of the Battiah are never wantonly outraged; neither do politics ruffle the pool with more than a passing ripple. One day resembles another with its money making and eternal gossiping, and persevering idling; ample regrets follow relations of the past prosperity when Seyed Majid was King, and caravans headed by flags and men firing guns swaggered through the streets to receive royal presents, and men of high estate from Zanzibar spent their revenues open-handed; but nothing is done, Burgash is pronounced "the unlucky," and to-morrow is a counterpart of yesterday.

Yet that the country presents admirable facilities for sugar growing, even for European settlement, is evident to all. It appears the one healthy spot on the Mrima; cattle thrive, it is pleasant to the eye to rest upon; alluvial, well-wooded plains roll back to the Uzeramo hills and the neighbours, undisturbed, are harmless.

The slave population appears fairly well off in the district: food is cheap, and fish plentifully caught all along the coast and in the river. Miles of staked inclosures fronting the sea form preserves, which are fished and re-fished assiduously, and boats work the outlying banks for "bonito." During the three "days to themselves," commonly given to slaves, they collect large quantities of salt with which they do a small trade, and manage to secure something for daily necessities.

(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Chole Island, January 8, 1874.

IN continuation of my previous letter of December 26, 1873, I have the honour to report that my work in the Kwale district terminated with the following result:—

34 Battiahs were found holding	..	..	..	..	104 slaves.
11 Khojas	"	"	..	..	36 "
3 Bohras	"	"	..	..	12 "
In the Chungu-bueni district—					
1 Battiah was found holding	..	..	..	..	4 "
Total	..	..	..	..	156 "

All these people have been duly registered and furnished with free papers, 130 remaining with their former masters and 22 electing to leave their service. No case of concealment was found, ample time being given for declaration; and in only one instance was it necessary to punish a Battiah, who was inclined to set the law at defiance.

On my arrival at Kisiju, when I observed the restraint with which the party was received, and ascertained the feelings of distrust which had been aroused by those in the caravan interest, I at once took steps to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding bringing on a collision. As a first measure I begged the Jemadar, Abd-el-Kader, to write a circular note to the Dewans and chief men of all the villages in his district (the Kwale district extends from Makatani to the Rufigi River), setting forth my arrival and my business with the Indian community, and my non-interference with the caravans; also that, as I travelled with the Sultan's written pass in my hand, every assistance must be given me, for he (Abd-el-Kader) would now personally guarantee that the caravans would not be meddled with if I was unmolested by them on the road.

At the same time I dispatched Vissonji Nersi, of Bosa, to visit Kitmangoa, Kunderani, and other neighbouring villages, with instructions to explain the precedent proceedings at Dar-es-Salam, and to establish a feeling of confidence amongst the Indians here subject to dangerous influences.

I myself remained at Kisiju, in the Jemadari, and for two days the place was full of new arrivals, who, upon one excuse or another, clamoured for private interviews, generally in order to ask for a present for imaginary services to be performed at some visionary future day. The best effect was, however, produced by having a civil word for all; and before leaving Kisiju, not only had the Indians from the outlying Settlements of Kitmangoa, Zerase, Nusseebgani, Kunderani, and Demani declared and brought in seventy-nine slaves, but my advice was freely asked on local and general matters, and Abd-el Kader and the notables of Kisiju became my firm allies.

All disguise was here thrown off with regard to the slave caravans; not only was I told that the system worked successfully for six months, and that during that time almost daily gangs had been marched up, but I was shown the square under the trees set apart as a camping-ground, where huts were built for the wet weather, cooking-trenches constructed, and spare logs and gang-irons kept in readiness. "There has never been such a good year," said one owner of a long string; "there is great demand, and no duty levied by the Sultan; the 2½ dollars which went to him before, for slaves shipped by sea, we save, and the land journey is worked at a profit." They acknowledged the trouble at first had been great, adding: "Now there is none; we have fixed halting-places, and send on men ahead; everything is ready for us when we arrive."

Kisiju is built on the banks of a broad tidal stream, the Magassi, on which, two hours higher up, is situated Zerase; and in the same neighbourhood are Demuni and Nusseebgani. The former town, which is narrow and straggling, is thickly shaded with mango and cocoa-nut trees, whilst dense mangrove thickets fringe both the rivers and the many indenting "khors." The country around is wonderfully fertile, hardly a week having passed for years without rain falling; and "the Garden of Kisiju" worthily maintains its name—rice, mohogo, Indian corn, and millet growing luxuriously, and a large export grain trade thrives.

On the 26th, at low tide, we forded the Magassi shoulder-deep near its embouchure, the stream being rapid and the river of considerable width, forming a broad lagoon at high water. Proceeding along the sea-beach, we passed the ruins of an old Portuguese building, the walls of which still held together against the inroads of climate and the attacks of parasitical trees. Blocks of masonry strewed the sands, and a large stone water-trough, thickly encrusted with sea-shells, appeared to excite even our Arab guards, who indulged in long stories on the many remains in the district, none of which, however, appear to me of the very remote date which local tradition ascribes to them.

Three hours' march brought us to Kitmangoa, situated, as are all these towns and villages, at the head of an indenting mangrove swamp, accessible to dhows of light burden at the spring tides. On one side of the swamp live the Khojas, nine houses in number, and on the other side reside the Battiahs, only half-a-dozen Waswahili being settled with them.

This is the principal copal-trading station in Kwale. The tree grows up to the borders of the creek, and digging operations commence from the outskirts of the village itself. Parties from the neighbouring tribes come to and fro to barter almost hourly, and a mutual trust is evidently established. The copal is brought in carefully-fastened matting baskets, and the usual bartering takes place; but openly, and not at nighttime, as at Tuliani and Mgogoni, where the outlying tribes have lost all confidence in the *bona fides* of the Arab authorities.

Bows, arrows, and spears are, however, invariably carried; and the great object of

the native copal digger is to become the possessor of a dangerous, rusty, flint-lock gun, such as are imported from Zanzibar, and can be retailed here at 2½ dollars apiece. It is noticeable in the Khoja houses that they are built with an upper loft and rough ladder for the storage of goods. "It was not prudent," one told me, "to show much to these people; they could be treacherous." However, both the Arabs and the Indians are only too prone to ascribe every bad motive to the native of the soil, forgetting that their own slave-trading propensities and rapacity have converted their neighbours into a suspicious race, whose worst actions are committed under a morbid dread of some new form of oppression of which they are destined to be the victims.

Cattle thrive here, and the Banyans appear quite at home in their settlement; they have built an inclosure and planted a garden round a covered and raised terrace, on which they meet for meals, which, with inner sheds, forms at once a fort and a pleasant lounge; and here we slept for the night. After freeing seven more slaves found out by my men, from this I proceeded to Sandazi, *via* Kivinja, and from here (where there are five houses of Banyans and one of Khojahs) worked Macrore, Mji-Mensa, and Kivinja, all copal stations, and all situated, as Kitmangao, on the indenting mangrove creeks or "khors," which are the peculiar feature of the south Mrima.

On this day's journey (27th December) we passed another caravan, 100 in number, on the sea beach. The slaves were driven down to the water's edge (it was about low tide), and the Arab guards ranged up in line before them getting ready their arms, when Baraka, my head man, went out unarmed and explained that we only wanted to pass on unmolested. The leader threatened to shoot him if he did not go back, but my man, who was not to be frightened by threats, walked up to them and insisted on having his say, after which each party kept on its own way.

On the following day, the 28th, whilst engaged in writing papers for 36 slaves, the gangs of another caravan, 96 in number, filed along the road not 100 yards from where I was sitting, as if in mockery of the work I was engaged upon. Here I received a letter from one Vissonji Bimji of Mji-Mema, a village only a few miles distant, but stating that the villagers had stopped his slaves from coming, and I accordingly sent two of the Arab guard (I took seven soldiers from the Jemadar at Kisiju) to inquire into matters. The assertion proved untrue, and the man's slaves, seven in number, all elected to leave him: one, his own daughter, a pretty girl, by a slave woman, he is said to have forced; and I believe it to be the case, for, although she would make no accusation of cruelty against her father, yet she begged to be protected against him. Vissonji I fined for his non-appearance, and forced him to give his daughter a dowry of 50 dollars, placing her under the care of Jairam of Kivinja and two Battiahs of Sandazi; a hulking scoundrel of a Swahili, to whom she had been evidently promised (or sold?) by her father, appearing on the scene at the last and claiming her clothes off her back, supported in his claim by Vissonji. I only heard a few days later that this Battiah had walked to Kikunia to persuade his caste fellows there to send away their slaves to avoid release, and on their declining to do so, refused to eat, drink, or sleep in the village, but returned home, saying, if he was left alone he would resist the Sircar. Had I known this I should have sent him to Zanzibar, although, as things at present stand, he has lost all his slaves, some money, and any influence he may have possessed in the district is utterly gone.

At Sandazi, in the centre of the village, stood the finest copal tree I have yet seen, fully as large as a good average English oak. It is a source of revenue to the man whose huts it shades. Several large limbs had decayed and fallen, whilst in many places gum exuded in large masses from wounds and from the undersides of the limbs; and I saw most confirmatory proof of the truth of the conclusions I arrived at previously, each succeeding change being traceable step by step. All this district abounds in "diggings," and, as at Kitmangao, the fossil gum is found almost up to the road and as far as the hill range, which now rose towards the southward.

On the 29th we passed on our way another caravan of 73 slaves, which drew off into the grass, the leaders coming forward and saluting us; then a frightfully hot march through the Pemba mangrove swamp and two hours further journeying brought us to the last village of Kwale, Kikunia.

Kikunia consists of a number of scattered huts at the head of a khor entering the Simboranga mouth of the Rufigi, and is situated about 12 miles inland from the sea. There is a colony of eleven Banyan houses, and many of the Battiahs have taken to themselves women of the country. Forty slaves were released here and at Pemba. Water is 3 miles distant and bad; cattle die, and the climate is unhealthy, but trade interests are paramount; copal is brought in abundantly, grain is raised extensively, a trade done in wood, wax, and ivory finds its way down the Rufigi. So the settlement is carried on.

Here the coast fever found us out, and within twelve hours nine out of our party of twenty-one (including myself) were utterly prostrate under very violent and repeated attacks, varied with ague. I, nevertheless, managed to complete my work, free the slaves, and arrange to place Jadhoo, the Customs Master, in charge of Sandazi, Kivinja, Macrore, Mji-Mema, and Kikunia, to report to Zanzibar. I had already given to Vissonji Nersi of Bosa the other division, Kisiju, Kitmangao, Kunderani, Zerare, and Nusseeb-jani, as his share of work in the Kwale district. I then thought it useless to linger longer in an unhealthy coast village, with bad water and bad provisions, on the banks of a mangrove swamp, so made up my mind to leave at once for Chole, do what business lay there, and allow the party to recruit.

On the 2nd of January we sailed in a dhow, placed at my disposal by a Battiah, passing one trying night with fever in the swamp before reaching Simboranga, and late on the 3rd landed on Chole Islands. Here I propose to remain a week, in order to thoroughly shake off my illness and recover a little strength, and then sail to Samanga, from which place I shall work back on the Rufigi. I trust Lieutenant Pullen, who has been severely shaken, it being his first experience in East African fevers, may be sufficiently well by that time to accompany me.

I must not omit that, whilst lying ill under a shed at Kikunia, on the 30th, a caravan of 400 slaves passed through the village; and, on the next day, a far larger one (we counted 1,000 and then stopped) of some 1,100 filed past within sight of my bed in long chain gangs, heavily laden with provisions for the road. The leader of the latter, one Mamji Hadji, conceived it his duty to call on me, accompanied by about eight of his men armed with muskets. He was very communicative, said, "he had been away two years, did not know exactly how many slaves he had, more than 1,000 certainly; was obliged to march slowly, as some had been a year and a half in the gangs, had taken seven days from Kilwa; thought it a good thing the sea route was closed, as he saved duty and the land journey was cheaper; was bound to Pangani; yes, this was a big slave year certainly."

This man afterwards stated in the village that Lalji, the Customs Master at Pangani, originally advanced him all his goods for the slave hunt, and that he should sell under his orders; but I have, of course, no means of gauging the truth of this statement, which, however, is neither an impossible or an improbable story.

On the 1st no slaves passed up from Kilwa; on the evening of the 2nd, the day I sailed, 200 were due, which slept on the Rufigi. All caravans are compelled, from the lay of the country and the Rufigi Delta, to pass close to the village of Kikunia; but a more lengthened description will be found of the route in my Report, annexed, on the Kwale district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

Report by Vice-Consul Elton on the Chungu-bueni and Kwale Districts.

THE Chungu-bueni district, comprising the lands of Fonze, is so deeply indented by the mangrove lined khors, as to be almost impassable along the coast to travellers. Here the interruptions can only be crossed at the lowest tide through an ooze of mud and sand; there high tide and canoes must be awaited, whilst quicksands are both common and dangerous. Proceeding southward, from Ras Ndege, the following villages are passed on the coast—Sara, Kibuiji, and Puna, before reaching the creek of Chungu-bueni, on which are situated Bajuni and Bosa. Beyond, the Kurati Creek is the next obstacle, and Paracha and Dendeni, the only groups of huts met with before Kisiju is reached. The large Zegra creek stretches inland beyond the Kisiju road, and from the hill at Bilali's at Fonze the swamps of Chungu-bueni are visible. The coast villages are thinly inhabited by fishermen, who enjoy the repute of living by wrecking dhows, and the shore is looked on as inhospitable. Only one Battiah was found a settler; he had lived at Bosa for seven years, and is well suited to battle his way alone amongst the Mrima folk, who hold him in wholesome fear. Formerly, there were several Indians in the district, but one by one they have moved towards Dar-es-Salam or Kwale, in consequence of the exactions of the petty chiefs. Kimwere, in the first place, claims a royalty for permission to settle on the soil; in the second place, a fee simple must be paid to the local Jumbe; and, in the third, the official power steps in (often represented by a man with a self-constituted office) and demands 2 per cent. on profits, which he condescends to estimate, without any inspection of books, from his local

experience and observations. Vissonji Nersi, of Bosa, commenced by paying his footing to Kimwere, and forming a friendship with this really powerful chief. He then paid for a right to build, to the head man of Bosa, and has successfully opposed all further demands. Others tried to follow his example, but, not having secured Kimwere's support, had to pay their money and then depart in search of less rapacious neighbours. As a result, Nersi monopolizes the Chungu-bueni copal, very little finding its way north to Tuliani, and only a limited quantity being picked up in the Mangatani District, where the only resident Battiah is, moreover, unpopular.

Grain is grown largely on the borders of Chungu-bueni, hippopotami being the great drawback, and look-out places are constructed in the fields, even as far inland as Bilali's, from which they are shot and harassed away by night-guards.

But few plantations are met with on the Kisiju road, and these principally raise mohogo, sweet potatoes, and a little Indian corn. Bread, made of bananas and mohogo, were offered for sale at the halting-places. The main business of the district is copal digging. The many small shafts sunk in prospecting honeycomb the ground up to the very edge of the road, and make it dangerous to venture in the long grass; whilst, far and wide, the workings of the true (so-called fossil) gum run in close proximity to belts of the modern tree.

Near Mangatani a large forest, Kiregeri, extends to the westward, and between the clumps and in the openings, where presumably the trees had stood, some of the finest copal is found, of this I have specimens, both from the tree and ground.

Passing through Fonze and Mangatani, the latter well watered by the Mkoonde, the Kisiju division of the large Kwale district is reached. Here miles of mohogo meet the eye; rice is grown in great quantities, Indian corn thrives, and the mango and cocoa-nut tree both spring up rapidly and bear profusely. This fertility, the people say, is owing to the steady rainfall, scarcely a day passes without a shower falling in the neighbourhood, and when the rest of the country presents an arid and parched appearance, the plantations around the Mgassi River are green and flourishing. A good deal of speculation is carried on by Indians in grain, who buy very largely and hold until prices rise in Zanzibar and Kilwa; and at the present moment large quantities are stored, holding on for a better market. Cattle are not kept about Kisiju, leopards abounding in the dense thickets bordering the Mgassi, from whence they levy blackmail on children and goats, up to the outskirts of the villages. There is no inner road by which the slave caravans can pass, but across the Mgassi, by the beach from Kilwa and pass Kisiju; hence a new line of industry is established, and the inhabitants find buying up starving children unable to march further and reselling them, an easy and lucrative mode of eking out their incomes. They also supply the caravans with food, and look up stragglers and runaways; the traders, in return, being on their best behaviour, and only too anxious to maintain the good terms which they have succeeded in establishing all along the road, and upon which their safe conduct depends.

To the many ruins found both here and in the neighbourhood I am not inclined, as the Arabs are, to ascribe an ancient date, those on the sea-shore are certainly Portuguese, the masonry of the main walls of what must have been a description of look-out tower still holds together, as well as portions of a surrounding inclosure, although built on a bluff, and open to the full action of wind and weather.

When in Zanzibar a Battiah or a Hindi says he comes from Kwale, it does not imply he has anything to do with Kwale Island, where no Indians live, and cocoa-nut trees and mohogo are cultivated by a few hybrid Mrima men; he belongs to the district of Kwale extending from the Mkoonde River to the Rufigi, and probably lives in one of the numerous copal stations, of which Kitmangoa is the most important. Situated at the head of an indenting mangrove creek, a few miles from the coast, where dhows warp up to load at spring tides, the Khoja houses dot the wooded slopes on the one shore, and the Battiah huts the other, park like land, broken with the paths by which the natives bring in produce, stretching back to a low line of hills in the distance. Beyond a mile the settlers do not care to venture, and the land is almost sealed, the Washenzi stipulating that no trading parties are to be sent in, and in case of offence closing the copal supply. Here barter goes on from morning until nearly sun down, although the season is now slack, the first rains which soften the earth being the signal for vigorous digging, which is relaxed as the dry season returns and work becomes more laborious. I found it impossible to discriminate between the tribes; each village owns its Chief, and adopts his name, hence the tribal designations become so confusing that Arabs, Indians, and Waswahili alike abandon the task of selection in despair, and class up to the hills as, Washenzi. Nearer Kikunia, however the Mtoli, a large family, abut upon the Rufigi, and assume some importance.

Sandazi, Kivinja, Kunderani, Zerare, Demuni, Nusseebgani, Macrore, Mji-Mema, and Pemba complete the list of trading stations, and are most of them, like Kitmangao, situated some distance from the sea, and on mangrove creeks. An annual sum is paid by each house to the local chiefs, and a share of profits is levied on a varying scale. Justice and protection are to be procured only by a system of fees at Kisiju, whilst presents must be made to those in petty authority, but there is no such wholesale oppression complained of as that which drove the traders out of Chungu-bueni.

Kaniki, Satini, Amerikano, and a few beads, guns and powder (the latter is scarce and valuable, owing to Seyed Burghash's monopoly), together with copper-wire and fancy handkerchiefs, form the stock-in-trade, and the frasilah of copal is bought from the natives at prices varying from 4 dollars to 5½ dollars; on this the Custom-house levies 20 per cent., i.e., from 100 frasilahs they appropriate 20, and from 120, 24 as Government duty. On all grain 5 frasilahs on 100 are also taken in a similar manner. Add to this heavy tax the local and petty extortions, fees, shipment, transit, &c., and it will readily be seen what a bound the copal trade would take if untrammelled and under equitable rules. Tied down as it is, it supports hundreds, but under a different régime would afford lucrative employment to thousands.

Approaching Kikunia a ridge of rounded sand-stone hills runs in a southerly direction, and the land bordering the road, up to the foot of these hills and on their slope, are singularly well cultivated and fertile. Large mango trees, and the cocoa-nut and palms thrive, but beyond on the farther slopes the native tribes hold their own, hence Kikunia is another place where only one path exists for the slave caravans. The water here is bad, distant, and scarce, and a long mangrove swamp leads to the Simboranga mouth of the Rufigi. The creeks from Pemba and Mji-Mema also branch into the same outlet, which forms the first important break in the coast line. Large quantities of wax reach Kikunia from the interior.

It is needless for me to comment further on the caravans, they pass through Kikunia on an average eight days out of ten, and hundreds of slaves are driven up. I should, however, state that there is no intention whatever of stopping for the rainy season, the Rufigi is the main obstacle, and every arrangement is completed there to avoid delay.

The Sultan's authority is represented by a Baluch Jemadar at Kisiju, with some ten or twelve Askari, Arabs and Baluchis, elsewhere he has not a vestige of authority, and Abd-el-Kader was careful to impress the fact upon me. He gave me seven men (four of whom I sent back from Kikunia), but added at the same time that he could be responsible for nothing beyond the Mgassi River.

(Signed) F. ELTON.

Chole Island, January 10, 1874.

Inclosure 4 in No. 3

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Island of Chole, January 13, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to report, in continuation, that I discovered and freed, at Chole, 27 slaves held by 4 Banyans, 1 Khoja and 1 Bohrah: this brings up my total list of men freed to 278.

This island fully answered to the expectations I had been led to form at Kikunia. Cattle are plentiful, goats and a few sheep, fish, and yams, sweet potatoes, and fruit are obtainable. The air at this season of the year is fresh and bracing, and not the least of its recommendations, after the mangrove swamps, mosquitos are unknown.

The Kwale district use it uniformly as a sanatorium, and any one seriously attacked with fever or dysentery is sent here to recover, the clear sea breeze and good water working, as it has done in our cases, a favourable change.

In the Admiralty chart Cholé is wrongly laid down, it is actually about one-fifth of the size indicated, and should be cut off at the north-west corner of Captain Owen's Island, a passage dividing it from the neighbouring island called Jiwani. It is perfectly easy to walk round Chole in a couple of hours. The vegetation is luxuriant,—mango, and cocoa-nut trees, oranges, baobabs, jack fruit, &c., shade the paths, the population, however, is scanty, never having recovered from severe losses by cholera, when that disease was brought from Kilwa and Zanzibar some years ago. Produce is brought across from Mafir and Jiwani in canoes, but Mafia, although fertile, is considered unhealthy, many of the landowners there preferring to reside at Chole.

The Governor of Kilwa, Salim bin Said, arrived at an estate he owns at Terenia on

Mafia on the 6th, on his way to Zanzibar (summoned, so it is said, by the Sultan), and I sent over my head man with a polite message and the letter from the Sultan, of which I was the bearer, expressing my regret that I should miss him in Kilwa. In return I received a courteous answer and a present of provisions, together with a letter to the Kathi of Kilwa (Seyed Burghash's letter was also returned at my request as a passport), the Governor adding I should find all ready for my reception. He has since sent daily to inquire after the party.

The Indians here are principally engaged in grain speculation with the coast. Cowries are also exported, together with the fine mats for which Chole is famous, and produce from the Mafia plantations finds its way through the merchants' hands to Zanzibar and other markets. Only one Indian resides on Mafia who held no slaves.

To-morrow the spring tides serve to ascend the Samanga creek, and I leave for that place, working back on the Rufigi, and hoping, if all goes well, to reach Kilwa about the 24th.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 5 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Kilwa Kivinja, January 28, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, the number of slaves marched up the coast from Kilwa, actually passed on the road by me during thirty days, from 21st December, 1873, to 20th January, 1874.

To this list is added the number which, from information, is given as having been seen on the road between the 2nd and 15th January, 1874, when I was absent at Chole, but this is manifestly understated and perhaps represents half the correct amount.

The heads of these caravans all declare their intention of shipping either for Pemba or north from Lamoo, where the demand is very great, and I venture to think that the Sultan should not permit a traffic ostensibly instituted for the purpose of breaking the Treaty of June, 1873, to be carried on with impunity; for, as things are at present, the Arab boasts of evading the Treaty, and jeers at our being unable to hinder the traffic, which increases daily.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 6 in No. 3.

LIST of Slaves passed on Inland Route from Dar-es-Salam to Kilwa Kivinja, between December 21, 1873, and January 20, 1874.

December 21	..	80	} Estimated.
" 22	..	700	
" 23	..	200	} Turned off the road for us.
" 23	..	300	
" 27	..	100	} Counted. Of the 1,100, we counted 1,000 and were tired. A full 150 passed afterwards.
" 28	..	96	
" 29	..	73	
" 30	..	400	
" 31	..	1,100	} Runners came on to get food ready for these 200, and they were to arrive in the evening; we left in the afternoon for Chole.
January 2	..	200	
Total ..	..	3,249	} 480 reported as having passed through Samanga, from 2nd to 16th January, during our absence at Chole.
Understated, 482	}	250	
		150	
		50	
January 18	}	32	
		200	
		100	
" 18	..	100	
" 20	..	65	
Grand Total	..	4,096	

NOTE.—Lieutenant Pullen's numbers from his note-book are considerably above these.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
1st Assistant to Political Agent.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 9, 1874.

I REGRET to have to report that, on the 28th January, a serious outrage was committed on the person of Benjamin Hartley, a young missionary student belonging to the Universities Mission. Mr. Hartley was at Morongo, a village situated between Pangani and Tanga, and was shooting by himself in a retired spot, when a caravan of about forty slaves passed in charge of four Arabs. Mr. Hartley injudiciously went up to the caravan, and appears to have entered into conversation with the slaves, when the Arabs interfered, and an altercation ensued, which resulted in Mr. Hartley being most savagely attacked. It seems he was first shot down, and, while on the ground, was slashed about the head by the Arabs with their heavy swords, the brain being laid bare in two or three places. So far as I can gather at present, they desisted at the request of an Zunyamwezi man who happened to pass by at the time; the villagers were also turning out to come to the rescue, I believe, but the evidence upon the subject is very scanty. Mr. Hartley was brought over to Zanzibar by his companion, a sub-deacon, named Francis Mabruki (who was not present when the outrage occurred), and taken to the mission-house, where he is now lying in a most precarious state. His Highness Seyd Burghash has sent over to Morongo to procure any evidence he can with respect to the Arabs, who I trust will be identified and duly punished. It is probable that they were passing with this caravan to Tanga, in the hope of exporting the slaves to the Island of Pemba.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

SLAVE TRADE. No. 5 (1874).

REPORTS on the Present State of the East African
Slave Trade.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. 1874.*

LONDON :
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

CORRESPONDENCE
RESPECTING
SIR BARTLE FRERE'S MISSION
TO THE
EAST COAST OF AFRICA.
1872-73.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1873.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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No. 1.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 31, 1872.*
YOU are aware that the most serious attention of Her Majesty's Government has of late been given to the question of the suppression of Slave Trade, which is carried on on the East Coast of Africa, and especially in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and I have now to inform you that a Special Mission has been appointed which will very shortly leave this country for Zanzibar.

This Mission has for its object the negotiation of fresh and more stringent Treaties with the Rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and its conduct has been intrusted to Sir Bartle Frere, formerly Governor of Bombay, and Member of the Council of India, whose great experience and distinguished services in the East pre-eminently qualify him for such a service.

Sir Bartle Frere and his suite will be conveyed to Zanzibar on one of Her Majesty's vessels of war, and I have to request that you will give your cordial co-operation in carrying out any measures which, in consultation with yourself, Sir Bartle Frere may deem it advisable to take in furtherance of the objects of the Mission with which he is charged.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

*Earl Granville to the Sultan of Zanzibar.**

Sire, *Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.*
THIS letter will be delivered to your Highness by Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and a member of the Council for India, who has been deputed by Her Majesty the Queen to proceed on a Special Mission to your Highness, to make known to you the views of Her Majesty and of Her Government on the question of the East African Slave Trade, and to invite your Highness to join with them in framing measures which shall have for their object the complete suppression of this cruel and destructive traffic.

Your Highness cannot but be aware of the deep interest taken by the Queen and people of this country in the suppression of the Slave Trade, nor of the sacrifices which have been made, both of valuable life and of treasure to attain this desired end.

Not more than twenty years ago the traffic in slaves was carried on by powerful nations from the West Coast of Africa to a far greater extent, than it now obtains on the East Coast, when as many as from 60,000 to 70,000 slaves were exported to countries on the other side of the Atlantic in a single year.

Her Majesty's Government and people of this country were determined that this traffic should cease.

They therefore maintained a powerful squadron on the coast engaged entirely in

* A similar letter was addressed to the Sultan of Muscat.

the suppression of the Traffic, and by remonstrating with the Governments of those countries whose subjects were engaged in the Traffic, and by making Treaties with the Governments in question binding them to use their best exertions to put a stop to the Slave Trade, and to punish severely their subjects who might engage in it, the end which Her Majesty's Government had in view was attained, and they can now point to the West Coast of Africa and say that where a few years since slaves were carried away in tens of thousands, now not a single slave is exported, and in the place of this inhuman traffic which was carried on only by means of wars undertaken in the interior with the sole object of procuring slaves, a flourishing legal trade has everywhere arisen which the native chiefs and all who were formerly engaged in shipping slaves now acknowledge is far more profitable than man-stealing and man-selling.

What Her Majesty's Government under most adverse circumstances have succeeded in accomplishing on the West Coast of Africa, it is equally their object to effect on the East Coast, and on the part of Her Majesty's Government I have therefore to invite your Highness frankly and cordially to join them in framing measures which shall effectually put a stop to the illegal export of slaves from any part of your dominions.

Should your Highness, as Her Majesty's Government confidently trust you will, join with them frankly and cordially in carrying out efficient measures for putting an end to the export of slaves from your dominions in Africa, your Highness may reckon on the friendship and support of this country and of the Government of India; but should on the other hand your Highness decline the terms which will be submitted to you by Her Majesty's Envoy, your Highness may be assured that, however much Her Majesty's Government may regret your decision, the objects which they have in view will none the less be pursued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 3.

Earl Granville to Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.

THE experience of the last few years having conclusively proved that the existing Treaty engagements between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the suppression of the export trade in slaves from His Highness' Dominions on the east coast of Africa, do not suffice for the attainment of the object for which those engagements were framed, and Her Majesty's Government having determined to spare no effort to put a stop to this traffic, I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty the Queen, having entire confidence in your zeal and ability, has determined to avail herself of your great experience in Eastern affairs, and to accredit you as her Special Envoy to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, and to confer upon you full powers under the Great Seal as herewith inclosed to enter into negotiations, and to conclude Treaties with those Chiefs and with any others with whom it may be desirable to contract engagements for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade.

I have accordingly to request that you will hold yourself in readiness to proceed to Zanzibar and Muscat in a vessel of the Royal Navy, which, at the instance of the Lords of the Admiralty will be directed to convey you and your suite to the places which, in pursuance of the objects of your Mission, it may be necessary that you should visit.

On your arrival at Zanzibar and Muscat, having obtained an interview with the Rulers of those States, you will deliver the letters from Her Majesty accrediting you, which I inclose.

In the case of the Sultan of Zanzibar you will impress upon His Highness the extreme disappointment of Her Majesty's Government at the want of efficient execution of the provisions of his existing Treaty engagements. You will explain to His Highness that this evasion of his Treaty obligations can no longer be tolerated by Her Majesty's Government, and they call upon him to co-operate with them in framing arrangements which shall effectually put a stop to the exportation of slaves from his Dominions on the East Coast of Africa.

As regards the Sultan of Muscat you will explain to His Highness that he is bound by the Treaty engagements contracted by his predecessors to prevent the importation of slaves from the African Coast into his territories; and you will give His Highness distinctly to understand in firm, but conciliatory language, that Her Majesty's Government have determined to suppress the East African traffic in slaves, and that they must hold him responsible for a punctual fulfilment of his Treaty obligations.

Should you find the Ruler of either State willing to promise co-operation in this work of suppression, you are empowered to obtain such modification of existing Treaties and engagements as you may, after careful deliberation and consultation with the British Agents on the spot, find necessary.

Your object should be to enable our Consular and Naval officers to give full effect to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government for the ultimate effectual suppression of the Slave Trade along the whole of the East African, Arabian, and Persian coasts, and of the public sale of imported slaves within the Dominions of Zanzibar and Muscat.

In the event of your finding that it will facilitate your negotiations with the Sultan of Zanzibar to relieve His Highness from the obligation to pay to Muscat the subsidy of 40,000 crowns, under the Award approved by Lord Canning in April 1861, you are authorized to give to the Sultan such assurances as may satisfy him that the payment of the subsidy will not be enforced against him, provided he consents to enter into the engagements which you will propose to him for the more effectual suppression of the East African Slave Traffic; and, so long as he faithfully and, to the best of his power, performs all his Treaty obligations and other engagements with Her Majesty's Government, it being emphatically impressed upon the Sultan that, in the event of the slightest infraction of any of the engagements or stipulations into which he may enter with the British Government, all obligations on our part to continue the payment of the amount will absolutely cease, and the conditions which were enjoined by the Award of 1861 will be reverted to and strictly enforced.

On the other hand, you are empowered, on similar conditions, to give similar assurances to the Ruler of Muscat that the amount to which he may be entitled under the aforesaid Award will be regularly paid to him from Her Majesty's Treasury, Bombay.

Having carried out these instructions, and fully informed the Government of Bombay, and Government of India of all that you have done, you will at once return to England and report to Her Majesty's Government the performance of your Mission.

You will be at liberty to select an efficient staff to accompany you and to give you such assistance as you may require.

The Government of India will also be requested to place at your disposal any officer of Her Majesty's Indian Service whom you may find likely to be useful as an interpreter, or in any other capacity in which his Excellency the Viceroy may consider that he would be serviceable.

All your expenses in the performance of this duty will be paid by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 4.

Earl Granville to Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.

WITH reference to my despatch of this day's date, containing instructions for your guidance on your contemplated Mission to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, I now inclose the draft of a Treaty which you will propose to the two Sultans, having for its object the more effectual suppression of the traffic in slaves on the East Coast of Africa.

I also inclose letters which I have addressed to the Sultans, and which you will deliver to their Highnesses, together with a correct translation in Arabic, accompanied by suitable expressions on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

As regards the Treaty, I have had it prepared, not with the view of binding you to the exact terms contained in the draft, but as giving you an idea of the objects which it is proposed should be obtained, and of the points in regard to which the Sultans should be invited to contract engagements.

It is obvious that, in addition to the Treaty engagements to be submitted to the Rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat, there are other subsidiary measures which will occupy your attention, and which doubtless would assist materially in the suppression of the East African Slave Traffic.

We already have Treaty engagements with nearly every Arab Chief of importance in the Persian Gulf and on the coasts of Arabia, binding them to use their best endeavours to prevent the traffic in slaves by the people owning their sway; but it is to be feared that these Treaties have been allowed to become dead letters, and that in some instances

at least they are ignored by the Chiefs and their people. I cannot doubt that, if all these Chiefs were specially reminded of their Treaty engagements, and warned that, for the future, they with their people would be held responsible and severely punished for infractions of these engagements, such a warning would be attended with satisfactory results. At any rate, they would not be enabled to allege ignorance in extenuation of their conduct, should they be in future found violating their engagements.

Printed notices in Arabic, warning the people of the consequences they will bring upon themselves by engaging in Slave Traffic, might also with advantage be distributed amongst the Chiefs and people on the coasts of Arabia and the Persian Gulf; and it is probable that means might also be found of making the purport of similar notices known in the interior of Africa, on the routes by which slaves are usually brought to the coast, which might have the effect of deterring the slave-dealers from bringing the slaves to the coast, when they know that the markets are closed against them.

One of the points to which I would wish to draw your special attention is the question as to the custody and ultimate disposal of captured slaves, and the probable expense of any arrangements that may be necessary for this purpose. I should be glad to receive a Report from you on this subject.

Another very important matter is the question as to the strength of the naval force and the arrangements that may be necessary for giving effect to the stipulations of the Treaties which you may be enabled to conclude with the Rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat.

The question of the employment of Consular Agents on the African Coast, and whether they should be Europeans or natives, is one which you will doubtless also consider and report upon.

I will only, in conclusion, add that, knowing the great interest you take in the suppression of the East African Slave Trade, Her Majesty's Government have entire confidence that you will carry out your present mission with the same zeal and ability which have so eminently characterized your long and distinguished services in India, and Her Majesty's Government on their part will be prepared to receive with the consideration they deserve, recommendations and suggestions which you may feel it your duty to make to them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Draft of Treaty.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness Syed Bargash ben Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries for this purpose, that is to say :—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, a Member of the Council for India ;

And His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar,

Who after having communicated to each other their respective full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

The Provisions of the existing Treaties and engagements having proved ineffectual for preventing the export of slaves from the Territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness, agree that from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease, and any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after such date, shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by such persons and in such manner as the Sultan within his jurisdiction may authorize for the purpose, and also by all such Naval and other officers or agents, and such Courts as may be authorized for the same purpose on the part of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for imported slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

The Sultan engages to protect, to the utmost of his power, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them, or reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall, from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, be prohibited from possessing slaves, and in the meanwhile from acquiring any fresh slaves.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at Zanzibar as soon as possible, but in any case within the space of months from the date hereof.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Zanzibar this day of in the Year of Christ 187 , corresponding with the of the month of the Hegira 128 .

, No. 5.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.*

ON the occasion of your approaching visit to Zanzibar an opportunity will be afforded you of ascertaining by inquiry how far the complaints of Dr. Livingstone are well founded in regard to the class of porters employed by Dr. Kirk to carry to Dr. Livingstone the stores intended for his relief.

I should be glad if you would direct your attention to this matter and favour me with your opinion as to whether Dr. Livingstone's complaints are well founded, and whether Dr Kirk is in any way to blame for the delays that took place in expediting the stores to Dr. Livingstone or for their plunder and failure to reach him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 6.

Earl Granville to Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 11, 1872.*

IT is desirable, for the furtherance of the objects of the Mission to the East Coasts of Africa and Arabia with which you have been charged, that you should proceed to Paris and Rome, and confer on the subject with Her Majesty's Representatives at those capitals, to whom instructions have been sent to afford you all the assistance in their power. I have accordingly to request that you will take the route via Rome and Paris to Brindisi, where Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," which is the vessel chosen by the Lords of the Admiralty to convey you and your suite on your Mission, has been ordered to await your arrival.

The "Enchantress" will leave Portsmouth on the 12th instant, and may be expected at Brindisi on or about the 30th.

I have to request that you will report to me the dates of your departure from England and of your embarkation on board the "Enchantress," and that all your correspondence on the subject of your Mission may be addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 7.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received November 19.)

My Lord,

India Office, November 19, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 9th instant, informing me that Her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to appoint me as her Special Envoy to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat for the purpose of negotiating more stringent Treaties for the entire suppression of the Slave Trade now carried on along the Eastern shores of Africa and Arabia.

I have now to request your Lordship to convey to Her Majesty my grateful thanks for the trust which she has thus reposed in me, and your Lordship may rely that no effort on my part will be wanting to carry into effect the wishes of Her Majesty and of her Government whilst engaged on the mission with which I have been entrusted.

I have further the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches containing, for my guidance while thus employed, instructions which I will be careful to observe

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 8.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 20, 1872.

I HAVE to inform you that, after communication with the Lords of the Treasury, the following scale of remuneration has been decided on for yourself and the members of the staff whom you have selected to accompany you on your Mission to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, viz :—

To yourself, as Special Envoy, a salary at the rate of 5,000*l.* per annum.

To the Rev. G. P. Badger, as Secretary and Confidential Adviser to yourself, a salary at the rate of 1,500*l.* per annum.

To Major C. B. Euan Smith, as Military Attaché to the Mission, a salary at the rate of 600*l.* per annum.

To Captain Fairfax, R.N., as Naval Attaché to the Mission, a special rate of pay of 600*l.* per annum has been granted, and the difference between his half and full pay as a naval officer will also be charged to the Special Mission Account.

To Mr. Hill, as Secretary, and to Mr. Grey as Attaché to the Mission, a sum of 100*l.* has been assigned to cover their actual expenditure in preparing for the expedition, and the question of the remuneration to be awarded to these gentlemen for their services is to stand over until the return of the Mission.

All the above-mentioned salaries are to date from the day of your departure from this country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 9.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—Received November 21.)

My Lord,

London, November 21, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I purpose leaving England this day, accompanied by the members of my staff, on my mission to the East Coast of Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 10.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, "Enchantress," Brindisi, December 9, 1872.
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I embarked with my suite this morning on board Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," and that I purpose leaving this port for Corfu this afternoon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 11.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord, "Enchantress," Alexandria, December 15, 1872.
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, having taken Captain Fairfax, R.N., Naval Attaché to this Mission, on board at Corfu, the "Enchantress" left for this port, where she arrived at midday yesterday.

As I am informed by Colonel Stanton that His Highness the Khedive is now at Cairo, I leave this to-morrow for that city in a special train which His Highness has kindly placed at my disposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 12.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received January 6, 1873.)

(Extract.) Cairo, December 24, 1872.
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived in this city on the 18th instant, and was received by His Highness the Khedive on the 17th. Besides this interview His Highness granted me three other audiences, in the course of which I had much interesting conversation with His Highness on matters relating to the Slave Trade.

I shall have the honour to send by an early mail detailed accounts of all that passed, as well as of much other interesting information which I have gathered on the subject of slavery in Egypt, during my stay in this country.

In conclusion I have to inform your Lordship that I leave this morning for Suez to re-embark for Aden on board the "Enchantress."

No. 13.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, "Enchantress," Aden, January 1, 1873.
WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum of the conversation which I held on the 17th ultimo with His Royal Highness the Khedive on the subject of slavery in Egypt.

I also inclose for your Lordship's perusal a Memorandum, with Appendix, of the information which I was able to gather on the subject from various sources during my stay in Egypt, and which also contains certain suggestions for the measures which might be taken for the eventual abolition of slavery in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Memorandum of Conversation with His Highness the Khedive, on the 17th December, 1872.

AFTER the usual compliments had been passed Sir B. Frere explained to His Highness the object of his mission to the Sultan of Zanzibar, setting forth the reasons.

which have induced Her Majesty's Government to take the present course, and the hopes they entertained of being able to persuade His Highness to co-operate with them in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast.

Sir B. Frere then enlarged on the peculiar interest taken in this question by Great Britain, and stated that it was one in which the Government of India was specially concerned, in consequence of the complicity of British Indian subjects or the subjects of native Princes under British protection in the Slave Trade on the coast; a trade which had assumed such proportions that it was estimated that at least 20,000 slaves were annually shipped from the Coast for the Persian Gulf and Arabia, and that, for every slave exported, from eight to ten perished before reaching the Coast, leaving large districts of the country for many miles utterly depopulated in consequence of the ravages of the slave hunters. The existence of this trade was a material loss to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who, instead of deriving benefit from legitimate commerce in his dominions, now only received 40,000 dollars a year in Customs dues derived from slaves.

The Khedive listened attentively to Sir B. Frere's observations, thanking his Excellency for communicating the purport of his mission, and expressed his conviction of the success which would attend his efforts. His Highness showed very considerable acquaintance with even the local bearings of the question. The question of the Slave Trade in Egypt was then touched upon; His Highness did not attempt to deny the existence of such a trade, but remarked that it was necessary to strike at the evil at its sources before a radical cure could be effected. He himself would gladly assist in the matter, but as a Mussulman Prince he had great difficulties to contend against; the institution of domestic slavery had existed in these countries for many centuries even before Mahometanism and it was impossible to stop it immediately by a *coup de sabre*. But if he had the moral support of Great Britain he was prepared to engage that he would put an end to the Slave Trade in Central Africa. His Government had already gone to great expense with this object in view in the expedition of Sir Samuel Baker which had undoubtedly checked most materially the trade of the White Nile. It was impossible for him to do away with domestic slavery immediately. This would require time; but if the supply were stopped the evil would soon wear itself out.

As regard slave labour as applied to domestic purposes, he went on to say that one great difficulty was the almost entire absence of any free trained labour of the same kind, and remarked on the difference existing in this respect between the natives of Egypt and foreigners who found domestic labour follow them. To meet this want, trained domestic labour was required, and it was with that view that he had already instituted in Cairo a school for the purpose of instructing the girls of the poorer classes in household work, such as cooking, &c., so as gradually to prepare the way for the total abolition of slaves from the houses of the richer Moslems.

His Highness asserted that the number of slaves sold in Egypt did not exceed 400 per annum, that the trade was carried on in contraband and with great difficulty, and that as Sir B. Frere could state from his own knowledge of Egypt the trade had diminished very sensibly within the last thirty-eight years since 1834, when slave-boats were to be met on the Nile, and when slaves were openly sold in a regular established market in Cairo. He further added that he had no doubt that if the slave markets and slave "okells" could be put down in Zanzibar the traffic there would soon die out.

His Highness remarked that he should not be placed on the same level as Zanzibar in the question of slavery, as he claimed for his Government the position of the head of civilization on the African continent.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

Memorandum on the present State of the Slave Trade and Slavery in Egypt.

ON some few points connected with this subject, I am able to speak from personal observation. I passed some weeks in Egypt in 1834, before the system of Mehmet Ali had been modified by Egypt becoming the channel of the vast overland transit traffic, and before trade and agriculture had been stimulated to such an extraordinary degree by the Crimean and American wars, and by all the other causes which have of late years seconded the measures taken by Government for the development of the country.

On several subsequent occasions, I have been able to remain for a period which, however, brief in itself, was sufficient to impress the most careless observer with the extent of the vast improvements and changes of every kind in progress.

During my present brief visit, I found a most unexpected amount of interest manifested by Frank residents in Egypt regarding the objects of the special mission to East Africa, and I need hardly say that I received every information and assistance from Colonel Stanton, the Consul-General.

It is clear that the official position of all questions connected with slavery and slave trade in Egypt has greatly altered of late years. In 1834, and I believe for some years afterwards, there was a large open slave market in Cairo, which was one of the sights usually shown to strangers. We met many boat loads of negro slaves coming down the river, and saw them openly exposed for sale, without attempt at concealment, at various places in Upper Egypt. In 1855, though the traffic was formally prohibited, any Frank who cared to do so might visit the houses where slaves were always for sale. This, I am assured, is no longer possible except in disguise and clandestinely; and no official difficulty, I believe, is ever found by our Consular authorities in securing the prompt and faithful fulfilment of all the engagements of His Highness' Government, and immediate attention to and redress for any complaints which may be brought to the notice of the Egyptian administration.

This indicates a great and very satisfactory change in the Egyptian official view of the subject, and proves that the professions of the Government are not merely formal. Even those of my informants, some of them not Englishmen nor officials, who took the least favourable view of past progress, and were least sanguine as to the future, admitted that redress was always readily afforded by the Egyptian police authorities to any slave with a real grievance, who applied to the British Consul for protection; and they testified to the general impression among slaves that they could always get protection by applying at our Consulate. I believe that neither do our officials find any want of careful attention to their representations on the part of the Egyptian Government officials, nor do the latter complain of undue officiousness or causeless interference on our part. This proves, I submit, more than mutual courtesy and good understanding. Such a state of things could hardly exist unless both parties had common objects sincerely at heart in the subject-matter of their communications.

As regards the general character and treatment of slaves in Egypt, I must refer to the annexed Appendix embodying some of the information which struck me most. I have omitted hearsay stories which admit of no proof, including some of a rather sensational character; nor, with occasional exceptions have I noted inferential observations which, though probably true, are sufficiently self-evident as regards slavery in any country. Information thus collected is of course liable to various sources of error from which the statements of official persons taken officially would be free; but it may at least serve to show the sort of views which would be placed before a foreigner by foreigners long resident in the country, speaking under a certain responsibility from the knowledge that the facts they stated would be liable to be canvassed and criticized by those who have at their disposal official sources of information.

The ordinary domestic slaves in Egypt are, of course, as a body, relatively inferior to the same class in a country where slaves are employed in field labour, and where the slaves for house service are selected for some desirable quality from among the field hands. Here all who are brought down find purchasers for home service, and this is probably one main reason why, except in the houses of the very rich, the Egyptian slave servant strikes those who have seen domestic slavery in other countries as a very inferior being. I was not at all prepared for the very general testimony as to the extent of slaveholding among Christians, especially among the Copts, Syrians, Abyssinians, &c; and I found it was generally regarded by residents, who have the means of knowing, as a practice which has spread much among the Christians of late years, and is on the increase. All seem to agree that the evil effects of slavery, both on owners and slave, are even more marked among the Christians than among the Mahomedans, and plausible reasons are assigned for the difference.

The Mahomedan, in the possession and ordinary treatment of his slave, is generally within the letter of his law. He does not necessarily offend against his own conscience. The law, as well as custom and social feeling regarding marriage, the lawful number of wives, &c., protect the Mahomedan slave concubine and her offspring, and render crimes arising from jealousy, infanticide and the like, less common in Mahomedan than in Christian families, where, if conscientious scruples as to the possession of the slave

are rare or weak, the law, as well as the feeling of society, embitter jealousies, and aggravate the other natural results.

On the question whether slavery is or is not on the increase in Egypt, and as to the proportion which slaves bear to the free population, very conflicting opinions are expressed, and, in the absence of any trustworthy returns or statistics, conclusive evidence is unattainable. I confess I do not see how slavery can be on the decrease. The country is, and has been for years, rapidly increasing in generally diffused wealth and luxury. The demand for domestic service of every kind is extending, whilst the supply from free indigenous labour can increase but slowly, if at all. Some well-informed persons maintain that the supply of free labour for domestic servants is actually decreasing. Foreigners may and do obtain foreign servants, but with difficulty and at high cost. For the natives of the country, there is no obvious course of increased supply, save from the great negro store-house of labour.

The supply is mainly kept up by fresh importation. From a variety of causes, on which it is not necessary to dilate, the negro race in captivity seems to lose the characteristic of being the most prolific of the human family. Large families of slave children, of pure negro blood, born in the country, are said to be rare. In Lower Egypt the climate is not favourable to weakly adults, and very fatal to negro children. Their want of stamina, and tendency to chest diseases, cause great mortality at all times; they are peculiarly obnoxious to epidemics and contagious diseases.

As to the routes by which slaves are imported, official evidence already on record, has established that the Red Sea is becoming, apparently to a greater extent than in former years, the destination of a considerable proportion of the slaves exported from Eastern Africa. Probably the majority are intended ultimately for Jiddah and other ports of the Arabian coast; for Mecca and the ports of the Hedjaz appear to be the entrepôts whence slaves are carried by pilgrims returning to all quarters of the Muslim world. But it is alleged that there is a brisk slave traffic through Massowah, Suakin, and other ports on the Egyptian coast. Sometimes the slaves, it is said, are imported at these places for the East coast, on their way to Arabia, Syria, or Turkey; sometimes for the Egyptian market; and latterly it has been stated that many slaves, brought by land from the interior, have been exported from those ports.

His Highness is of opinion that Sir Samuel Baker's expedition has certainly checked slave-hunting in the immediate neighbourhood of the White Nile, and I found this opinion supported by the testimony of others who have lately arrived from the White Nile region. But, as one further result, the Khartoum traders are said to have this season drawn their chief supplies of slaves from Katarif and Kedarif, on the western bank of the Upper Atbara, and from the districts bordering on the north-western frontier of Abyssinia. Thence slaves are sent to the ports on the Red Sea, as a route presenting fewer liabilities to interruption than the routes down the Nile Valley. Whatever amount of truth there may be in such reports, all who profess to know anything on the subject agree that the slave traders avail themselves of all the facilities which steam communication and electric telegraph afford to elude interruption and official observation.

In the absence of any English Consular Authorities at the Red Sea ports, and of any means or authority for making inquiry on board the steamers or vessels under the Turkish flag, it is not easy to ascertain the truth regarding the trade by sea; and this seems to me one of the directions in which the means of ascertaining the truth and aiding the Viceroy in his endeavours to suppress the trade are within easy reach of Her Majesty's Government by negotiations with Turkey for extended facilities of inquiry, and by an increase of Consular Agency at the ports of the Red Sea.

But probably the main source of supply is still by importation landward along various routes down the Valley of the Nile, one of the most frequented striking the Nile as low down as Asyût (Esiout).

The jallâbs, or slave-traders, are a rich, well-informed, and well-organized body. They not only influence the whole of the up-country trade, but combine to protect their own interests by varying their routes according to the best information as to possible obstacles, and by securing the connivance of local Government officials.

Of the total extent of the importation I can form no reliable estimate. I fear that His Highness has been misinformed as to its having been reduced to a few hundreds. I am informed that, in some of the large and rich remote provincial towns seldom visited by influential Franks, the annual sales of freshly imported slaves might be counted by thousands; but probably it would be difficult to form more than a guess as to the number in any one place; and even His Highness would find it difficult to learn the truth as to the total imports throughout the whole of his extended dominions.

As regards the mode in which the supply is procured, there is little to add to the melancholy but monotonous story of slave-hunting in other parts of Africa. Some are got by simple kidnapping or by purchase from relations or petty local tyrants, but the ordinary mode is to sweep the country in a slave-hunting raid, slaying all who resist, leaving the old and feeble to perish, and carrying off the women, children, and able-bodied male prisoners in numbers sufficient to repay the expenses of a costly expedition.

It is not difficult to meet with credible persons in Egypt, who testify to having been, at a comparatively recent period, eye-witnesses of massacres in remote districts up the White Nile, in which hundreds of lives have been so sacrificed to effect a large capture.

As to the measures to be adopted for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, they naturally divide themselves into those which can be taken independently by the British Government and those which require the aid of His Highness the Khedive, or which rest entirely with the Egyptian or Turkish Governments.

As regards the former class, it seems to me that our present means are least efficient in the deficiency of all agency at the disposal of the Consul-General for independent observation and inquiry. In the Red Sea there is, at present, no Consul or Consular Agent at any of the ports except Suez, and the Consul-General is entirely dependent on chance information, or on the reports of the Turkish or Egyptian officials, whose action or inaction, if any ground of complaint exists, would form the ground of complaint.

To remedy this defect I would recommend :—

1. That an Attaché or Assistant to the Consul-General be appointed to visit or reside occasionally at Asyût, or at one or other of the towns where the routes by which slaves are imported enter the Valley of the Nile. It is essential that he should not be stationary, but should be empowered to move about as the Consul-General may direct or authorize ; otherwise the slave-kâfilas will easily avoid his observation. He should speak Arabic, but it is desirable that he should not be a person of local connections or habits. Probably a young military, naval, or medical officer would do the work well. He should be a man of good common sense and judgment, and a gentleman in manners as well as ideas. Probably a salary of 800*l.* per annum, with subsistence money at 1*l.* per diem while travelling, and all travelling expenses paid, would be sufficient.

2. That Resident Consular Agents should be appointed at Jiddah and Massowah under the Consul-General, who should be empowered to depute the Consul at Suez or any other of his subordinates, to visit those or other ports in the Red Sea at irregular intervals, as he may find occasion requires, to report on the Slave Trade or on other subjects of interest. There is now regular communication by Turkish and Egyptian steamers between Suez and all the principal ports in the Red Sea, so that it would be easy for any of the Consular officers in Egypt to make a tour of inspection. But an occasional visit in a British man-of-war on her way to or from the Eastern seas might be useful.

Unless Jiddah, Massowah, Suakin, &c., are to be occasionally visited by a British Consular officer of some position and experience, the Agents at those ports should be well paid Europeans.

If, however, such visits are made at least twice a year, the ordinary current local work can probably be performed by less expensive local agency.

3. It seems clear that our existing diplomatic arrangements with Turkey do not meet all the necessities of the case, now that vessels under the Turkish flag pass through the Isthmus Canal and engage largely in the coasting traffic in which the trade in slaves must form so considerable and lucrative an item.

The anxiety His Highness has shown in one or two late cases, to insure prompt and effectual inquiry, has not sufficed to remove the doubts which naturally arise when there is no tribunal available which can claim freedom from natural bias, and no power possessed by the British Consul to make independent inquiry. I do not know what may be the present views of the Turkish Government on the subject, but it is clear that they now no longer hold the relative position which Turkey formerly occupied as being in advance of many other Powers in the facilities they afford for the suppression of the Slave Trade ; and if this were made clear to them it is possible the Turkish Government might be willing to negotiate for the concession of such facilities as are afforded by our Treaties with other Governments for the more effectual examination of ships under the Turkish flag by British cruizers, at least as far the Red and Arabian Seas and the Persian Gulf are concerned.

Unless this be done, I fully expect that, in a short time, when the Northern Arabs

become acquainted with the immunities afforded by the Turkish flag, it will be hoisted by every piratical dhow in the Persian Gulf, and along the Arabian and African coasts as a cover to slaving.

II. As to the measures which might be recommended for adoption by His Highness the Khedive, the following appear to me to be deserving of consideration :—

1. The establishment of a branch of His Highness' Police Department as a bureau officially charged with the duty of taking up questions connected with slavery and the Slave Trade.

It should be presided over by an official whose nationality, character, and antecedents will justify the confidence of His Highness and of all friendly Powers interested in the question, that the enlightened views of His Highness will be carried out without fear or favour.

The Bureau would take special measures—

(a.) To check and prohibit the importation of slaves.

(b.) To inquire into cases of alleged ill-treatment of slaves, whether brought to notice by foreign Consuls or otherwise.

(c.) To provide for liberated slaves.

For this latter purpose—

(1.) A careful Register should be kept, open for public inspection, showing all particulars regarding the slave—age, qualifications, date of liberation, mode of disposal, and subsequent history, as far as known to the Police.

(2.) A note, referring by number and date to the Register, should be given to the liberated slave. It might be inclosed in a small metal case and worn round the neck (like a taweez or charm), and it might be made penal by Police Regulation to deprive a slave of it.

(3.) The Bureau should be charged to provide, first, shelter and protection, and then work for the liberated slaves. Adults should be provided with service. Males, who have no other means of gaining a subsistence, might be passed into the ranks of the army; females should be provided with domestic service, if fit for it, or with some occupation suited to their sex, till they can be married, or otherwise provided for and protected.

(4.) Industrial schools should be opened for the education and ultimate provision and establishment in life of children too young to earn their own living. This will probably be best done by the agency of some charitable institutions, aided and controlled by Government, through the agency of the Slave Trade Bureau. Persons of influence about His Highness' Court would, doubtless, often feel inclined to aid in giving effect to his most just and enlightened views as to the necessity of providing in the shape of free agency for the demand of labour for domestic purposes.

(5.) The collection of accurate statistics regarding the slave population would be an important part of the functions of such a department as I have described. The Police have probably, even now, the means of clearing up much of the present uncertainty as to the numbers and growth or decrease of the slave population. I can speak from long experience in Mohammedan communities that it is quite possible to make all inquiries necessary for such a purpose without offending any Oriental prejudice or infringing the privacy of the harem. As a beginning, all householders of respectability and education are simply invited to state, by filling up a paper, the number of their slaves under the headings—Children under ten, and grown people above that age; no other inquiry, beyond the return of the paper being needed, save in the case of the poor and uneducated. When the novelty of the requirement has worn off, a discreet Police Superintendent will readily obtain any further particulars the Government may require.

There are many other ways in which an officer of judgment and discretion could furnish His Highness with conclusive evidence as to whether the proportion of slaves to freemen in Cairo is as high as one to three, and whether the drain on the slave population is so great as to require an annual importation of 10,000 fresh captives. Both assertions struck me as obvious exaggerations; but, coming from persons resident in Cairo, they might easily pass current as accurate, and I am convinced that in this, as in many other respects, the more accurately the truth is known, the better it will be for the credit due to His Highness' Administration.

But all these suggestions touch only the fringe of the question, and I feel sure that the only way of aiding His Highness to give effect to his wise and liberal views in the matter of the Slave Trade and slave importation is to get him seriously to consider some measure for the prospective abolition of slavery, of a character similar to those lately adopted by Brazil, Spain, &c., viz., that all children of slaves born in Egypt, and

all slaves brought to Egypt after a certain date should be free; that after a certain number of years slavery should cease to be tolerated in Egypt, and that it should be penal to detain against his or her will any person of mature age desiring to be free, and over whom no claim can be alleged but that of purchase.

It can hardly escape so enlightened a ruler as His Highness that slavery is in itself a canker which must eat into the vitals of a country like Egypt whose prosperity depends in so large a degree on the industry of the agricultural class. It will be an evil day when agricultural labour comes to be regarded as degrading; but it is by no means impossible that an extension of slavery might lead to the growth of an Helot caste, which would prove at least as great an embarrassment in Egypt as it has done in all other countries. His Highness has now under his influence a larger population of savage and semi-civilized subjects than any sovereigns except the Ruler of British India and the Emperors of Russia and China. He may, by making Egypt free soil, place himself in the van of the civilizing Powers of the world; but if slavery be upheld as a domestic institution it will be inevitable that his best devised plans for the improvement of his people, should be viewed with suspicion, and that nations which have renounced slavery should hesitate to aid in subjecting to his influence savage races which he has the power to civilize but which in the hands of a careless or indifferent ruler may serve no purpose but to fill up the void in the decaying population of a worn-out social system.

A proposal for making Egypt or any part of it free soil may appear to many who have known Egypt well, even of late years, a very wild idea. I confess it would, till lately, have so appeared to me, for I had not realized the progress made by Egypt in most branches of Western civilization, the growth of her real power in Africa, and the influence which I think she deserves and will probably possess amongst the civilized nations, whilst it is clear that the weight of that influence must depend on the intimacy of her agreement with modern civilization on those few vital points on which all those nations are now pretty fairly agreed, such, for instance, as this question of Slave Trade.

Hence, I believe that further consideration of the subject will show that the proposal is not so impracticable as it must at first sight appear, and, in the end, I feel certain it will commend itself as the only possible solution of the difficulties which beset the question in Egypt.

1. Because the question cannot remain in its present position. During the last half-century the whole civilized world has gradually been coming towards an agreement that the maintenance of slavery is incompatible with the principles of modern civilization. But Turkey has not advanced on this question at the same rate as other nations, so that whereas, a few years ago, Turkey was far in advance of Portugal, Spain, Brazil, &c., she has now been left behind by all those nations, and Egypt, though probably practically in advance of Turkey, on this question is, diplomatically, in the same position.

Moreover, in Egypt, if no effectual check be imposed, slavery must naturally increase. In so far as slavery is a result of wealth and luxury, it must increase with the rapidly increasing wealth and luxury of Egypt. This tendency will be fostered by the increasing discredit which will be naturally increased by free labour. Ultimately, labour will be confined to slaves and Helot races or castes; a state of things which has long existed in India and other countries, and which no one, who has seen what a barrier it presents to progress of every kind, would wish to see grow up again in Egypt. An apprehension of this result can scarcely be regarded as chimerical when we consider that similar social conditions did once exist in Egypt itself; and were only swept away by a complete revolution social and religious as well as political.

His Highness expressed a hope that the stoppage of the supply of slaves from the interior would ultimately tend towards a gradual diminution and final extinction of slavery in Egypt. I feel that all experience is against this expectation. Whilst the demand continues I believe it to be practically impossible to cut off the supply. This is especially the case where the sources of supply are so many and spread over so large an area that ages would hardly suffice to reach them all by separate measures of repression. But if the demand is extinguished the object is at once effected and the trade must cease.

The Khedive now rules over tens of millions of negroes, of various races, all prolific, docile, and capable of great physical, as well as moral and intellectual, improvement. But, whatever may be the capacity of the higher races, few, if any, approach to the standard of civilization long since reached by the lowest orders in Egypt proper. What is to be the destiny of these negro races? Every year decreases the obstacles to intercourse between the Upper and Lower Nile. It is quite conceivable and probable

that these obstacles may be so far diminished as the enlightened and advanced projects of the Khedive for railways, improved navigation of the Nile, &c., are developed, that the great negro storehouse of labour may become easily available to Lower Egypt. But on what conditions? If slavery did not exist in Egypt, the conditions would be mutually advantageous to both races. If, however, slavery continues to exist, free negroes will not come there voluntarily, and negro labour can only come as slaves and Helots.

What a curse and social canker such a state of things must prove cannot escape the observation of His Highness and his advisers, who may see in various parts of the world the difficulties arising from an Imperial dynasty of foreign sovereigns, a rich and luxurious middle class of natives holding honest free labour in contempt, and a labouring class of Helots and slaves. To those who can imagine such a condition of society (and it seems to me imminent in Egypt unless slavery is abolished), it must be evident that such social conditions are not only unnatural, hideous, and dangerous in themselves, but of a character which no European civilized power would like to see extended. With the Lower Nile free soil, the Khedive, ruling over the upper provinces inhabited by negro races, will be truly at the head of a constantly advancing African civilization. All reasonable civilized men will be glad to see his influence extending. As matters stand at present they will hesitate to regard his influence as decidedly beneficent even in the darkest corners of Central Africa. They will always be asking, "Is His Highness' latest acquisition in Central Africa to be a fresh field for the triumphs of civilization and order, or a fresh hunting-ground for the slave trader?"

We have a striking instance at the present moment before us. An Egyptian expedition to the East Coast of Africa in connection with His Highness' efforts to extinguish the Slave Trade on the White Nile, can hardly fail to be looked on by Her Majesty's Government with approving interest. But the aspect in which such an expedition would be regarded must, of course, be very different if it had no other result than the establishment of a position where the Turkish flag would add to existing difficulties in checking the export of slaves.

Nor, when the real difficulties of the proposed measure are examined, will they appear so formidable as might at first be supposed. The gradual extinction of slavery involves nothing repugnant to the law of the Koran, as interpreted by the most learned men in the best times, and under the most orthodox and best of Mahomedan rulers.

It is true that the law of the Koran authorizes the enslavement of captives taken under certain conditions in lawful war, of insolvent debtors, &c. In this respect there is less difference than is often supposed between the principals of the Law of the Koran and those till quite lately followed by Christian nations. The most objectionable features in modern Oriental slavery are points of practice and custom, derived often from the times when Islam was regarded as in a state of chronic warfare with all the non-Islamite world; and when the will of a despotic Prince was the only standard of practical public morality. But the Law of the Koran does not authorize indiscriminate slavery, nor the making of war for the purpose of capturing slaves nor kidnapping, still less the murder of parents for the purpose of enslaving their children.

According to strict Koranic Law most of the children sold as slaves in Cairo are not lawful slaves but simply stolen chattels; and a rigid enforcement of strict Mohammedan Law would frequently punish the slave-buyer, not as a holder of a slave, but as a receiver of goods acquired by theft and murder.

What is suggested for His Highness' consideration is no such revolutionary measure as we have seen of late years safely and successfully carried out in Russia. It is in fact no more than has been safely done; and without detriment to any special Muslim interest or prejudice by foreign rulers in India and Algeria. I can testify that, in many respects, the progress of Egypt under His Highness and his predecessors has been greater during the last forty years than that of India. The weight of Government authority in all matters of internal administration appears to me at least as great in Egypt as in India, and I will not doubt either His Highness' wisdom to desire, nor his power to carry out a measure which after careful consideration was carried out in India without ultimate injury to the interests of the tens of millions of Mohammedan British subjects who were specially affected by it, and without leaving behind in the minds of those so affected any permanent feeling of grievance.

Appendix.

Notes of Information, chiefly oral and unofficial, regarding Slavery and the Slave Trade in Egypt. The informants were in all cases persons who had for many years resided in the country.

DOMESTIC slavery has little diminished of late years in Egypt. In fact, owing to the increase of wealth and luxury, especially since the great rise in the price of agricultural produce consequent on the American war, the possession of a domestic slave or two has become common in families which in former days would never have aspired to any such luxury. We constantly meet with cases of Government employés, on salaries of only 5*l.* per month, who manage to purchase a slave as a domestic servant, such as a few years ago would only have been found in the houses of the wealthy. We know many families of the only "well-to-do" who have six or seven slaves. The desire to possess slaves is greatly stimulated, not only by the change in habits which leads to less household work being done by members of the family, but also by the increasing difficulty here, as in Europe and elsewhere, of obtaining domestic servants; also there are other causes in operation which are peculiar to this country:—

First, menial labour is not considered respectable, chiefly from the public opinion on the subject resulting from slavery.

Secondly, the harem system and general licentiousness render it almost impossible for respectable females to go out to service. The demand for domestic servants is so great and so constantly on the increase that it is often impossible to procure them when required.

Even permanent residents who know where to get everything the country affords, often find great difficulty in procuring them and have to do without them for an inconveniently long time. We have known an instance of a friend who was in great distress for want of a wet-nurse for his child. After vainly invoking the help of all his resident friends, he went to the slave dealers and gave 20*l.* for a negress to whom he gave or promised her liberty when his occasion for her services was or should be at an end.

It is not only among the Mahomedans, but even among the Egyptian Christians, Copts, and Syrians, that domestic slavery is common. The Copts are in this respect but little better than the Turks and Arabs. We had an instance in the Patriarch himself. He was sent to Abyssinia, by Saïad Pasha, and brought down, it is said, nineteen slaves with him. Two of these he gave to his sister. One of these slaves wished to be baptized for years, and was refused permission by his mistress, because, she said: "It was possible they might require to sell him." The slaves are always a difficulty, when a wealthy Copt applies to the missionaries for admission to Church membership in a Protestant communion. The applicant cannot be admitted as a slave holder, but there are often difficulties in the way of freeing such slaves: *e.g.*, it would be a very doubtful boon to a young female slave to free her, and cast her loose on the world. The missionaries are obliged to deal with each case on its own merits, and often to make some sacrifice of what is desirable to secure what is practical. The same difficulty applies to manumission by a Consul, &c. The Consul has no means of looking after the slave when freed, or of protecting him from recapture; and the slave is often no better off than before.

Even when the Egyptian Government officials take all proper steps there is a serious difficulty in providing for the freed slaves, and preventing their being got back by their old masters, and punished. This is owing to the gross ignorance of the majority of slaves, which renders it easy to impose upon them, unless they have some chance friend to look after them. There is no institution to which they can be sent, and they can only be distributed to persons of supposed respectability.

Besides the difficulty of knowing what to do with liberated slaves, the great obstacle to the suppression of the traffic is the absence of any public opinion condemning the purchase and possession of slaves. I have heard a respectable Coptic merchant inveigh bitterly against the tyranny of the English Government, "interfering with the trade of honest people in this matter."

As to remedial measures there is little chance of anything effectual being done, save under pressure from some Christian Power or by a change in public opinion, of which there seems little prospect as long as all the rich and noble in the land are implicated in the maintenance of the evil.

As to the capacity of negroes for improvement, moral or intellectual, there is great difference among diverse races. Some are well-developed physically and capable of a

high degree of intellectual culture, others are in the lowest stage of debasement, and intellectually and physically very hopeless savages.

They are generally very deficient in physical stamina; with great muscular power, they generally succumb easily to disease, and die in greater proportion than other races during the prevalence of epidemic or contagious diseases. They suffer much from lung disease, and generally from cold or damp in Lower Egypt, which suits them worse than the upper country. When sick, a physician is seldom called in to attend to the slaves.

A medical man, who has considerable practice, states that, though sometimes called in to prescribe for a slave in households which he visits, he is rarely called in specially, or a second time, in a serious case. He stated that, as a general rule, more care was taken of valuable horses and dogs than of ordinary slaves in sickness. He said, "I see much of the slave of the better classes in the course of my practice. I am also frequently called in to give certificates of soundness for slaves, and in the case of young children who do not speak Arabic, I know they must be recent importations. I see them hawked about the streets in twos and threes, and there is little concealment in the matter, though a European or any one in Frank dress would not be allowed to enter the slave-dealers' houses. I heard only a few weeks ago that large Kafilas had arrived, and that their advent was hastened by rumours of some measures impending and directed against slavery and the Slave Trade. Judging from what I see in the better class of houses, where the proportion is of course greatest, I estimate that slaves form fully a-third of the whole population, and that the proportion is increasing rather than diminishing."

The supply of slaves is mainly kept up by importations from the interior. As to the extent of this importation from Soudan, Darfur, &c., it would be difficult to make any reliable estimate—certainly far more than 400. There are probably more than 1,000 brought to Cairo alone annually, as may be judged by the number of little negro boys of pure blood, mostly imported slaves, who are to be seen in the streets. A resident at a large town in the Delta, estimated the number of freshly imported slaves disposed of there at several thousands per annum; and another, also in a position to form a good judgment, raised his estimate for all Egypt to 10,000 per annum. But as the import is prohibited, and can only take place through the neglect or with the connivance of officials, any estimate must be mainly guess-work.

The seclusion of the harem affords a veil to the murder of slaves, and especially infanticide, and the temptation is much greater among the Copts than among the Muslims. Comparatively few of the slaves are brought down by way of the river, especially in winter, when European sojourners are upon the Nile. They are mostly brought by the Jelabis by land routes best known to themselves. Without the hearty concurrence of the Government, it would be very difficult, therefore, to abolish the traffic, but with such concurrence it would be exceedingly easy, as the organization for the collection of the internal revenue is so perfect that it is next to impossible for the smallest quantities of agricultural or any other produce to be brought into the towns without paying duty.

A large proportion of the slaves who are brought in (I am told as high as two-thirds) are from the north-western provinces of Abyssinia, which lie adjoining the Egyptian territory. These, when offered to the Copts for sale are said by the Jelabis to be Christians, and Muslims when offered to Muslims.

A resident in Egypt, states:—

"I am not able to speak to what was the case formerly, but of late years there has certainly appeared to me to be an increase in the fashion of possessing slaves. I found the other day the man, to whom I pay monthly 2*l.* as cook, had two slaves to attend on his wife. Of late years there has been a great increase in the luxury of the higher orders. The richer men have numerous wives—Turks, Arabs, Circassians, or Georgians—and for each of these ladies they keep one or more black slaves, often as many as four each.

"Household work has come to be looked upon as a degradation. I have seen hundreds of girls of the lower and middle classes passing through the female schools maintained or visited by Europeans, but not one of them would undertake for hire, household work of any kind under any consideration. They would say, 'Am I a slave that I should do such work?'"

It is this discredit of honest labour which is the great social obstacle to any growth of a class of free-workers which could supersede slave labour.

There is much diversity in their treatment, not only according to the temper and circumstances of the masters and mistresses, but according to the race and character of the slaves.

There is very great diversity in the latter respects. Some slaves possess fine physical and moral qualities, and are valued and trusted. Others are unmitigated savages. As a general rule, the women are little trusted by their mistresses out of their sight. They speak to us of a slave they can trust to go to the bazaar by herself as a treasure; and they give as a reason for their always taking a slave girl with them to a marriage or other meeting, where many ladies assemble, and where you see more slaves than free women, "We cannot leave the girl at home when we are out of the house."

An Egyptian gentleman, long residing and in high authority at Khartoum, whence he has lately returned, says that the great slave-hunting ground lately has been in the country of Katarif and Kedarif (*vide* Keith Johnstone's map of Upper Nubia and Abyssinia) between the Atbara and Blue Nile, and that one-third of the Khartoum slaves this year come from the north-west frontier of Abyssinia, and are imported by the Red Sea ports.

Sir Samuel Baker's operations have very materially checked the Khartoum Slave Trade this year.

The Roman Catholic missionaries from Khartoum found on their latest visit to Kordofan that the agitation caused by Baker's expedition had led to a very extensive emigration of the slave hunters also in the opposite direction from Khartoum to Kordofan. This is, in some respects a gain, as it is much more easy for Europeans to live in Kordofan than at Khartoum, where the Franciscan Mission lost in 14 years 34 out of 39 brethren, chiefly Germans. It has of late been much less unhealthy, but is still very fatal to Europeans. The country of Sennaar, Kordofan and Dafour is magnificent, away from the river, very populous, and capable of being a great country, if slavery were abolished. Slave-hunting is its great curse, and has much increased of late years. Almost all foreign trade is in the hands of slave dealers, or of those under their influence. The correspondence of the Central African Vicariate Apostolic extends over countries roughly estimated at having a population of 80,000,000 of negroes between the Red and Arabian Seas on the east, and the Atlantic to the west; and the annual drain, consequent on slavery, is estimated by the Superior of the Mission at 1,000,000. Egypt of course takes only a portion of these slaves, but the most fertile Provinces whence they are drawn are Egyptian territory or under Egyptian influence. Central Africa is the heart of the evil, and it is only there that it can be successfully grappled with; and that mainly by the influence and authority of the Egyptian Government.

The slaves are obtained chiefly by the system of fomenting petty tribal feuds, and by slave-hunting forays, so often described in other regions; some of the brethren have seen as many as 200 lives sacrificed in a single fight to secure the women and children of the vanquished. They are brought to Egypt by routes constantly varied to elude observation. The experience of the brethren of the Khartoum Mission leads them to form a good opinion of the capacity of the negro for improvement, mental as well as physical; but he requires civilized leaders not far from his own climate and country. It is difficult, the brethren think, to effect this in Central Africa, owing to the obstacles which the climate and distance oppose to keeping up a sufficient supply of qualified European missionaries and teachers. On the other hand, it is little use attempting to civilize Africa by Africans trained in Europe: the climate is unfavourable to their health, and when thoroughly Europeanized they are less efficient in Africa than Europeans.

Monsignor Comboni advocates a training under European superintendence, at some point in Africa, where, as in Egypt, both European and negro can live, labour, and learn, and where the negro may become civilized without being de-Africanized. He also strongly urges the necessity for industrial as well as moral and intellectual training. The places he recommends for his four principal institutions are Algiers, Cairo, St. Denis in Bourbon, and some point not named on the West Coast (*vide* his "Regeneration of Africa through Africa itself," Cologne, 1871, and several papers in the French "Missions Catholiques").

The Convent of the Terra Santa Franciscan Sisters at Cairo have, among their thirty or forty sisters, several negresses, who, beside other works of charity, undertake the education of a large school of female children, among whom are, on an average, about thirty negro girls who are boarded, clothed, and educated; almost all have been slaves, a few acquired by gift, or sent by friends, but mostly purchased. In general they are sickly or troublesome children sold by their owners to the Convent, because no one else would buy them. The owners rarely sell a good or healthy child, but frequently bring a child, dying, as they think, in order to get a few napoleons (ten to twenty) from the sisters, who have the child baptized, and, if it recovers, bring it up.

They are exceedingly well cared for; but, as might be expected from the mode of supply, a very large proportion never recover, and those who survive are rarely favourable specimens of their respective races—many, in spite of all the sisters' care, remaining inveterate little thieves and savages. They are generally affectionate in disposition, but seldom grateful, and but a small proportion ever become fitted for entering the order as nuns. A few have a dim recollection of their native country; but most even of those who come so young as not to know Arabic, remember little but what has happened to them in Cairo. The arrangements of the house seem excellent in every respect, as far as the very scanty means at the disposal of the sisters permit.

No. 14.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord,

Aden, January 4, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that I leave Aden this day for Zanzibar.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 15.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.)

"*Enchantress*," off Brava, January 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, on my arrival at Aden on the 31st ultimo, I found that Colonel Pelly, Her Majesty's Political Resident at Bushire, and the officer whom the Viceroy of India has deputed to accompany me to Zanzibar and Muscat, was waiting for me.

As there are no spare cabins on board this vessel, I requested Colonel Pelly to proceed to Zanzibar on board the British India Steam Navigation Company's steamer "*Punjaub*," which was about to depart on her second voyage to Zanzibar, in execution of the contract recently entered into between that Company and Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship is aware that a large majority of the Indian Banians on the African coast are by birth subjects of His Highness the Rao of Kutch, and all are more or less connected with Kutch trading families.

The annexed translation of a communication His Highness has ordered to be made to all his subjects at Zanzibar and Muscat, will show one of the modes in which the Rao's aid is likely to be of special use.

I feel assured that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to hear of the very prompt and decided manner in which His Highness has expressed to his subjects his intention to give effective support to the measures directed by Her Majesty's Government.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Translation of a Gugerathi Notification issued by the Rao of Kutch, G.C.S.I., addressed to his Subjects residing at Zanzibar.

(His Highness' Seal.)

FROM his Highness Rao Pragmalgi Bahadur.

Be it known to the subjects of Kutch residing in Zanzibar that it has been brought to our notice that you are engaged in buying and selling male and female slaves in Zanzibar. This is a horrible thing. It has been the desire of the British Government

to put a stop to it. In accordance with this desire, Proclamations have been issued by His late Highness our father and by ourselves. Notwithstanding this you have not yet withdrawn yourselves from this inhuman traffic. This is highly reprehensible. We have therefore to desire you entirely to cease from carrying on this trade, and those of you who are engaged in it to give it up immediately. If you continue to carry it on, or be in way concerned in it, the British Government will deal with you as with its own subjects and punish you severely, and, furthermore, your property in Kutch will be confiscated by this Government. Know this to be certain.

Dated Massur Wud, 1st Monday Sumwunt, 1929. (Corresponding with December 15, 1872.)

N.B.—A similar Proclamation has been issued to the Kutch subjects residing in Muscat.

No. 16.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," off Brava, January 10, 1873.

INCLOSED is a copy of a letter from Captain Fairfax, R.N., which he has written at my request, regarding the want of a lighthouse at the extreme point of Ras Asir, or Cape Guardafui, which lies in the course of a great part of the trade *viâ* the Suez Canal, and near which both winds and currents are exceptionally violent and irregular.

I can add from my own recollection two other cases to the wrecks mentioned by Captain Fairfax, which might have been avoided had a lighthouse existed on the point.

The Somali tribes on the coast have a very evil reputation for treachery and violence. I have no doubt, however, that the tribe in whose lands the lighthouse will stand might be easily subsidized, through the Resident at Aden, and induced to protect and supply the lighthouse establishment, which, however, should be as independent of the immediate neighbourhood as the Eddystone, and should be regularly visited from Aden.

As a point of refuge for shipwrecked mariners and boats' crews, the value of the lighthouse would be felt to a distance of many hundred miles of very inhospitable coast, and may prevent such catastrophes as the massacre of the boat's crew of Her Majesty's ship "Penguin," which unhappily is by no means a solitary instance of suffering by boats' crews in distress in the neighbourhood of this cape.

There may be diplomatic difficulties in the way of asking the Egyptian Government to light this point, as they have done in so many instances and so effectively in the Red Sea. I would, therefore, submit that the duty be undertaken by Her Majesty's Government, in the event of the Admiralty and Board of Trade concurring with your Lordship in my views on this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Captain Fairfax to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

"Enchantress," off Brava, January 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to bring before your notice the great necessity for a light being placed on Cape Guardafui (Ras Asir).

All vessels going from the Gulf of Aden to the East Coast of Africa, and *vice versa*, in either monsoon, pass within a very short distance of this prominent headland, and ships from India to Aden and Suez, are, during the south-west monsoon, recommended to pass to the southward of Sokotra, and between it and Cape Guardafui. The land extending for some miles to the southward of Cape Guardafui is covered with a light coloured sand, and terminates in a high bluff point. As a current is always running along the East Coast of Africa with varied velocity, the weather being generally hazy, ships coming from the southward, at night, are seldom certain of their position, and after

passing the bluff point beforementioned are liable to take it for Cape Guardafui and bear up, in which case the vessel would most likely go on shore under the sand hills.

On passing Cape Guardafui a few days since your Excellency may have noticed a wreck in this position, and eighteen months ago, when I was in command of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," we passed the wreck of a large steamer, on the coast to the northward of Ras Hafun, and I was informed that this vessel was lost in a voyage from Bombay to Aden. Although I have never landed at Cape Guardafui, I have no doubt a light might be so placed there as to be seen by vessels passing up and down, and also from the southward of the Cape.

I also beg to remark that since the Suez Canal has been opened, the number of steam-vessels that pass this Cape have greatly increased.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. FAIRFAX.

No. 17.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," on the Line, January 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice that I find a very strong impression prevailing in the mind of almost every one whom I have been able to consult, and who has opportunities of observing at Aden that the Turkish flag is extensively used in the Red and Arabian Seas and Persian Gulf, and that such use of the flag is increasing, and will further increase, unless measures be taken to prevent it.

This result might be expected from the latest published Parliamentary papers respecting slavery and the Slave Trade.* The correspondence with Austria shows that even the well-managed and well-commanded steamers of the Austrian Lloyd's Company† had been made the vehicle for conveying slaves to Turkey, not indeed to the extent at first supposed by the energetic British Consul at Smyrna, but still sufficiently often to attract ultimately, as it deserved, the attention and increased vigilance of the Austrian officials.

The correspondence from Turkey contains numerous examples of the difficulties‡ under which any inquiry is conducted, owing to the apathy or complicity of the great majority of local officials of every grade.

Not to dwell on the flagrant instances given in Mr. Drummond Hay's letters regarding the officials in communication with the Consul-General at Tripoli,§ it appears that Sir H. Elliot was obliged to write to the Porte on the 25th of July, 1870, that, in the course of the preceding twelvemonth "various cases of flagrant and undoubted slave dealing" had been brought to the notice of the Porte, but that his Excellency had failed to discover that the slave trader had, in any single instance, been punished in conformity with the promises of the Porte, promises, be it remembered, not only of long standing but frequently and emphatically repeated.

In some cases the slaves had been liberated, in others given back by the Turkish officials to the slave dealer, on his promising they should not be sold. Sir H. Elliot justly remarks, "it would be absurd to pretend to believe that this promise will be observed," and he urges a stricter fulfilment of the Porte's promises by requiring the Governor-General at Smyrna "to act with greater energy towards those who venture upon a revolting and illegal traffic."

But beyond empty promises that instructions should be issued, it does not appear that the Porte moved in the matter. Indeed, as remarked by your Lordship in reference to another revolting case,|| "it is hopeless to attempt to put an end to the Traffic in slaves as long as they are bought and sold by persons of high rank and by Turkish officials."

The consular correspondence along the whole of the Turkish sea-board, from those reported by Mr. Gifford Palgrave at Trebizond (p. 110) to those established by Mr. Drummond Hay at Tripoli (p. 124), teems with instances in point.

One of the cases just referred to led to a reference by Sir H. Elliot to Sir P. Francis regarding the Turkish law on the subject. Sir Philip's reply¶ is valuable in many ways, and, with the temperate and thoughtful letters of Sir H. Elliot, deserves careful attention.

* See Class C for 1870.
§ Ibid., pp. 118-125.

† Ibid., pp. 72-77.
|| See Class C for 1871, p. 84.

‡ Ibid., pp. 78-125.
¶ Ibid., p. 85.

Sir P. Francis arrived at four conclusions. 1st, that slavery is still a legal institution in Turkey, in spite of vague professions of a desire to abolish it. 2nd, That the negro Slave Trade is illegal though tolerated. 3rd. That slaves may be sold by private contract but not by auction or publicly. 4th, that the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited.

On the first point there is perhaps less variance between Mr. Consul Cumberbatch's assertion, that the law prohibits slavery, except in the case of prisoners of war, and Sir P. Francis' decision that slavery is a legal institution in Turkey, than might at first sight be supposed. The Consul was probably considering by what process, except by capture in war, can a free man become a slave. Sir P. Francis mentions descent from a slave, or purchase, as two other modes by which a slave may be acquired; but how did the first slave parent become a slave? and how did the slave come into the hands of his first owner? Neither birth as a slave, nor the mere fact of being sold as a slave, necessarily adds to the number of processes by which freedom can be legally changed to slavery; and unless sale for debt, or sale by a parent or guardian of a child under age, be admitted as legal modes of converting a free human being into a slave, I have been unable hitherto to discover any other legal mode than that of capture in war.

The question is not unimportant, when the Moslem law is invoked as a reason for dealing gently with the question in Turkey, or any other nominally Moslem country. What, under the strict law of the Koran, is the legal status of the child stolen from its parents, or taken after the parents have been murdered in a raid undertaken for the purpose of slave hunting? I believe that, if the case were fully argued, it would be found that a large majority of the children which now supply the slave markets, in Turkey and elsewhere, are not legally slaves according to the strict letter of the law of Islam, which in its numerous provisos and safeguards is, when strictly and impartially administered by a vigorous Ruler, far more favourable to the slave than Western nations, judging from modern Turkish practice, are apt to imagine.

The opinion of Sir P. Francis on the second point, as to the illegality in Turkey, according to Turkish law, of the Negro Slave Trade, is still more important; but the whole report deserves attentive perusal as illustrating the vague and unsatisfactory way in which the Porte has played with those Governments which desired the abolition of the Slave Trade; and his subsequent correction of his fourth conclusion, that the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited,* is a curious illustration of the unsettled state of the question in some of its most important bearings.

The result of the discussion was apparently to produce an impression that nothing could be done but to await the development† of a higher tone of moral feeling among the Turks.

With all deference I would submit that the growth of such a feeling might be materially hastened by inviting the Turkish Government, on the one hand, to examine, the strict provisions of its own law, and on the other to weigh well the consequences of the barrier which the practice of a branch Slave Trade, apparently illegal by its own law, creates against the sympathy of all other civilized nations.

Your Lordship is aware that some of the numerous schools of Moslem law read that law as affecting the slave in sundry most important respects, in a much more humane sense than other sects, all are more merciful than modern practice. What is to prevent the Porte, with the advice and consent of competent Doctors learned in its own law, from enforcing with the full weight of its authority the interpretation which is most humane and favourable to the slave, and most in accordance with the general view of Western nations?

Again, without in any way dictating to the Porte, or attempting by moral lecturing to regenerate its social morality, some impression might surely be made on the most callous and cynical Turkish upholder of things as they are, by pointing out how, in this matter, the present inaction of Turkey, and the want of good faith in redeeming promises so often repeated, must alienate from her the sympathy of the most conservative, as well as the most aggressive, of surrounding nations. This is not a question of religion, or of political influence, but of common humanity; and it is difficult to see how any European Government, whether despotic or democratic in its tendencies, could afford effective support—moral or physical—to a Power which can be truthfully denounced as standing alone in Europe as the upholder of the right of one man to acquire, by purchase from another, the power to work, to maltreat, or to slay, according to his will, any third human being; and as maintaining that all labour of particular kinds is permanently subjected to the unrestrained exercise of this right.

* See Class C for 1871, p. 89.

† Ibid., p. 87.

A despatch from Sir R. Dalrymple,* Consul at Roustchouk, is important, as stating; first, The practically lax observance of the wisest and best-intentioned firmans of comparatively late date. Some are not to be found on the archives of even the Governor-General, of a most important frontier province; others, not more than five years old, exist. But when, to use the Governor-General's own words regarding such a document, "miscopying and obliteration of words render the vizirial letter almost unintelligible," his endeavour "to act up to its purport" must be a matter of difficulty.

It would surely be no great stretch of reforming energy that the Porte should use some of the numerous modern appliances for giving to its great officers of State, and possibly even to its subjects, full and correct texts of its Decrees. No national or religious prejudice could be affected by so doing, seeing that no western nation has ever surpassed some of the great Moslem dynasties in the punctilious care with which they framed and published, with every device of the most splendid caligraphy, the Decrees of the Sovereign.

Secondly, it is apparent from Sir A. Dalrymple's letter, as compared with other testimony on the same point, that much practical diversity exists in the treatment of slaves in the different provinces of Turkey, and that the province to which he specially refers has sensibly felt the influence of neighbouring European nations.

Thirdly (and this point is very important) it is stated that in some divisions of the province the slaves give so much trouble that even Moslems would be very glad that slavery should cease.

Fourthly (nor is this less important), that a local fund exists whence the expense of manumission in special cases may wholly or in part be borne. This instance, as Sir R. Dalrymple points out, might suggest a means of materially aiding the extinction of even domestic slavery.

Mr. Consul Raby reported from Jeddah two years ago† that a considerable traffic in slaves was carried on in the Hedjaz, "most decidedly with the connivance of the Ottoman authorities" and of the Egyptian officials at Massowah and Suakin; and he accounts for the fact of their connivance at the trade by stating that most of the officials are themselves slave-owners, that they fear the unpopularity of doing their duty, and have opportunities of making illicit gains by not doing it.

He estimates the yearly import in the immediate neighbourhood at from 2,000 to 2,500, of which 500 or 600 come from the Egyptian ports of Massowah and Suakin, and the remainder *viâ* Hodeida from Zailah, nearly opposite Aden.

The Sheikh of Zailah, Abu-Bekr-Shahim, is a tributary of the Porte through the Pasha of Yemen. He is "said to have been long engaged in this traffic," and from 3,500 to 4,000 slaves are annually exported from his territory, chiefly to Hodeida. They are generally carried by sea and smuggled ashore at a little distance from the chief ports by the connivance of the Custom-house authorities.

An open slave market existed at Jeddah. The traffic, which at one time was estimated at from 12,000 to 15,000 per annum, was supposed to have decreased of late "owing to the demand from Egypt having fallen off."

"Not unfrequently" colourable papers of manumission were made out, but kept by the owners or agents; the slaves were then passed as freemen, but were "of course sold as soon as the market was reached."

Mr. Raby believed that, owing to the extreme unpopularity of the Turks in the Hedjaz, any measures for the abrupt abolition of slavery would be attended with extreme danger of revolt.

The practical measure he recommended was that the Egyptian officials at Massowah and Suakin should act in good faith to prevent the export thence, and that a stop should be put to exportation from Zailah.

From what I learnt at Aden, and from the correspondence I found on record there, matters do not appear to have improved since the date of Mr. Raby's report—*e.g.*, when the Indian Government was inquiring into a statement that slaves had been imported from Jeddah to Bombay by the followers of a lady of very high rank who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, it appeared that rich foreigners performing the Haj were in the habit of purchasing slaves in the slave market at Mecca, which was abundantly supplied by importations from Georgia and Circassia, as well as from Africa; and the trade had been so systematized that, when the purchaser was from India, the form of manumission before the Kazi and local authorities was generally gone through, though the papers securing freedom were not given to the freed man, but kept by the master.

* See Class C for 1870, p. 86.

† Ibid., pp. 90-94.

Again, at pages 14, 15, and 22 of the correspondence, Class B for 1870, will be found the details of a similar case, in which a lady, the daughter of one of the Sultan of Zanzibar's chief officers, appeared, by her father's own account, to have been concerned in what Dr. Kirk justly calls "wholesale slave-dealing" at Mecca and Hodeida, where she bought "a fine collection of Georgians, and added to these at Jeddah," at which latter port she had purchased "two or three Abyssinians," and a Turkish boy.

They cost "several thousand dollars" in Arabia, but in Zanzibar would be worth from 500 to 1,000 dollars each.

These "she had freed, but forced to accompany her."

"The Turkish boy said he was of Mahometan parents, and by law 'hoor,' or free; when bought and carried off he cried very much, but still he was forcibly taken."

It is to be noted in this case the narrator was the father of the lady who bought the slaves, and next in rank to the Sultan himself in the Zanzibar Durbar, so that the account is not likely to be exaggerated. Indeed, when, some months afterwards, the English vessel which the lady had chartered returned to Zanzibar, the Consul elicited from the master much additional information which did not improve the aspect of the case. He said that it was only in consequence of his protests, and after a delay of three days, that the Abyssinians were taken to the Pasha at Hodeidah and certified as free; that she took seventeen freed negro slaves with her from Zanzibar to Jeddah, and only brought back six, from which it was inferred that eleven had died at Mecca or been sold there; that she had represented five white boys and girls to be her own children, and that it was not till they had left the Red Sea that he discovered they were slaves, and that they were not included in the list of freed slaves on board,* attested before the English Consulate at Jeddah.

This case, it is to be observed, occurred in a vessel sailing under the English flag; but it is not likely that the restrictions are greater under the Turkish, which is the more usual flag between Africa and Arabia; and it shows even more strongly than if the flag had not been English, that the traffic is extensive, and is regarded almost as a matter of course, and is not checked by any action of the local Turkish authorities.

The increased use of the Turkish flag to cover the Slave Trade is looked on as a matter of notoriety; and in this light it was spoken of by natives of the country of the highest respectability resident in Aden, and possessed of ample means of information. One of them, without special reference to Slave Trade or Turkish flag, alluded to the new trade in Galla slaves which had of late sprung up between Zailah and Tajurah on the African coast, and Makullah and other ports on the southern coast of Arabia, as one of the profitable branches of trade which had of late enriched the Makullah Chief. This was almost immediately afterwards confirmed by the statements of some members of the Shoa Roman Catholic Mission, who were waiting at Aden for an opportunity to go to Tajurah, with the annual convoy of recruits and supplies for the South Abyssinian Roman Catholic Mission, and Monsignor Massaya. The Senior Father in charge had attempted, he told Mr. Badger, only a short time before, to make his way to Ankober by Zailah on the African coast opposite Aden, and not far from Tajurah, but was prevented by Abu-Bekr, the Chief of Zailah, under pretence of anxiety for the Padre's safety; but, in reality, as the Padre believed, because he feared the reports the missionaries would give of the inland slavery. 200 young Galla slaves were brought to Zailah from the interior while the Padre was there, and he found the town full of them. Several of the children begged him to purchase them. Hundreds, he states, are brought to Zailah and Tajurah every year from the interior, and exported thence to Hodeida and Jeddah without let or hindrance. The slaves are mostly young Gallas, some of whom are sold by their parents to the slave-dealers, whilst others are kidnapped and taken in raids on the tribes.

He also stated that Massowah was the principal port in the Red Sea, from which the more northern Galla slaves were exported to the Hejaz and Egypt. The Padre intended to start in a week or ten days for Tajurah, whence he hoped to be more successful in making his way to Shoa. He had with him five Galla youths, one of whom had been in France for five years. The rest were liberated slaves, educated by the Roman Catholic missionaries of Aden.

He expressed the most unfeigned surprise that Mr. Badger should question the fact of the great extent of this Slave Trade. "Everybody," he said, "who knows anything of the two ports was aware of it. One had only to go there and see it."

Zailah and Tajurah are both claimed by the Porte, and are at present under the Turkish flag. I was assured that, at least in its present delineations, this traffic in

* See Class B for 1870, p. 21.

Gallas is a recent development of the Slave Trade. Formerly they were, as nominal Muslims, to a great extent protected from being enslaved by Mahommedans, and the few, who were brought to market, were the captives taken by the nominal Christians of Shoa and sold by them. It is only of late years that the Muslim Slave-dealers have been tempted by the facilities existing at Zeilah and Tajurah, &c., and by the greatly increased demand for good slaves in Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt, to organise slave-hunts amongst the northern Gallas; and any questions as to the legality of such proceedings under a Muslim Ruler are answered by the assurance that the Gallas are from the south of the Somali country, where they are generally idolaters, or, at any rate, are only nominal Muslims, and, in truth, idolaters, Christians, or in some other form, Kaffirs and infidels.

Some of the northern Gallas, no doubt, are Christians; and this, joined to the fact of their frequently high type of manly beauty, and comparative freedom from some of the less attractive attributes of the negro race, are among the "peculiarly repulsive features" of the traffic to which the resident at Aden refers in his letter.

No. 18.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, January 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, having thought it best to come directly here before looking in at any harbour on the mainland, we arrived at this port on the evening of the 12th instant, after a good passage of eight days from Aden, during which the currents varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour in our favour when nearly off Brava to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ against us after we passed the Equator.

The heat has very rapidly increased since leaving the Red Sea, and though the thermometer seldom stands above 85 degrees, the atmosphere under the influence of the moisture-laden north-east wind is more oppressive than I have usually felt it on the sea coast of India during the warmest season.

The anchor was hardly let go in front of the British Consulate when Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's acting Agent and Consul, came on board, and was shortly followed by Nassur-bin-Saeed, the Wuzeer of the Sultan. It was then arranged that our formal official interview with Seyyid Burghash should take place at five o'clock on the following afternoon, in order that I might present the letters with which I have been intrusted by Her Majesty and Her Government, and also those from the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay.

The British men-of-war which we found here were the "Glasgow" flag-ship, under Rear-Admiral Cumming, the "Briton," and the "Daphne." The American sloop-of-war "Yantic," Commander Wilson, is also here, having been detained by orders from the United States' Government on her way to China, and officers both from her and from Admiral Cumming were sent on board soon after our arrival.

As it was after sundown when we reached Zanzibar, the salute from the flag-ship was deferred till the following morning at eight o'clock.

Early on the morning of the 13th, the "Punjab" arrived, with Colonel Pelly and the other gentlemen who embarked in her at Aden.

The morning was chiefly taken up by receiving the visits of the Admiral and his officers and by arranging for the State interview in the afternoon.

Captain Wilson, of the "Yantic," also came on board.

In the afternoon, according to appointment, I proceeded on shore with my suite, and met at the Consulate Admiral Cumming and his staff, and the officers of the three ships of war who were off duty. Captain Wilson and the officers of the "Yantic" were also there, by my invitation, and Captain Carr, of this ship, together with his officers, attended me on shore.

There were present in all forty-eight English and Americans, including Dr. Kirk and the members of the mission; and all were in full uniform.

The narrow streets which lead from the Consulate to the Sultan's palace were thronged with a crowd of Arabs and negroes, such as I am told has never been before collected in Zanzibar, but they were all perfectly respectful and orderly, and the work of the Sultan's guard of Arabs and Persian soldiers with which the streets were lined was but a sinecure.

Seyyid Burghash met us at about thirty yards from his door (he has never before been known to advance so far in welcome of any visitor), and after he had exchanged

the customary greetings with myself he proceeded to shake hands with each of the several members of my escort. During this time his guns fired a salute, which was answered by the "Glasgow."

Having reached the reception-room upstairs, to which, according to the etiquette of this country, I preceded His Highness, he seated himself at the end with his five brothers and two of his Ministers, Suleimân bin Hamed and Nassur bin Saeed, on his right hand, whilst we were placed on his left. There was also present, I should mention, Ali-bin-Saood of His Highness' family.

After the usual compliments and inquiries had passed on both sides, I presented the Royal letter. On receiving it His Highness rose, all present following his example, and according to the eastern custom raised it to his head as a mark of veneration. After the other letters had been handed to His Highness, Admiral Cumming, Captain Wilson, and the members of the Mission were severally introduced, and His Highness made a few remarks of cordial recognition of all whom he had met before, namely, Colonel Pelly, Captain Fairfax, and one or two other officers of the navy.

Seyyid Burghash then inquired by which route we had come, and on my informing him asked if we had not been to Constantinople. To this I, of course, replied in the negative, and the subject was not pursued. Admiral Cumming then made some remarks on the subject of the "Sea King" (late the "Shenandoah"), a vessel belonging to His Highness, to which, as your Lordship will remember, some service in the way of repairs was recently rendered by Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene," and which was subsequently lost on her way to Bombay. This terminated the interview, and we returned as we had come, Seyyid Burghash accompanying us far down the street before he took leave, and Nassur-bin-Saeed coming with us to the Consulate where it was arranged that His Highness should return my visit this day on board the "Enchantress."

This he did at 5 P.M.

His Highness left the shore in his own barge towed by his steam-launch, and accompanied by the boats of the English squadron in double lines on the quarters, while the yards of all Her Majesty's ships were manned, and a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired from the Flag ship as he embarked.

The Sultan was received with the same etiquette, so far as the accommodation on the "Enchantress" permitted, as had been observed on the occasion of my visit to him, and a guard of marines from the flag ship was drawn up on board.

His Highness opened the conversation by begging me to consider one of his houses at my disposal while here. This, however, I declined for reasons which I trust your Lordship will appreciate.

His Highness having made a remark about the "Punjaub" mail steamer which is anchored near this ship, I took the opportunity of mentioning the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government for establishing a line of steamers from Aden to the Cape viâ Zanzibar, and of expressing a hope that the opening of the new line would be useful to Zanzibar. He replied that the merchants had been disappointed at its not running through to Bombay, and implied a doubt as to its permanence. I explained that the line had only just been opened, that a large subsidy had been granted it by Government, and that he might be assured of its ultimate success, and I requested him to allow Dr. Kirk to present the Captain of the "Punjaub" to him. To this he willingly consented.

The interview, throughout which Seyyid Burghash had shown great good-humour, then terminated, and after I had shown him over the ship, he left in the Admiral's barge, accompanied by Flag-Captain Jones and attended by the boats of the squadron, in the same order and with the same ceremony as on his arrival.

In both these interviews I availed myself of the efficient services of Mr. Badger, as interpreter.

I have described the details of these interviews at greater length than would have been necessary in the case of a Court to which such visits are of frequent occurrence, and trust that my proceedings will be approved.

No. 19.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, January 16, 1873.

INCLOSED is a translation of an address which was presented to me yesterday by the principal Natives of India now resident at Zanzibar.

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I thought it well, on account of the great readiness shown by the Rao of Kutch, to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government on the Slave Trade question, that I should accede to the wish expressed by the Banian community, and give them a reception, and shall have the honour in another despatch of forwarding to your Lordship a Memorandum on their actual position in regard to the Slave Trade and commerce of Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 19.

Address presented by the Bhatias, Khojas, and others, natives of India, residing at Zanzibar, to Sir B. Frere, at a Meeting held on the 15th January, 1873.

(Translation.)

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the undersigned merchants, on our own part and on the part of the natives of Western India now residing in Zanzibar, beg to offer your Excellency our cordial welcome on your arrival at Zanzibar. Most of the Indians residing here are merchants and traders, carrying on business under the protection of the British flag. We, therefore, consider ourselves fortunate in having this opportunity of welcoming so high a trusted representative of the august owner of that flag, the Empress of India, as your Excellency. But we have more reasons than one to congratulate ourselves on this occasion. We cannot forget your Excellency's rule in Western India, a rule which has endeared your name among the people whose good fortune it was to be under it. We have also, from time to time, heard of the deep interest you have continued to take in all matters concerning the welfare of the people of India. Grateful for these kindnesses, we pray that the Almighty may grant you a long and happy life. We hope that the business on which Her Majesty has deputed you may be attended with success, and thereby the cruelties and hardships now inflicted on human beings may be put an end to.

January 15, 1873.

(Here follow the signatures of eleven Khojas, two Bohras, five Bhatias, and two Banians.)

No. 20.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, January 18, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum on the present state of the slave market in Zanzibar, which shows that institution to be still in full force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Memorandum.

A SHORT sketch of the slave market at Zanzibar, as it at present exists, may not be uninteresting, but it should be stated that the following is not meant for a sensational account, but for a plain description of a state of things which will, it is hoped, soon disappear.

The slave market is no longer in the square which it so long occupied, as within the last few weeks Her Majesty's Acting Consul, Dr. Kirk, took advantage of the old site having been bought by a British Indian subject, to prohibit his allowing the continuance of the scandal. The site now occupied is a small square surrounded on three sides by buildings, and the approach to which is, on the one side, through the bazaars, where the trade is carried on chiefly by Indians, and, on the other, through more open streets leading to the outskirts of the town.

Coming towards the market from this latter side, we passed a large covered space

occupied by the cocoa nut mills, which are turned by camels, and the primitive construction of which, consisting as they do of a mere hollow log in which a heavy piece of wood revolves as the camels walk round, is said to be a more paying method of extracting the oil than the best devised machinery.

On the occasion of the visit of some of the members of the Zanzibar Mission, three slaves were chained close by this mill for having attempted to steal some of the oil. Their jaunty air showed how little the punishment affected either their moral or physical sensibilities.

On entering the market we passed by wooden sheds, under which sat, on the left, some half-caste Arabs, on the right, some half-clothed Negroes. The market was comparatively empty when we arrived at half-past 4 in the afternoon, so we had a good opportunity of seeing the slaves who were already there. They were seated in rows round the square, each batch sitting packed close together, and herded by an Arab or Negro (for the Negro seems to forget the miseries he once underwent as a newly-captured slave, or, like a schoolboy bullied as a youngster, bullies again when able), who forced into position the luckless wretch who stretched his stiffening limbs beyond the limits allowed him. We counted at that time ninety, of all ages and of both sexes. Many wore a set and wearied look, many were fat and gay, while two young men and a boy alone confirmed, by their skeleton frames and looks of misery, the sensational tales often written of these markets. The impression left upon the mind at this time was that the process of sale was not more debasing to the Negro than were the statute-hiring fairs of recent English times to the servant class of England. Most of the slaves were naked, save a clout round the waist of the men and a cloth thrown loosely over the women. I say "naked," for one can hardly consider as clothing what some evidently held to be full dress, viz., the scars and slashes on their faces, and the rings in their ears and noses. Some, however, of the women, chosen probably for some attraction which, great doubtless to Zanzibarite eyes, were hardly appreciable by Europeans, were gaudily dressed in coloured robes, with short-clipped hair, eyes and eyebrows painted black, and henna-dyed foreheads, while the rings and armlets they wore were heavy and large.

About 5 o'clock the frequenters of the market,—the lounge of the true Zanzibarite, strolled quietly in, Arabs and half-castes, Persians of the Guard in their long caps, and all armed with matchlock, sword, or dagger. At once the salesmen woke up, and all was bustle. And now came a cruel time. With a true knowledge of business, the sickliest and most wretched slaves were trotted out first, led round by the hand among the crowd, and their price called out. The price of one boy was seven dollars; he was stripped and examined by a connoisseur, his arms felt, his teeth examined, his eyes looked at, and finally he was rejected.

The examination of the women was still more disgusting. Bloated and henna-dyed old debauchees gloated over them, handled them from head to foot before a crowd of lookers-on, like a cowseller or horsedealer, and finally, when one was apparently satisfactory, buyer, seller, and woman all retired behind the curtain of the shed to play out the final scene of examination.

I cannot say that the subjects of this searching examination seemed to object to it; on the whole they appeared perfectly callous, neither caring whether their merits were dilated on nor apparently sensible of the notice they were attracting from the bystanders.

The prices we heard mentioned varied from sixty-seven dollars for a woman to seven dollars for the boy whose case I have mentioned. We saw no deals actually effected, and were told that the presence of the Mission in Zanzibar had sensibly affected the commerce in slaves as well as in the ordinary articles of trade.

This being the close time, the market was not at its full height, though there must have been at least two hundred slaves there before we left.

No rudeness was shown to us by any one, though I have been told that some officers of the squadron now here have been insulted and hissed by Arabs.

It may be added, though not actually connected with our visit, that since the squadron arrived in this harbour four dhows have been taken by Her Majesty's ships: one, containing one slave, was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, not being defended; a second was also condemned as a legitimate prize; a third was released and the fourth escaped condemnation as her papers were dated three days before the commencement of the close time. She had started from Kilwa with eighty slaves, of whom thirty-eight had died of cholera before she was captured. Two whose lives were despaired of were left by their owner to die on the beach, whence they were rescued by the French Roman Catholic Mission, a fact which would alone show the hardships to

which the victims of the Slave Trade are exposed even before their trials on land commence.

Let people say what they will of the happiness of the negro when landed, I think the above facts will show that the fate of a human being put on shore in sickness, driven in that state and regardless of his sufferings to the barracoon, dragged daily there to broil his wretched carcass in the hot East-African sun, without water, without shade, till the shadow of death is on him (for the more wretched he is and the more unsaleable, the less he will be cared for)—these facts, I say, will show that not one moment too soon, not one whit too strongly, has England interfered to abolish for ever the curse of Africa.

(Signed) CLEMENT L. HILL.

Zanzibar, January 17, 1873.

No. 21.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, February 28, 1873.

I HAVE asked the Admiralty to instruct the Admiral on the East India station to have inquiries made by a competent officer as to the feasibility of having a depôt of captured slaves at Johanna, and as to the probability of finding employment for them with safety to their freedom; and I should also be glad to be in possession of your opinion on the subject.

No. 22.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th ultimo, I transmit, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Dr. Kirk, relative to the application of the Sultan of Johanna that liberated slaves might be landed in that island, together with a copy of the reply which I have caused to be returned to that officer.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 23.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

IN reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of November last, directing me to inquire into the facts of the alleged difference between Drs. Livingstone and Kirk, I have now the honour to inclose a memorandum showing that I consider Dr. Kirk to have been entirely free from blame in this matter.

A copy of this memorandum has been communicated confidentially to the Governor of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Memorandum by Sir B. Frere on the Correspondence between Drs. Kirk and Livingstone.

February 1, 1873.

I HAVE read with great care and attention all that I can find recorded by Dr. Livingstone on this subject, and all bearing on it that has been published, as far as

I have had access to each publication, by Mr. Stanley and others, either officially or unofficially, either in their own names or anonymously.

I have also been favoured by Dr. Kirk with a perusal of a very detailed explanation of his conduct in reply to some strictures in the Bombay "Times," partly published as editorials, partly under the signature of Captain Fraser, late Indian Navy, then and now residing at Zanzibar. This explanation Dr. Kirk forwarded in September last to the Bombay Government.

I find that Dr. Kirk has been since called on by the Government of India for a report on all the circumstances connected with his transactions on Dr. Livingstone's behalf; and his reply, in obedience to that call, will be in such detail as to supply the fullest information on all controverted points.

It seems to me, therefore, that I shall best fulfil Lord Granville's injunctions by stating succinctly the general impression left on my mind by the very careful study of all I find recorded as above specified, and all I have been able to learn on the subject at this place.

On the first point, as to how far the complaints of Dr. Livingstone were well-founded, there can, I think, be no doubt that they were. The things sent to him did not reach him; those taken by and sent to Mr. Stanley did reach him. Clearly then, there was good ground for complaints of the non-arrival of Dr. Livingstone's packages.

On the second point, how far those complaints were well founded in regard to the class of porters employed by Dr. Kirk on Dr. Livingstone's behalf, I think it quite possible that there may have been some foundation for attributing the failure of the convoys intended for Dr. Livingstone to the class of porters employed. I say "quite possible," because certainty on the point seems to me unattainable: after careful inquiry and comparison of statements, I cannot learn that there was any real difference between the classes of men employed by Dr. Kirk and Mr. Stanley and his agents. Much has been written and said, and much more might be written and said on the subject; but the reasoning is all of the kind which may be heard between two experienced members of the Alpine Club, as to the respective merits of the guides furnished by the landlords of the "William Tell" or the "Helvetia." The question, whether Swiss, or German, or a dash of French or Italian blood is best in a guide, may be debated for ever with all the lights of the longest experience and fullest local knowledge; so may the relative advantages of mountaineer independence, or implicit obedience to the behests of the landlord, to whom every one in the town is in debt. The half-starved traveller detained near the limits of perpetual snow by a dislocated limb, is keenly alive to the defects of men who failed to bring up the supplies he needed, and may often be right in thinking that men from the rival establishment might have done better; but it is difficult for any one else to come to any more judicial decision than that, he who succeeded best was the best chosen.

In the instance under discussion, Dr. Kirk availed himself of the agency of the largest and most influential Hindoo house in Zanzibar. They had been, I believe, with hardly an exception, always employed by the English Consulate on similar work, and had been usually most successful.

Mr. Stanley, I believe, employed the broker of the American Consul, who is himself an experienced merchant in extensive business. His broker is at the head of the Khoja community of Indian Muslims, and ranks only second to the Hindoo house in general estimation.

Between the two houses there is no choice other than that between the oldest and largest, and the younger and possibly more energetic establishment.

But judging from all I hear and have read, I have little doubt that Mr. Stanley's own convoy would have failed to reach Ujiji but for his presence with it, and the extraordinary energy with which he pressed it forward.

I am not shaken in this opinion by the fact that three separate packets sent up by the American Consul are said to have reached Mr. Stanley after he joined Dr. Livingstone. When Mr. Stanley had once gone on, the place of safety was with him, and the most half-hearted messenger once started from the sea coast would not willingly stop till he had joined the white man's caravan.

For all these reasons I am unable to say more than repeat the almost obvious truism, that it is possible that had the agency employed by Mr. Stanley been employed on behalf of Dr. Livingstone, the supplies might have reached him.

On the third and last question, whether Dr. Kirk is in any way to blame for the delays that took place in expediting the stores to Dr. Livingstone, I have no hesitation whatever in stating my conviction that he is not. He seems to me to have done what any one on the spot, not judging after the event, would have said was for the best, and

his want of success was in no way due to any want of due care, precaution, local knowledge, or energy, or to any defect of judgment in the choice of his agents.

I am confirmed in this view by the more experienced opinion of Colonel Pelly, who formerly filled the office of Consul and Political Agent here, with great credit to himself and advantage to Her Majesty's service. He assures me that had he been here in his old post, he would have acted precisely as Dr. Kirk acted, and that he is convinced no one here could have known that any better steps could have been taken than were taken to insure the supplies reaching their destination.

But what appears to me to be conclusive on the subject, is the indirect testimony of the great traveller himself. I judge, of course, simply and entirely from what he has himself written. Under the pressure of his first disappointment he wrote to Dr. Kirk, omitting the habitual forms of personal friendship, and in terms expressive of some bitterness and irritation. Of the precise circumstances and influences under which he wrote we are but imperfectly informed. I am, however, certain that few men disappointed in arrangements which they thought might have been made, when the non-fulfilment of their expectations caused the loss of valuable time, could have written with so little acrimony; and I cannot find that, even in the first manifestation of natural and pardonable vexation, Dr. Livingstone imputes to his old friend anything more than being taken in by their agent. In his subsequent letters, when he found that he was regarded as having charged Dr. Kirk with omission to do his duty in a matter of such vital importance to him, Dr. Livingstone explains very clearly and distinctly that he imputed to Dr. Kirk no more than companionship with himself in the misfortune of putting their trust in men who deceived them, and he disclaims in the most pointed and emphatic manner all intention of accusing his friend of anything more than participation in their common misfortune.

With this question, Dr. Kirk's general merits as a public officer have little to do, beyond the obvious fact that a public officer who, I can affirm from my personal observation, is conspicuous for the careful, conscientious, laborious, and most efficient discharge of every duty connected with the important offices he holds here, is not likely to have failed in what was to him a labour of love, and a duty of long and uninterrupted friendship; and I cannot conclude this Memorandum without expressing my conviction that Dr. Livingstone never had here, possibly not in any part of the world, a truer or warmer friend than Dr. Kirk; and, in saying this, I confidently believe that I am only saying what Dr. Livingstone himself would say, if he were here to give us his deliberate testimony.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 24.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 11, 1873,

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith, a Memorandum giving an account of a short journey up the River Wami which was, by my desire, undertaken by Mr. Hill in company with some of the officers of the naval squadron now anchored in this harbour. Though the expedition was unable to ascend the river as far as I had hoped, I think your Lordship may like to see the account of its proceedings, and I would suggest that the Memorandum might be forwarded to the President of the Royal Geographical Society for the information of that body.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

P.S.—I also inclose a chart of the river which has been drawn out by two of the officers under Captain Malcolm's command.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Memorandum respecting the Wami River.

CONSIDERABLE interest attaches to the River Wami owing to the strong opinion expressed in Mr. Stanley's recent work* of its capabilities of being used as one great inlet into Africa of commerce and civilization.

To prove, if possible, the accuracy of this statement a small expedition was organized during the stay of Sir B. Frere's Mission at Zanzibar by Captain Malcolm of Her Majesty's ship "Briton;" and the following remarks give the results of that expedition, which are, however, but small, owing to the brief time at our disposal.

The Wami is situated opposite the Island of Zanzibar in latitude $6^{\circ} 6' 40''$ south, and between the towns of Saadani (from which it is distant 7 miles) to the north and Windi to the south. It has two mouths, the Chanangu and the Furanhanga, distant from one another nearly 2 miles. The Furanhanga, or northern mouth, by which we entered, is by no means easy to discover from the sea, as the low mangrove covered banks show little or nothing to distinguish them from the rest of the coast. It is, moreover, dangerous to enter except at flood tide owing to the existence at the mouth of bars of shifting sand.

The entrance of the river is from 70 to 100 yards broad, a breadth which it maintains, speaking generally, as far as we ascended it, and its depth as far as the Chanangu junction, at which point the tide ceases, is not, even at this season of the year less than 7 feet. This depth decreases higher up till in places there is not more than 1 foot of water, though 3 feet may generally be counted upon by hugging the concave bank. The river, which, it may be added, is full of snags, winds so greatly that our course varied almost round the compass.

The low mangrove covered banks of the first few miles of the river alter in character as one ascends, becoming higher and more open, while the country is covered with high thick grass interspersed with thickets which become almost a forest at the spot where we first encamped, about 9 miles up.

We saw no natives nor any signs of habitations beyond a deserted hut or two near the river till we reached Galooka and Saguirra, two small villages about 12 miles up inhabited by the Wdoi, a tribe of reputed cannibals, but who showed themselves to us only as a mild and almost vegetarian race.

The furthest distance which we succeeded in reaching in two-and-a-half days from the mouth was 23 miles, our progress being but slow owing to the need of frequent recourse to the oars to make any way against the strong current (of nearly 3 miles an hour) when the wind failed: no light work under an African sun.

This brought us to the foot of the Kibohero Hills, in latitude $6^{\circ} 13' 50''$ south, a low range, of which I can find no mention in either Stanley's or Burton's recent works. From this spot we could see, about 9 miles to the west, two higher hills apparently 1,000 or 1,200 feet high, and which would probably be the Dilima Peaks laid down in Mr. Stanley's map. Here the country became more open, the grass shorter, and the whole appearance more park-like. Here, too, as elsewhere, the river in the rainy season overflows its banks to the distance of at least 3 miles, washing up shells, quartz, and rounded pebbles.

But little game was found except that a herd of ten giraffes and a troop of zebra were seen in the neighbourhood of Saadani. The river, however, abounds in crocodiles and hippopotami (I counted twenty-three of the latter up at once within a space of 100 yards) to such an extent, exaggerated though the statement may sound, as to throw a real obstacle in the way of the passage of light craft. I say this, having felt the heavy pinnace in which we were raised some 6 inches by three hippopotami against whom we struck as they lay under water, on our way up, and having seen holes made in the bottom of a cutter whilst we were in the harbour of Dar-es-Salaam by the teeth of a hippopotamus which attacked it, though unwounded. Had either of these accidents happened in the Wami to a light craft, the crocodiles would not have been slow to take advantage of the presence of its crew in their waters. Doubtless, however, these animals would soon be killed down and the hippopotamus should be capable of being utilized in some way, as glue, leather, or tallow, for instance.

It may be of some interest to mention here that we ascertained by sounding the places where hippopotami had gone down that they can conceal themselves so effectually that not a ripple shall mark their presence in little over three feet of water.

A native of Galooka, with whom I conversed through an interpreter, stated that

* "How I found Livingstone," pp. 233-243.

no slave-dealers came up as far as that village, which, as is the case with all the district through which we passed, is ruled by the Governor of Saadani, under the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The same native said that the Wdoi professed the Mahommedan faith.

All the natives with whom we conversed up this river concurred in stating that we were the first white men who had ever been seen there.

No cases of sickness or fever occurred amongst our party, and I should judge that in the dry season the country is healthy.*

So far as it is possible to judge from the short distance we were able to go, and from the statements of the natives, who said the river continued for the distance of a moon's journey of the same depth and width, there is every reason to suppose that Mr. Stanley may be correct when he says that the Wami can be navigated by steamers drawing two or three feet of water for a distance of 200 miles; but that this navigation would be valuable for commerce is a question on which, as before remarked, time did not allow us to form a definite opinion. I think I shall be supported by the naval officers whom I accompanied when I say that the Wami is not navigable for practical purposes of commerce by any craft which has not steam-power.

The timber we saw—accacias, gourd trees, thorns, with here and there a palm—would not repay an expedition. Cultivation, so far as we went, was but very scanty and confined to pumpkins and a little maize, and the country, rich though the soil apparently is, was so thinly populated that no assistance could be expected from, or trade looked forward to with the natives.

An expedition which had time to penetrate as far as Mbumi might produce valuable results.

Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

(Signed) CLEMENT L. HILL.

No. 25.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"*Enchantress*," Zanzibar, February 12, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum which I have drawn up on the subject of Captain Fraser's estate at Kokotoni in this island, which I think may be of interest to your Lordship, and to the public generally should your Lordship see fit to communicate its contents to the press.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Memorandum respecting Captain Fraser's Estate.

"*Enchantress*," Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

REAR-ADMIRAL CUMMING, C.B., having done me the honour of accompanying me in Her Majesty's steam-yacht "*Enchantress*," we left the harbour of Zanzibar on the afternoon of the 3rd instant, to touch at some points of special interest as connected with the objects of this Mission, and I found what I saw at the estate of Kokotoni on the northern end of the island of Zanzibar, of sufficient importance to induce me to draw up a separate Report on the subject.

We anchored in the evening, about 19 miles north of the town of Zanzibar, off the entrance to Kokotoni Channel, which separates the islet of Tumbat from the main island, and affords to those who know the winding channels, between sand-banks and coral-reefs, safe shelter for dhows and vessels of light draught.

Tumbat is said to be inhabited exclusively by Wahadeemo—"people of the hand," or "workpeople"—who are generally regarded as the aborigines of these islands. Those on Tumbat are said to number 350 to 400 souls, and to live mainly by fishing. There is no water on their islet, and they bring it in canoes from the main island. Nearly half the population is said to have perished in the hurricane last year.

* Some cases of intermittent fever occurred subsequently both amongst the officers and men, which were probably to be attributed to our having spent the last night in the open boats near the mouth of the river, where the mangrove trees are very numerous.—C. L. H.

Kokotoni Channel is a usual point of departure for native craft bound northwards, and a favourable haunt of slave-runners. In the shelter its bays and inlets afford, cargoes of slaves can be safely and secretly transferred to boats bound for the north, or landed and kept secure from capture on the main island, where some of the most notorious slave-traders have "shambas"—estates with houses on them—near the shore, whence slaves can be sent, a few at a time, without exciting observation, or risking recapture by the boats of the British squadron.

I understand from Captain Fraser, late of the Indian Navy, that the estate which I went to visit was purchased by him about eight years ago, in association with some gentlemen of the great Bombay and London houses of Nicol and Smith, Fleming, and Co.; large sums were spent in draining, road-making, planting, and setting up machinery. Subsequently, the whole estate was bought by a Hindoo British subject, from whom it is now leased by Captain Fraser, who naturally takes unusual interest in a place where he has resided for a considerable part of the last ten years, and which, under his management, has changed from an unimproved Zanzibar rice swamp into a well-arranged and well-cultivated tropical estate.

Owing to circumstances on which it is unnecessary to dwell, Captain Fraser had given me only a general invitation to visit his estate; and I had given him such short notice of my intention to accept his invitation, that he had scarcely time to send down horses, donkeys, and carts, to meet our party on landing. I mention this, as showing that we saw the estate in its ordinary every-day condition, without its being brushed up for the reception of special visitors.

The estate comprises, I believe, about 2,300 to 2,500 acres of land, mostly dark alluvial soil and clay, lying along a flat shore line with a back ground of low hills, conspicuous among which is one of coral-rag, or limestone, about 250 feet above the plain, on the top of which is a small temporary dwelling-house for the manager of the estate. A stream runs through the estate, and the sugar-mill is built on its bank, surrounded by the huts of the labourers. Others are scattered near the landing-place, from which the mill is about a mile and a half distant.

That portion of the estate which is under cultivation has been cleared, drained, and laid out in regular parallelograms, with broad raised roads running through it at convenient intervals; the main roads being cross drained and metaled, where necessary, with coral-rag.

About 220 acres are devoted to sugar-cane. It seems to grow much more rapidly and luxuriantly than any I ever saw in India, the chief difficulty being so to regulate the planting that the cane shall come to maturity in the short dry season, which is best for sugar-making. I understand that about 80,000 cocoanut-trees have been planted, and the greater number were so young that the hurricane, last year, did them no permanent damage; when they are in bearing they will add immensely to the productiveness of the property. Screw palms ("vacoa") have been brought from Seychelles, to make the mat-bags required for packing sugar, palm-oil-trees from Pemba, and a variety of other tropical fruit-trees, oranges, limes, grafted mangoes from Bombay, &c., have been planted, and all seem to thrive.

The mill contains two steam-engines, of 35 and 15 horse-power respectively, which drive a quantity of excellent English machinery for making sugar, pressing oil, boiling soap, and crushing coir (the fibre of cocoanut); all appeared to be in excellent order and perfect in their several ways.

But the estate has a special interest far beyond its fertility or the excellence of its machinery, owing to the fact that all has been done by English capital and Captain Fraser's energy and fertility of resource, entirely through native agency and by native workpeople, the labour being now entirely free.

Not only all the field labour and road making, but all the masonry, carpenters' and smiths' and coopers' work, the cart making and mending, the transport and putting together of a large quantity of heavy machinery, its repair and daily starting, feeding, and stopping—all are worked, managed, and directed entirely by free negroes working for regular wages; Captain Fraser himself is much engaged in town, and can seldom visit the estate. He has of late seldom had more than one European assistant at a time, and when we saw the factory, the assistantship, in the temporary absence of Mr. Johnston, the permanent incumbent, was filled by a gentleman who had only arrived from Europe a few weeks before. But Captain Fraser assured me no difficulty whatever was experienced, the native headmen in each department carrying on all details of the work with only a very general supervision from the European manager.

These headmen are of various tribes and from various parts of the coast and interior. With only one exception all have been slaves; and it is curious that, at

least in one case, a sort of leadership is voluntarily attributed to a man whose parents in his own country belonged to a ruling clan.

There can be no doubt that the consciousness of freedom has, in many ways, improved the moral and intellectual, as well as the physical condition of these freedmen; and they have at various times, and occasionally in a manner inconvenient to Captain Fraser, manifested a strong desire to assist their enslaved fellow-countrymen to recover their freedom.

One of the most pleasing and note-worthy facts we witnessed was that of troops of healthy-looking well-fed children, numbering altogether eighty-five, of all ages under 8 or 9 years old. They came round Captain Fraser directly they saw him, and evinced none of the fear of the white men usual with slave children who have been taught to believe in the cannibal propensities of the white races.

The existence of such numbers of children after recent visitations of cholera and small-pox, and of much fever and other disease consequent on the late hurricane, is indeed a very important fact, for, as your Lordship will recollect, it has been confidently and persistently affirmed, as an excuse for defending a constant importation of fresh slaves from the mainland, that the slave population of Zanzibar is infertile, and would die out in a few years, if not steadily replenished by bringing fresh slaves from the interior of Africa.

Of the fact there can, I believe, be little doubt. Slaves in Zanzibar have few children except under specially favourable circumstances, and, taken as a body, would, as asserted, soon die out, if no fresh slaves were brought into the island. The question is whether this infertility is due to climate or other similar causes, or is it in any way connected with the status of slavery?

Some learning and much ingenuity has been expended in proof of the former proposition, but after taking great pains to arrive at the truth, I feel convinced it has not an atom of sound foundation. I have met with no single well-ascertained fact to support it, while there is abundant incontestable evidence to prove that the causes why this naturally most prolific race does not increase and multiply in Zanzibar, are all more or less connected with slavery.

The facts patent at Kokotoni, appear to me strongly corroborative on this point and I mention them, not because they are at all peculiar to the place, but because I found there collected examples and proofs of all the facts I had separately noticed elsewhere, and they may be accepted with the less hesitation because I believe Captain Fraser himself was for some time a believer in the theory of the natural infertility of the negro race in Zanzibar.

The negroes, as he first collected them on the estate, were slaves who naturally retained all the characteristics and vices of slavery. Among other peculiarities observable was that of infertility.

Marriage as a permanent tie, or as any restraint on almost promiscuous intercourse, was hardly recognized. Every kind of consequent disease, in its several forms, was common. Children generally were looked upon simply as a restraint and an incumbrance, and neither shame nor blame was attached, in the opinion of slaves among themselves, to any means for preventing or terminating the existence of children before or after their birth. The maternal instinct was deadened, if not extinguished; and the manager's public sitting to hear and dispose of complaints and controversies among the labourers, frequently testified to an almost incredible amount of shamelessness, want of natural feeling, and sensual depravity.

The change for the better was very gradual and attributable to a great variety of causes, of which it is difficult to assign special prominence to any one beyond saying that all resulted more or less directly from the status of freedom, with the exception of the kindly good sense of Captain Fraser and his manager, Mr. Johnston, which, of course, it is conceivable might have been manifested to slaves as well as to freedmen.

General habits of order, decency and regularity, good medical attendance from a qualified English practitioner (Dr. Christie) when ill, and many such causes operated to aid improvement, but the most efficient agency, no doubt, was the sense of property, that what they had was their own. This cause acted most effectually in raising the freedmen from the more degrading vices of slavery.

It is curious that the first marks of an anxiety to have children about them, as desirable additions to what they possessed, were remarked by Captain Fraser among the men. The women followed, and are not, he thinks, now at all behind their husbands in looking upon their children as natural and desirable additions to the comforts and respectabilities of their homes, but in the earlier annals of his primitive court for the adjustment of matrimonial as of all other disputes, it was the husband

who generally appeared the more anxious of the two to see his children grow up around him.

The total number of permanent residents on the estate may be taken at about 500 of both sexes and of all ages. Their houses of "wattle and dab" and cocoanut leaf mat work are, I think, quite as commodious and neat as those of the labouring classes on the coast in most parts of India, and I observed, not only at Kokotoni, but wherever I went, that it is a mistake to suppose that the negro, as a matter of course, generally remains content with the barest necessities of life. They seem to me to show fully as much desire to acquire the ornaments and superfluities of life, in various shape of dress and household plenishing, as more civilized races. I found here the same kind of stock-in-trade which the Cutch Mehmon, or Bohrah pedlar, or village shopkeeper, exposes for sale in a remote Mahratta or Guzeratti village. Cotton cloth of various kinds, plain, coloured, and printed; cheap European or American cutlery, earthenware, small tinwares, looking-glasses, childrens' toys, &c., of the same sort as would be seen in the stalls at a small country fair in India.

The wages of an ordinary able-bodied man at Kokotoni range from 2 to 2½ dollars per month according to the season. Women work nearly as hard as the men, and can carry about the same—a part of all wages is advanced to those who prefer it, as almost all do, in a daily ration of grain, salt-fish, and tobacco. All who earn it receive good conduct pay on Sunday morning; and, after a time, good conduct badges, which are much prized. This may add as much as 1½ dollars per mensem to the wages. A permanent labourer living on the estate may cultivate as much land as he pleases for his own subsistence; and every hut has its patch of the cassava root (manioc) the great staff of life to the lower orders here, gourds, sweet potatoes, yams, &c., and most of them possess a poultry shed. The labourers are thus very amply supplied with food, and all other first necessities of life.

An important feature in the economy of Kokotoni, is the extent to which extra labour can be got from other "shambas." The slaves in Zanzibar have, by long custom, two days in the week to themselves—Thursday and Friday. These days they very generally spend in idleness; but, in the neighbourhood of Kokotoni, Captain Fraser's practice of paying regular money-wages has induced a habit in the slaves on neighbouring estates of going to work at Kokotoni on their holidays; and he has at times had as many as 600 candidates for work on the same day.

There is extremely little crime, beyond that of small thefts, which are rarely committed by people resident on the estate. Any but very petty cases are sent to his Highness' Court in Zanzibar: but only two such cases have occurred in eight years; one was, killing and eating the manager's bullock.

Since the estate has been thoroughly drained, it has become extremely healthy. Mr. Johnston has enjoyed fairly good health there for nearly seven years. Captain Fraser and Dr. Christie have both lived on the hill for long periods of several months together, at all seasons of the year, without suffering in health; and European residents in Zanzibar, ladies, as well as gentlemen, have derived marked benefit from a change to Kokotoni. This is evidently the result of clearance and drainage, for there can be no doubt that, in its original state, uncleared and undrained, the place was extremely dangerous to sleep in. I need here not recall the fact, that the deadly climate of the island, beyond the town of Zanzibar, was one of the few accepted facts regarding which there were hardly two opinions. Extended cultivation has done much of late years to improve the climate of the island. I am told that, in the Portuguese settlements, on the coast, the Europeans make it a rule never to sleep on a plantation till it has been cleared and cultivated for two or three years. When first cleared, they visit it only between sunrise and sunset.

The fugitive slaves from other estates are a great pest at Kokotoni, sometimes thieving, sometimes merely hiding, and occasionally threatening to cause a temporary breach in the friendly relations between Captain Fraser and his Arab neighbours, with whom he has always lived on the most friendly terms.

His example has been by no means lost on them, and, I am told that, on several Arab estates, machinery of some kind has been introduced, and that, in two or three cases, mills of considerable size have been set up. On the Sultan Seyid Burghash, especially, the results of Captain Fraser's exertions seem to have made a considerable impression. His Highness, in the course of recent discussions, has more than once referred to them, admitting that they prove the possibility of economizing slave labour, without my having in any way alluded to them, or invited attention to them. His Highness maintains that it is impossible for Arabs to do as Captain Fraser has done; but the difficulty is by no means apparent. If the Slave Trade were abolished

there would be no difficulty in getting Indian or European capital, and nothing is wanted here beyond what has been done, and is done daily by hundreds of Arabs in Egypt.

In fact Captain Fraser seems to me, practically, and very completely, and the more effectually because in some respects almost unconsciously, to have solved some of the most difficult problems connected with the questions before us. It is clear that, whatever difficulties can beset any attempt to do without slave labour in Zanzibar, belong to an unwillingness to risk a small amount of present inconvenience for the sake of redressing a great wrong. It seems to me vain to argue that there is any impossibility, or even any difficulty which might not be overcome by the smallest possible amount of resolution. There are, no doubt, political and social difficulties in the widely ramified interests of the slave-dealing community, and in the bigoted obstinacy of the Arab slave-holders; but if, by any despotic exertion of power, not only the Slave Trade, but the status of slavery itself were abolished to-morrow, I feel convinced that no general or commercial interest in Zanzibar need permanently suffer. Any temporary or partial inconvenience would be more than compensated by the increase of labourers, by the confidence arising from the settlement of a great cause of difference between the local and the British Government, and by the easier terms on which Indian and European capital would be lent, when this question was once finally disposed of. Except in the prejudices of the small but dominant Arab race, the question, as far as these islands are concerned, is really beset with less difficulty than it was in many parts of India, when slavery was abolished there. The serfdom in many parts of India was certainly more severe in the tasks it exacted than the slavery of Zanzibar, though it was robbed of some of its natural horrors by the immobility of the serf, by the privileges as well as the restrictions of caste, and by the consequent absence of a great trade in slaves.

I have had the greater pleasure in reporting thus fully what I saw on Captain Fraser's estate, because a very unjust impression has got abroad that he is in some sense a defender of or apologist for slavery as it exists in these parts. I confess to having been myself, to some extent, affected by an impression of this kind; for which I can discover no better reason than that Captain Fraser sees, I think in an exaggerated form, the difficulties of a change of system, and perhaps underrates the general importance of what he has already taught by his own example. He hoped, perhaps, for even greater results, which only time and capital can fully develop.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 26.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 13, 1873.

BEFORE this despatch reaches England your Lordship will have already learnt, by the telegram which I have this day sent out, the failure of my efforts to induce the Sultan, Seyyid Burghash, to sign the Treaty which Her Majesty's Government had instructed me to propose for his acceptance.

Much as I regret that I have so far been unable to carry out the measure which Her Majesty's Government had deemed best calculated to effect the immediate abolition of the East African Slave Trade, yet I do not think it impossible that, on my return from the inspection which I propose to make of the southern slave ports, His Highness may have so far reconsidered his refusal as to be willing to sign a Treaty, which, even if it may not go so far as that which I have already proposed, may yet carry out the wishes of Her Majesty's Government for the very speedy extinction of the traffic in slaves.

His Highness' final answer was only received on the 11th, so that I am not able to forward to your Lordship by this mail copies of the correspondence which has been carried on with him, or to do more than set before your Lordship, very briefly, the manner in which the negotiations have been conducted. I shall, however, have the honour, in a subsequent despatch, of sending to your Lordship copies of all the correspondence on the subject, and will now confine myself to a brief recapitulation of the arguments which have been used on either side.

In the two interviews which I had with His Highness, subsequent to the presentation of the draft Treaty, I urged upon him verbally, as I had already done in writing, the ultimate gain that would result to his dominions, as it had done to other countries, from the abolition of the Slave Trade; I promised that, should he sign the Treaty and

heartily co-operate with us in the objects we had in view, England would gladly give him the benefit of her friendship and support in tiding over any difficulties which might at first arise; I pointed out to him the danger, to his power and commerce, which would inevitably ensue from the absence of such friendship; I dwelt on the full determination of the Government and the people of England to put down the abomination of Slave Trade; I pressed him to state to me what were the chief obstacles in the way of his acceptance, whether financial or political; and I begged him to submit to me any scheme for a Treaty which he should be able to accept, if he found the terms of that which I proposed were too severe.

The counter arguments of his Highness, and the grounds on which he based his refusal, were the ruined state of the island, owing to the late hurricane, and the necessity under which he laboured of conforming to the wishes and watching the interests of all his Arab subjects. In connection with, but always subsidiary to these reasons, were adduced assertions that he had always faithfully kept the Treaty, and that England could not withdraw from it; expressions of desire to be allowed a term of years before the final suppression; entire refusal to pay up the arrears of, or in any way to recognize his liabilities under the Muscat Subsidy Arrangement of 1861; whilst, throughout, the Sultan evinced a mistrust of my statements, and even of the extent of my powers to negotiate, which I can only attribute to the action of some secret advice, to which he has been misguided enough to listen. He asserted that his difficulties were not purely financial, and has not hitherto submitted any counter Treaty for my consideration, declaring his determination to adhere to the letter of that of 1845.

Such, my Lord, is the present position of affairs. The wishes of England, and of a large majority of the civilized nations of the world, expressed in a manner calculated to give them the utmost weight, have been thwarted, and treated with marked disrespect by a Sovereign who claims the right to dispose for his own benefit of the liberty and happiness of races over whom he has no right either of conquest or succession, and whose persons he can only acquire through theft and murder committed by his subjects.

No. 27.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 13, 1873.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that the health of the Reverend G. P. Badger has suffered so severely since his arrival here that I have very reluctantly become convinced that it is necessary he should return to England without delay, and he will leave by the steamer which conveys this letter.

As negotiations with His Highness are at present suspended, his services can be better spared than at an earlier period of the Mission; but as we return northwards, I shall greatly miss his hearty co-operation in whatever work the Mission had to undertake, and the aid I have always derived from his long experience and intimate acquaintance with the manners and feelings, as well as with the language of the Arabs. I beg to bring to your Lordship's special notice the valuable services so cheerfully rendered by Mr. Badger to this as to former Missions; and I would record my grateful sense of the excellent spirit in which those services have been always performed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 28.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, March 12, 1873.

I HAVE to request that you will convey to the Rao of Cutch the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the prompt and decided measures taken by His Highness to prevent his subjects engaging in the Slave Trade.

No. 29.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 14, 1873.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 10th ultimo, and have learnt with much satisfaction, from the memorandum which accompanies it, that you consider Dr. Kirk entirely free from blame in the matter of the alleged difference between him and Dr. Livingstone.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 30.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Admiral Cumming has directed Her Majesty's ship "Briton" to accompany me on the visit to the southern slave ports, on which I intend to proceed to-morrow morning. The "Glasgow," flag-ship, leaves to-morrow for Bombay, while the "Daphne" remains at Zanzibar.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to request your Lordship to inform the Lords of the Admiralty how much indebted I feel to Admiral Cumming for the cordial support he has always afforded me during my stay at Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. FRERE.

No. 31.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received .)

(Extract.)

Mozambique Channel, February 27, 1873.

WE left Zanzibar on the 15th and have since been coasting southwards seeing as much as we could at the places where trade is, or might be, carried on. Nothing could be finer than the coast, full of good ports and anchorages, and with a fine country inland and plenty of tractable industrious people to trade and cultivate, if the slave traders would only let them alone. For the moment the want most present to my mind is a good survey. We have had an anxious time of it, feeling our way into half-surveyed anchorages, and missing much we should have wished to see, but could not without a good chart venture to attempt in the "Enchantress." The only survey we have was a wonderful work fifty years ago, but it only professes to be a mere running sketch of the coast, which ought to be surveyed more minutely than the Red Sea. It would pay for surveying better than almost any coast I know, for it is full of ports and facilities to shelter, which are worse than useless when no stranger dare approach them for want of charts.

Two surveying vessels, whilst on the coast, will be a most valuable addition to the squadron employed to check Slave Trade.

Next to the urgent need of a good survey, what has struck me most on this coast is the enormous increase of Indian commercial interest during the past thirty years. I will only state that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that all trade passes through Indian hands; African, Arab, and European, all use an Indian agent or Banian to manage the details of buying and selling, and without the intervention of an Indian, either as capitalist or petty trader, very little business is done. They occupy every place where there is any trade. At Zanzibar they have the command of the Custom-houses along nearly 1,000 miles of coast; wherever we went we found them monopolizing whatever trade there might be, spending and keeping their accounts in Guzeratti, whether in small shops, or as large mercantile houses. Their silent occupation of this coast from Socotra to the Cape Colony is one of the most curious things of the kind I know. It has been going on for forty years but I had no idea, till I came here, how complete their monopoly has become.

Two inferences may be drawn from these facts:—First, that everything connected with African trade is at least as much an Indian as it is an English question. The

German, American, and French trade is altogether larger than the English. But Germans, Americans, and Frenchmen, as well as Englishmen, trade through Banians, natives of India, with Indian capital and Indian homes, whither they carry the greater part of their African profits. India, therefore, must share with England the responsibility for what they do and the obligation to protect them in their lawful callings.

Nor, on the other hand, can either India or England justify indifference to the general complicity of Indian traders with offenders like slave traders, who are guilty of crimes against humanity.

2nd. England through India has an immense practical hold on East Africa. The Sultan and his Arabs can do nothing for good or evil without the Indian capitalist. The present difficulty is how to use this hold for the purpose of putting down the Slave Trade, which has grown with the growth of Indian interests on this coast.

I fear there can be no question as to the complicity of the Indian traders. They advance the capital for that as for all other trade on these coasts, and reap the capitalist's lion's share of the profits. They know every turn of the trade, and all who are engaged in it, and they do their best to shield it and those implicated in it, for the sake of the large profits which it brings to them and their customers.

Such being the case, it seems to me no excuse for the body to say that many of them are not more directly implicated than the merchants who, in the days of slavery, advanced money on the mortgage of a West India estate. A few, no doubt, are directly engaged in Slave Trade everywhere.

I have been much struck with the extremely superficial character of the Sultan's hold over the coast. I knew his authority did not extend far inland, but I was not prepared to find it so entirely confined to a few ports on the coasts, and that even at some of the more important of these ports his garrisons are hemmed in by the petty chiefs of neighbouring tribes. At one place, Lindy, which is his principal garrison to the south, and which is supposed to command the mouths of the Rovuma and all up to the Portuguese frontier, we found the town in nightly expectation of a plundering attack from some negro tribes who have never acknowledged the Sultan's authority. The traders were embarking their goods, and the country people were flying to islands in the river, where they hoped to be safe, or to more distant refuge in the jungle. Formerly, when the Sultan had a navy, he would promptly have sent a few hundred Arabs, and removed them again when they had driven off the marauders; now the hurricane has destroyed his ships, and with an empty Treasury he cannot replace them.

The Portuguese dominion north of Mozambique is nearly as superficial as that of the Sultan in his dominions. It hardly extends, in fact, beyond the islands and a very few ports on the coast; but, as far as I could judge from the few days we were with them, the Portuguese have turned the corner. They have begun to relax their high duties and exclusive policy, seem really anxious to attract foreigners, and especially Englishmen; they are well satisfied with the results, as far as they can be seen, of lowered duties. Slavery will be at an end in three years, and though there is still some export of slaves to the north and to Madagascar, it has been partially checked of late years, and if the Governor-General succeeds in the expedition he is preparing against Bonga, an insurgent half-caste chief, on the Zambesi, the territory may prosper; but they have much lee-way to fetch up.

The great want of Mozambique just now is better communication with the rest of the world, and I hope the new line of steamers to Zanzibar and the Cape will touch there. We found their latest dates from Lisbon were early in November, and the Governor-General had, of course, heard nothing officially of our mission. He was, however, very obliging, and would have done anything we wanted, as far as his very limited means would allow.

March 12.—Since I began this letter we have visited the Hova port of Majunga, and the French islands of Nossi Beh, and Mayotta, and Johanna, and returning to the mainland, we looked in at Kilwa Kavinja, next to Zanzibar the largest port on the coast, and the great place of export for slaves. We got a pretty good idea of the extent and character of the southern Slave Trade. It is not so great as a few years ago, when large vessels used to take their 700 or 800 slaves at a time to Cuba or Brazil; but moderate estimates make out a total of 8,000 or 10,000 annually taken to Madagascar from the African coast, a few being smuggled into the Comoro Islands on their way.

The Portuguese Government is so ill-served that their good intentions are little restraint to the collection of a small cargo, which, in the habitual absence of our

cruizers from these seas, is easily run across, and landed in some of the innumerable fine bays which abound on the north-west coast of Madagascar.

The Hova Government is said to act in perfect good faith whenever they can, but they hold only a few points on the coast, and the Sakalavas are as inveterate slave-dealers as the Arabs. A few slaves are smuggled into the French islands as "engagés," but I have no doubt a little more frequent visiting of these seas and coasts by our cruizers would greatly check what now goes on. But to do the thing effectually you require some Consular authority, who should move about occasionally from port to port. There is ample work for two—one on the Portuguese coast, the other for the Comoro Islands and Madagascar; but one man actively moving about could do a great deal. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the islands, and they do not seem more unhealthy than India, if men took the same precautions as in India.

I was glad we visited Kilwa Kavinja. It is the real hotbed of Slave Trade on this coast, and we had been foiled in our attempts to see it on the way down, having been misled and sent to other places of the same name many miles off. It turned out to be a very large town, even more thriving than Zanzibar, not marked on our charts, and placed out of sight of cruizers, among unsurveyed reefs, difficult of access to any but Arab dhows. A very large trade, especially in slaves, has its seat here, where Europeans are very rarely seen, but a Banian emissary, we were told, had been there and to other places on the coast, warning all slave-traders to send their slaves inland, and to tell us nothing.

These orders were well obeyed, and I never saw anything so insolent as the soldiers of the Arab Governor, or so obstructive as the usually mild and obsequious Indians. I have specially reported the circumstances, and was really thankful when I got the whole of our party embarked without a collision. But I am certain these people would never have behaved so without distinct orders, and equally certain that, unless both Sultan and Banians are brought to their senses, we shall somewhere have a very unpleasant manifestation of slave-traders' anger, at our interference with their proceedings.

I have little hope from what I saw that we shall find any change in the Sultan's feelings or policy when we get to Zanzibar.

We are all in good health, notwithstanding a good deal of exposure and great heat. The thermometer has been repeatedly 107 degrees in the ward room officer's cabins, and when rain or heavy sea prevents our sleeping on deck it is not easy to get to sleep below. It is like living in an orchid house or Turkish bath.

No. 32.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)

*"Enchantress," off Comoro Island,
March 10, 1873.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Lordship the following summary of the facts which I have gleaned during my visit to the southern ports of the Sultan's dominions, and of the opinions which I formed from those facts, and trust they will not be without value to Her Majesty's Government.

The ports which I visited were Dar-es-Salaam, Kilwa Kiswani, and Kilwa Kavinja, Kiswara, and Lindy with the Island of Monfia.

The most salient point is the very slight tenure by which His Highness maintains his hold on his African possessions.

A striking instance of this was afforded us at Lindy, where we found that many families of natives had escaped to an island in the middle of a creek of the harbour, in order to avoid the attacks of an independent hostile tribe who were then within a few hours' walk nightly plundering some neighbouring villages, and against whom the Arabs were powerless to defend them. The Indian traders outside the port of Lindy were, for the same reason, embarking their goods; and persons living close to the coast some miles to the north, assured us they feared to cultivate beyond their immediate wants, lest they should invite the attacks of these marauders.

The power of the Sultan, which, even before the recent hurricane, was always most limited, has, since that event deprived him of his navy, become little more than nominal. Were not the natural indolence of the African supplemented by the debasing influence of slavery, there would long have ceased to be any Arabs on this part of the eastern shores

of Africa. Their influence, if they have any, is never exercised for good; capital, they have none to invest in the land or in its products; and in a financial sense they are entirely in the hands of the natives of India, who carry on almost exclusively the trade of the coast.

These Indians, traders by nature and education, are chiefly the agents for some of the wealthy houses of their native land. They naturally connive at the slave-trading practices of their nominal rulers and do not attempt to overthrow a system which, lucrative to them in itself, was already established when they settled in the land. Their wants are few, and spending but little in the country they do little or nothing to increase its material prosperity. Skilful accountants, they are entrusted with the books of the Government Custom and Registration Houses, and we must not be surprised if they know how to turn this fact to their own advantage.

At each port we visited a Custom-house is kept where all the particulars of the local trade purport to be registered; and these returns are sent annually to the Custom-house of Kilwa Kivinja, whence they are forwarded to the Custom-house officials of Zanzibar.

Where Arabs and Indians thus work together in maintaining the existing state of affairs, there is much difficulty in obtaining correct information in a hurried visit. We were evidently looked upon with suspicion; and no small reluctance was shown to afford more than the most general information.

This was so marked at Kilwa Kivinja, the great slave port on the mainland, that I have made it the subject of a separate despatch.

Another instance was afforded at Kiswara: the Arab soldier, who represents the Sultan, at that village denied there being any Indian residents, though some were seen running away when the boats approached. Again, at Lindy, where a dhow had been captured the day before our arrival by one of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," it was only after considerable hindrance from Arab and Indian that I obtained an interview with the headman of the place.

I gathered from conversation with several newly imported slaves at the different ports that most had been brought as captives of war from the regions around the Nyassa, statements which entirely confirm those already made by Drs. Kirk and Livingstone.

There was an evident desire on the part of the natives to take service on board ship and thus earn money, and stowaways were discovered on board at almost every port we visited. More than one said he would emigrate to Zanzibar were he sure of freedom when there.

Wherever we went the country was covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and, though almost uncultivated at present, there can be no doubt that, on the cessation of Slave Trade and the consequent security of life and property, a great impulse would be given to agriculture, and a large trade would soon spring up.

The innumerable creeks and bays along the coast must always afford shelter to slave traders or smugglers in spite of the utmost vigilance of cruisers; but when the export of all slaves is prohibited, and the markets for their reception are abolished, that evil will shortly be reduced to a minimum.

I see at present two steps, regarding the necessity of which, towards affecting this end more speedily there can be no doubt.

First. A thorough survey of the coast should be immediately undertaken. The splendid harbours with which this seaboard abounds are at present almost useless through want of such survey, and the dangers of navigation are great. I believe I am correct in saying that none of Her Majesty's ships have ever completed their time on this station without having once, at least, grounded on some one of the many unknown reefs.

Secondly. I see in the monopoly of trade carried on by British Indian subjects on this coast a means of coercion which cannot fail greatly to facilitate the object in view. It will need but the strict enforcement of our legitimate rights over these traders to prevent their assisting with their capital the impecunious Arab slave dealer, who now looks to them for the means of carrying on his trade.

The interests of India and of the Imperial Government are both so closely allied and so greatly concerned in the existence and in the development of the East African commerce, and in the repression of the abuses with which it is now attended, that they cannot, in my opinion, be separated, whilst the responsibilities they have already incurred on its behalf are so grave that it has become impossible for them to be longer ignored.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," March 12, 1873.

IN continuation of my immediately preceding despatch I beg to offer the following remarks on the present state of affairs in the Mozambique and at the French Settlement of Mayotte, as they appeared to me during my recent visit.

There is, undoubtedly, a considerable Slave Trade still carried on within the Portuguese possessions. General Amaral, the Governor of Mozambique, himself admitted this; no one with whom I conversed denied it, and that it is so is moreover evident from the numbers of freshly imported slaves whom we saw on the Island of Mozambique.

General Amaral informed me that he believed the chief part of this contraband trade was carried on in Arab dhows with Madagascar, that the papers of these dhows were frequently irregular, but whether from ignorance or wilful neglect he could not say.

He estimated the contraband Slave Trade, which he lamented he had not the means of stopping, at 2,000 souls per annum. But I have little doubt that the estimates of nearly five times that number, which I heard from people who have better opportunities of knowing than his Excellency can possess, are nearer the truth. I was assured that the large cargoes of former days are seldom run from the Portuguese coast at present; but the northern Arab dhows, which used to be laid up at Madagascar whilst waiting for the change of monsoon, are now, I am told, rarely allowed to lie idle. After landing their Indian supercargo with the import cargo of cloth, &c., at Madagascar, they stand over to the opposite Portuguese coast, pick up a small cargo of slaves at the outports, with which they return to Madagascar, making sometimes more than one trip of the kind before it is time to return northwards. These dhows are said frequently to put into the Comoro Islands for water and provisions, and sometimes clandestinely part with some of their slaves there; but they generally put into the Sakalava ports or unfrequented harbours which abound on the Madagascar coast, avoiding the Hovas, who have the reputation of exerting themselves, sometimes with much effect, to keep their engagements with the British Government to put down Slave Trade.

I heard, however, on apparently good authority, of one case of a brigantine having loaded a full cargo of slaves at Conducia Bay, in sight of Mozambique, not more than twelve months ago, and running them safely to Madagascar. She was followed by a Portuguese gun-boat, but at such an interval of time it was hopeless to expect to see her again.

The external commerce of the Mozambique is not very extensive, and hardly any of it is carried on by Portuguese subjects.

The French and the Banians appear to share it between them; the Banians collecting and distributing the articles of trade in detail for a Marseilles firm, which runs several vessels annually, chiefly freighted outwards with goods of English manufacture, and homewards with ivory and sessamum seed.

The imports reach nearly 250,000*l.*, and the exports nearly half that amount, as I was informed by the head of the Customs.

Considerable discrepancy existed between the official statements respecting import and export duties, and those which were made by persons unconnected with the Government, whom I questioned on the subject. The former represented the import duties to be from 6 to 10 per cent., and those on exports from 4 to 6 per cent. *ad valorem*; while the latter made them amount to from 16 to 20, and even 25 per cent. on imports, and from 10 to 16 per cent. on exports.

The Portuguese have hardly any establishments on the mainland, and so recently as eighteen months ago foreigners were not allowed to settle there. This restriction has, however, been removed by the present Governor; and he assured me of his desire to see English capital and enterprise come to the rescue, and redeem Mozambique from the disgraceful state in which it now lies. At present there are no English residents on the island, or in the northern portion of Mozambique; indeed, beyond a French merchant, who does nearly half the trade of Ibo, and the small garrison at that place, there seem to be hardly any Europeans on the 250 miles of coast north of the town of Mozambique.

The Portuguese have hitherto failed to attach to themselves either the affections or the respect of the natives of the mainland, and the same remark which applies to the want of power of the Sultan of Zanzibar applies to them. Out of the sight they are

out of the mind of their so-called subjects. The consequence of this has been a failure in the development of this very rich Colony—a failure which is the result of over three centuries of occupation, and which will continue till slavery and Slave Trade are effectually stopped, and a direct and easy communication is established with European markets and manufactures. At the time of our visit their latest date from Europe was of the 11th November.

Experience in the development of trade and civilization in other parts of the world situated much as Eastern Africa now is would suggest to the Portuguese Government that they should send out as Governors to their East African Possessions men of financial ability and European experience, whose age and health would enable them to bear with impunity the risks of the climate; that they should assist them with a skilled and competent staff; that the salaries assigned to these officers, should, unlike those at present paid be such as to raise them above the temptations of poverty; that the taxation and dues should be still further reduced; that the immigration of foreign capitalists should be in every way encouraged; and that the mainland should cease to be a penal settlement. By such a policy, when once regular steam communication with Europe is established, a bright future would, I venture to say, be insured to those fertile, but hitherto most neglected and mismanaged, provinces.

The French Colony of Mayotte calls for little remark from me at present.

Situated in wonderfully picturesque islands, Mayotte and Nos Beh are well conducted settlements. They are, I was told, self-supporting, and are certainly very fertile. Sugar is the chief article of cultivation, but the want of labour is so great that few of the plantations are nearly as productive as they would be otherwise. So, at least, I was told on the spot, for time did not allow me to visit the fields and judge for myself. The fact (for fact I believe it to be) speaks well for the determination of the Governor to prevent any participation in slavery. Though he did not express a very favourable opinion of the “engagé” system, under which labour is at present supplied, he seemed anxious to put down the Slave Trade when brought to his notice.

Unsatisfactory as the results of the East African Colonies of these two nations may be, they still teach us a useful lesson as to the capabilities of the negro and his country under proper management. Both these countries have practically shown that it is possible to go much farther than we have hitherto demanded of the Sultan of Zanzibar in the way of the abolition of slavery without bringing on the evils so much dreaded by His Highness, since nowhere have there been any risings or hostile combinations of the natives, brought on by any cause but persistence in slavery and Slave Trade, and industry and trade have been visibly stimulated wherever any attempt has been made to put down the traffic in human beings.

It is clearly very desirable that these coasts should be more frequently visited by our cruisers than is possible with the present numbers and arrangement of our squadron.

No. 34.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville. —(Received April 7.)

My Lord,

“*Enchantress*,” Zanzibar, March 12, 1873.

I HAVE thought it best to mention in a separate despatch what struck me at Majunga, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, and at the Island of Johanna, as the two places have considerable relations with one another.

The power of the Hova Government of the Queen of Madagascar is not, I fear, equal to their will, to carry out their Slave Trade engagements with England. Though I saw no signs of Slave Trade myself at Majunga, I was informed on very good authority that between 5,000 and 8,000 slaves were annually landed on the northern and western shores of the island, whence they are re-exported as labourers to the French Colonies or to Johanna, or else find masters in Madagascar itself. The boats of Her Majesty’s ships cruising more often than is now the case in this direction would probably soon put a stop to this traffic, and the more easily, since the Sultan of Johanna has engaged, in the document of which I inclose a copy, to grant freedom to all future immigrants to his island, and to protect all slaves whom our cruisers may liberate there. This engagement will also solve any difficulty that might otherwise have been experienced by our cruisers in disposing of any large number of slaves which they may happen to capture in these waters.

The Government of Madagascar, as your Lordship is aware, is composed of the Hovas or dominant tribe, the Sakalavas comprising the rest of the aboriginal population. The Hovas show the greatest desire to imitate the English in all things, and the

Governor at Majunga showed us the utmost civility. I have little doubt that if it were represented to the authorities at Tananarivo that Slave Trade is being carried on within their jurisdiction, they would take what steps lie in their power to assist us in stopping it.

I was particularly struck by the manner in which the forms at least of Christianity have taken root among the people. All business is prohibited on Sunday, and one of the two churches of Majunga which I visited was filled with an attentive congregation, who listened to a service, conducted somewhat in the Presbyterian style, with an appearance of devotion which I have rarely seen exceeded.

This cannot be attributed to the immediate influence of missionaries, as there are no Europeans resident at Majunga.

There is no doubt that the commerce of Madagascar is capable of considerable and immediate extension. It now forms the great depôt whence all the surrounding European Colonies draw their chief supplies of bullocks and rice, and produces amongst much other valuable timber, ebony of a superior quality.

On the commercial aspect of Johanna I need add nothing to the inclosed Memorandum and Reports of Colonel Pelly therein alluded to, and would only remark, that Colonel Pelly's observations are as substantially correct now as on the day they were written.

Of its connection with the Slave Trade, of which there is at present little doubt, I would speak without harshness. Though the Sultan has, I fear, occasionally laid himself open to charges of having infringed the Treaty now in force between Johanna and England, yet his whole conversation, and the execution of the engagement of which I have inclosed a copy, show a desire to act in concert with Her Majesty's Government in this matter, which I trust may result in the eventual abolition of the status of slavery in his island, while the more frequent presence of a British cruizer will act at the same time as an encouragement to his good and a check to his evil propensities.

I saw great cause to regret that Mr. Sunley had resigned his Consulate some years ago. His influence appears to have been entirely for good. It is mainly owing to his example that the Sultan and his people have turned their attention to sugar and coffee culture, and he seems to be the principal check to any open attempt to revive the import of slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

The Sultan of Johanna to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Johanna, March 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, from this day, I engage to insure to all immigrants into this Island of Johanna the rights and privileges of free natives of Johanna; and I especially engage to protect any persons who may be rescued from slavery by the vessels of Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and who may be permitted by the orders of Her Majesty's Government to reside in this island.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ABDALLAH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Memorandum.

THE Island of Johanna has been so fully described by Colonel Pelly in two Reports addressed by him to the Government of Bombay, that there is no need to enter into a long account of it here, but a few particulars of the present position of Mr. Sunley's sugar plantation on that island will serve to show the results of which that wonderfully fertile and beautiful spot is capable under careful and skilful cultivation.

Mr. Sunley has been resident on the island for more than twenty years. Coming to it alone and with but little capital at his command, he fixed on the land in the vicinity of the little Harbour of Pomony, as best suited for his purpose, obtained from

the reigning Prince a concession of 6,000 acres of wholly uncultivated land at a rent of 200 dollars per annum, and at once set to work to form an estate now fully equal in its products to the majority of those in Mauritius.

He has now under cultivation some 700 acres of land devoted to the production of sugar.

The cane is crushed and the sugar extracted by English machinery, superintended and worked under Mr. Sunley's directions by negro overseers and labourers. The land yields sugar at the average rate of 2 tons per acre.

This sugar is of fine quality, and worth from 31*l.* to 37*l.* per ton in England, which gives a net average, after all costs of duty, freight, &c., have been paid, of about 23*l.* per ton. With a new machine which Mr. Sunley contemplates erecting in place of that hitherto in use, he calculates that he will be able to utilize one-third more of the juice of the cane than at present, thus nearly doubling his receipts.

The refuse cane is used with timber, of which there is a quantity on the estate, as fuel for the engines.

There are over twenty miles of good roads on the property, while others are in course of construction.

Bullocks are employed as beasts of draught.

Mr. Sunley employs on the estate 800 persons—500 males and 300 females—who live in neat huts of palm, and are looked after by overseers, of whom five are Johanna men and five natives of the African Coast.

In their dress, demeanour, and general air of comfort all these people show a close approach to European civilization, and a decided superiority over any similar community which has yet come under our notice.

Ten men are told off as police to keep order, but they are little needed amongst so peaceful a population.

Each labourer, be he slave or freeman, receives 30 dollars a-year, with rations, principally rice, and clothing, and some have patches of garden or coffee, and a bullock or so of their own.

Mr. Sunley makes no difference in the case of slave or free, but when the former is employed he pays over to his master 18 dollars of the total amount received by the slave, who retains for himself the remaining 12 dollars. To the negro, as a labourer, Mr. Sunley gives a better character than to the idle and thievishly-inclined Johanna man, who has earned on these coasts a rather unenviable notoriety for sharp practice in all his dealings.

The estate is well watered by two streams which flow down from the mountains and never dry, and produces in profusion cocoas (of which some 20,000 have been planted), bananas, pine-apples, and various other tropical fruits, while the rose and cabbage have been both successfully introduced from Europe. Mr. Sunley considers the climate decidedly healthy to any European who will take ordinary precautions against fevers.

There are four Europeans now resident on the estate as assistants, but they have been so short a time as to enable one to say with justice that Mr. Sunley has hitherto been alone in the management of his property.

And here it seems not out of place to endeavour to correct a misconception which has arisen as to the form of slave-labour employed by Mr. Sunley. Slavery is still understood by the majority of people in England as a state of things such as that depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," where the over-worked slave is habitually ill-treated by a brutal master. Now, on the East Coast of Africa, at least, and indeed in most Muslim communities, the position of the slave is rather that of a labourer in the feudal times of England. His master has, indeed, full power over him, but rarely exercises it in all its severity. A great portion of his time and earnings are devoted to his master's benefit, but when his services are not needed by his master, he is frequently allowed to work for hire for any person who will pay him, and of course it is to his owner's interest that his wages should be as high as possible, since he receives a share proportionate to their amount. Having once hired himself out, the slave usually makes his home on the estate of his employer, and, with the exception of the tax which he pays his owner, is there as much his own master as the free man. It is slave labour of this kind that Mr. Sunley employs. The slaves are not his slaves, but so far as he is concerned are as free as any English labourer.

As long as slavery exists in these countries, slaves will form the chief portion of the agricultural labour-supply, and it is difficult to see how any successful steps along the road of civilized enterprise can be taken by any European who sets out with, and

adheres to, a determination to employ only the services of men whom he knows to be, in the English sense of the words, free labourers.

The effects of Mr. Sunley's example are now, though perhaps long delayed, most apparent. Sugar plantations have become quite the rage among the fashionables of Johanna. The Sultan and his brothers are planters busily employed in the personal superintendence of their estates. The Sultan's plantation has machinery erected on it conducted by native labour, and produced last year nearly 200 tons of sugar, and he hopes considerably to increase this amount.

Coffee, too, is being grown in considerable quantities; Mr. Sunley estimates the present product of the island at about 25 tons annually. In short, an impetus has been given to the natural love of gain which is so marked in the natives of Johanna, and it promises to carry them on to a state of agricultural development such as does not at present exist between Aden and the Mauritius.

(Signed) CLEMENT L^d. HILL.

March 10, 1873.

No. 35.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

My Lord,

Mombasah, March 24, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter which I addressed to Dr. Kirk requesting him to take charge of and forward by the first safe opportunity to the Sultan of Johanna the letter and presents, of which a copy and list are inclosed.

I have thought it right to make these gifts to the Sultan of Johanna as a proof of the good feeling which exists between Her Majesty's Government and himself, and of our appreciation of the readiness with which he engaged to declare all future immigrants into his island free, as reported in my despatch of the 12th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 35.

Major Smith to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I AM directed by Sir B. Frere to place in your hands a selection of presents (of which a list is inclosed), which his Excellency requests that you will be kind enough to have forwarded with the accompanying letter to His Highness the Sultan of Johanna by the first safe available opportunity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. B. EUAN SMITH,
Private Secretary to Sir B. Frere.

Inclosure 2 in No. 35.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Johanna.

Your Highness,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Highness that I have left in the hands of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, to be forwarded to your Highness by the first available opportunity, a selection of presents, of which a list is inclosed, which I trust your Highness will accept as a token of the friendship which exists between your Highness and Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and of the satisfaction with which I have experienced your Highness' ready desire to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in the abolition of the Slave Trade.

I take this opportunity of saying how glad I shall always be to hear of your Highness' welfare and prosperity, which I trust may long continue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 35.

List of Presents.

For His Highness the Sultan of Johanna—

1 state chair, 1 writing table, 1 rifle in case, 1 aluminium revolver in case,
1 photographic album.

For Prince Mohammed, His Highness' Wazir—

Gilt belt and sword, silver snuff-box.

For the wife of His Highness, sister of Prince Mohammed—

1 shawl, 1 photograph of Queen in frame, 1 clock.

For the ladies, wives of Prince Mohammed—

3 shawls.

For the brothers of the Sultan—

A binocular each, No. 2.

Received as above.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

(Extract.)

Mombasah, March 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to submit the following précis of the negotiations with Seyyid Burgash, together with copies of all the correspondence that passed on the subject up to the 11th of February, the date of his final refusal.

On the 13th January, the day after my arrival at Zanzibar, I had the ceremonial interview with His Highness which was described in my despatch of the 14th January, and which was returned on the 14th by His Highness.

The Sultan had ordered a very commodious house, belonging to Luckmidass, the Banian farmer of the Customs, and situated close to His Highness' palace, to be prepared for the use of the Mission. I thought it better myself to remain on board the "Enchantress;" but I availed myself of the house for the use of the Rev. Mr. Badger, whose health had already begun to suffer from the great heat and confinement on board ship. He had been long personally intimate with His Highness before his accession; and it was convenient for all parties that he should be at hand, to translate and explain to His Highness all I had to communicate.

On the 14th January, Mr. Badger had an interview with the Sultan (Inclosure No. 1), and on the 15th and 16th there were the meetings of the Arab Chiefs and advisers of His Highness which are described in No. 2. On the 16th, in answer to two letters of Mr. Badger's, describing his further proceedings (Nos. 4 and 5), I wrote a letter (No. 3), expressing the views which I wished laid before His Highness. On the 17th I sent Mr. Badger a note (No. 6), in consequence of which he had an interview with His Highness, reported in Inclosure No. 7. Referring to what His Highness then said to Mr. Badger, I requested the latter to assure His Highness of my willingness to meet him or his Chiefs, to give any further explanations, or to listen to any arguments or alterations they might have to propose; adding that, though I would gladly discuss the matter with his Chiefs, we must look to His Highness for a decision, as Chief of the State.

On the 19th Mr. Badger received from the Sultan a note (No. 8), and I forwarded to him, for translation, a note (No. 9) in which I called on His Highness for some decision in the matter.

On the 21st, Mr. Badger had another long interview with His Highness (No. 10), and urged on the Sultan my previous arguments. I replied to this Report by a note (No. 11), wherein I explained certain points on which His Highness appeared not to be quite clear. No answer having been received from the Sultan to my letter of the 19th, Mr. Badger, on the 22nd and 24th, had interviews with His Highness' Wazir, Nasir bin Said (Nos. 12 and 13), in which he pressed on him the expediency of an answer being shortly forthcoming.

On the 24th I also received from Dr. Kirk a Report (No. 14) of a visit he paid to the Wazir.

On the 25th Mr. Badger again saw the Sultan (No. 15), and submitted to him a letter, saying I could not modify the terms of the Treaty.

On the 26th, Mr. Badger supplemented his Report of the previous evening's interview by some further remarks (No. 16).

On the 27th according to arrangement, I had a private interview with the Sultan at the Consulate. No. 17 is a note of what passed.

Mr. Badger met the Sultan finally on the 29th, and again urged him (No. 18), to give me a written answer. This arrived on the 31st (No. 19); and though its tenor showed the Sultan did not mean to accept the Treaty, yet I thought it best to give him one more chance of doing so, or at least to ascertain from him that he meant his letter as a clear and decided refusal. I accordingly had an interview with His Highness on the 1st of February, a note of which is appended (No. 20), and addressed him a letter (No. 21). No answer arrived to this letter before the 3rd of February, when I left Zanzibar to visit Pemba and Dar-es-Salaam, returning to Zanzibar on the 8th. I had requested Mr. Badger to let all communications with the Sultan during my absence be carried on through Dr. Kirk, as I considered that the Consul was, under the circumstances, the appropriate channel for any further communication with His Highness.

The inclosed Memoranda (Nos. 22, 23, and 24) will show Dr. Kirk's action during that time, and I would add that it met with my entire approval.

It will be remarked in them that the Sultan gave Dr. Kirk to understand that he would sign the Treaty if its operation were not immediate. On learning this, I at once told Dr. Kirk that if His Highness would write to me to that effect, I should be willing to negotiate with him on that basis. However, this did not appear to suit His Highness' views, and I was without any further communication from him till the 11th of February, when he at last, after constant pressure from Dr. Kirk, sent me the letter (No. 25), whose contents, as I have already informed your Lordship, were a point blank refusal to sign the Treaty proposed to him by Her Majesty's Government.

Voluminous as are the notes now forwarded, they give but an imperfect idea of the amount of argument brought to bear on His Highness with a view to induce him to concur in the principle of the Treaty proposed to him.

His Highness also invited a long discussion on the subject with Captain Frazer, the only English merchant at Zanzibar, an old acquaintance and much trusted for his outspoken frankness. Some of His Highness' remarks at all these interviews, as related to me, threw much light on his motives and on the reasons of the alterations which his views from time to time underwent.

I endeavoured, without much success, to find out what sort of aid, assistance, or palliative was hoped for by His Highness or his advisers as a possible compensation if they gave in to the demands of the British Government? It was clearly no pecuniary payment to the Sultan, for His Highness and his advisers intimated, at a very early stage of the discussions, that his acceptance of anything of the kind would be considered by his Chiefs as a sale of their rights, and that it would be regarded by them as an insult were we to offer anything of the kind to His Highness.

This precluded any direct use of the authority given me by your Lordship's instructions to promise that the British Government would take on themselves the liability for the Muscat subsidy if it would facilitate His Highness' acceptance of the draft Treaty. Such an offer, if made directly, would have been more likely to impede than to facilitate His Highness' acceptance of the Treaty. It was clearly understood, not only by His Highness, but by all his Chiefs, that exemption from the subsidy was a boon which we were prepared to offer in the event of his carrying out our views regarding the Slave Trade; but neither His Highness nor his Chiefs seemed to attach much value to such a promise of exemption. His Highness' own views regarding the subsidy I was unable, up to the date of my leaving Zanzibar, clearly to understand. He believed that payment would not, or could not, be enforced; but the grounds of his belief he gave me no opportunity of discussing, though invited by me, and repeatedly pressed to do so by the Consul.

The view of his Chiefs was, I imagine, that which one of them expressed in discussing the question. In reply to a remark that 40,000 dollars, the amount of the subsidy, was a large sum for the British Government to pay for Zanzibar, he observed, "But that is Seyyid Burgash's affair, not ours; he pays it, not we Arabs, and no one will be richer or poorer if it be paid or withheld, except the Seyyid himself."

I doubt whether any plan of compensation was ever seriously discussed; but among the plans talked about, I am told, were such as a general remission to Arabs of all the debts they owed to British subjects; the purchase, by the British Government, of all Zanzibar slaves, as, they were told, had been done in our West India Colonies; and various schemes for legalizing undisturbed slave-running to Zanzibar for a series of years, the period allowed for the prospective abolition of slavery in the Portuguese possessions

in Mozambique being a favourite illustration of what might be reasonable. But none of these schemes were ever formally put forward, nor, as far as I am aware, ever seriously discussed by His Highness or his advisers, who to the last avoided submitting any propositions of their own, having any reference to a complete stoppage of the trade by sea.

I have confined myself in this despatch to a simple narrative of the course of our negotiations. From what I have seen since I came to Africa, I much doubt whether, if His Highness had signed the Treaty at once, our labours would have been at all lessened; I believe we should still have had to do the entire work ourselves, and under some disadvantages, arising from the unreal and unsubstantial character of His Highness' support. I feel quite convinced that, now we clearly understand His Highness' views, we shall be not the less able effectually to put down the sea-borne Slave Trade, without infringing the just rights of any other Power; but I shall be better able to form an opinion upon this somewhat complicated question when I have seen all that it is possible for me to see of those coasts the inhabitants of which are concerned in the traffic, either as exporters or importers of slaves, or as furnishing, from among their own population, the supply of foreign slave-markets.

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

I WAS sent for by the Sultan a little before noon, and had a long conversation with him. He asked to know what our wishes were. To this I replied by giving him a translation of the draft Treaty, which I read over to him, and which I allowed him to retain. His remarks were to the following effect:—"You must know well how much Zanzibar has suffered in every respect by the recent hurricane; hundreds have been reduced to poverty, and it will require years to recover the losses. This, of itself, is a great blow to our prosperity; and now the prospect of being obliged to give up the supply of slave-labour, which we have hitherto drawn from the mainland, will absolutely ruin us—by us, I mean the owners of land, the employers of labour, merchants and tradesmen, to say nothing of the public Treasury." I combated some of these ideas as well as I could, but requested him to state them in writing, together with any suggestions which might occur to him to alleviate the alleged evils. This he promised to do at length, and said that he would submit them to me for my opinion before presenting them to Sir Bartle Frere. I replied that I would do as he wished in that respect; at the same time I should prefer that he laid all he wished to say before Sir Bartle, whose orders I should take, and convey to him respecting them. The Seyyid seemed much hurt by some reports, which he referred to Livingstone, about the existence of slavery and the Slave Trade near Unyamwesi. He solemnly declared that there was no such trade in that region, and that those poor creatures whom Livingstone took for slaves were probably beggars, or unfortunate creatures, such as might be found even in Europe.

On my remarking, in reply, that what took place at Unyamwesi did not concern him, and that, therefore, he need not heed Livingstone's criticism, he told me in reply that Unyamwesi was part of his territory, and that his flag was hoisted there.

I was surprised to find a large collection of Arabic books printed in Egypt in one of the recesses of his Durbar room, comprising biographies, histories, and grammars, besides some religious works. I found out, moreover, in conversation with him that he diligently reads other modern Arabic works on the comparative power, resources, military and naval strength of the different European States. He had come to the conclusion that the Viceroy of Egypt was a very wealthy Sovereign, and he listened attentively while I explained his position as Khedive towards the Sultan.

The Seyyid Burghâsh has greatly advanced in general knowledge since I saw him in 1861, and he seems delighted to acquire information on all topics, but especially on the relative powers and influence of the great European kingdoms.

I mention the subject, because such comparatively small matters exercise a favourable influence on Oriental Sovereigns, that the Seyyid Burghâsh expressed his high appreciation of the style in which the letters addressed to him from England had been translated and got up. He especially admired the caligraphy of the Arabic translation of Her Majesty's letter, and called it a work worthy to be preserved and copied.

January 14, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

Memorandum by Dr. Kirk.

LAST night (15th instant) there was a meeting at the palace, at which the relatives of the Sultan and his advisers were present. The letters delivered by the Envoy were all placed before them.

It was arranged thereon to call the Chiefs and heads of the various Arab families. I am told that the Chiefs of the Zanzibar families likely to attend are—

- Of the El-Harth—
1. Sultan-bin-Abdulla, El Barwani.
 2. Saeed-bin-Ali.
 3. Amr-Mohamad, El-Barwani.
 4. Salim-bin-Saeed.
 5. Selim-bin-Saeed.
 6. Ali-bin-Saeed.
 7. Saeed-bin-Salim.
 8. Ali-bin-Isa.

Maharama—Mohamad-bin-Sultan, El-Maharami.

El-Gurun—Hamed-bin-Muselim, El-Gurni.

Beni-Rusiha—Abdullah-bin-Ali, Er-Rueihi.

El-Khanajeva—Amer-bin-Ali, El-Khanjevi

Es-Sumriyat—Selim-bin-Ali, Es-Sumri.

El-Marboobe—Hashib-bin-Suelin, El-Marboobi.

El-Munathera—Mohamad-bin-Suleiman, El-Munathera.

Er-Rostakia, people of Rostak, not a tribe—Mohamad-bin-Abdulla, Es-Shugsi.

El Masakara—None here (Mesken).

El-Mazaria—None here (Mazrui).

9 A.M. The Harthi Chiefs and their relatives, about forty, have passed on their way to the palace to the Council, and I have requested the Sultan to put the draft Treaty before them at once.

Memorandum of men of influence near the Sultan :—

1. Seyd Suliman-bin-Hamed.
2. Seyd Ali-bin-Saood.
3. Seyd Hamed-bin-Suliman.
4. Seyd Naser-bin-Saeed.
5. Seyd Mohamad-bin-Hamed.

Brothers—Khalifah (under arrest; nothing can be given him or notice taken, although the eldest here present).

1. Seyd Hamed-bin-Saeed (late Saeed).
2. Seyd Ali-bin-Saeed (late Menin).
3. Seyd Salim-bin-Saeed (late Nasir).
4. Seyd Talib-bin-Saeed (late Abder-Roh).
5. Seyd Bedr-bin-Saeed (late Bedran).

Secretary—Mohamad Bakashmar.

January 16, 1873, 8 A.M.

Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

Summary of Note addressed by Sir B. Frere to the Rev. G. Badger.

IN a note dated Her Majesty's steam-yacht "Enchantress," 16th January, 1873, Sir Bartle Frere acknowledged Mr. Badger's report of his interview with the Sultan. We were well aware of His Highness' heavy losses in Zanzibar from the hurricane, &c., but did not think draining the lifeblood of the mainland would repair the ruin of the islands.

The English Government would do their best to obtain labour for the islands, by sending our freemen thither, if His Highness could satisfy us that they would be well treated.

If the new Treaty were refused the strict enforcement of the old would be still more onerous.

His Highness might be assured that if he accepted the draft Treaty it would be our object to maintain his power and augment his resources.

"As to his anger against Livingstone, His Highness is quite in error as to his writing of slave-hunting in Unyamwesi. The hunting-grounds are further on, so Livingstone says; but it matters little whence the slaves come. Yesterday, in sight of this ship, a dhow landed some forty slaves, some of them in the last stage of exhaustion, all that remained of nearly eighty shipped about three weeks ago; two were, I am told, left to die, as not worth paying duty on. Does His Highness really think that is the way to recruit the labour market of these islands? Whether they came from His Highness' dominions or not they are equally a curse to take into his lap, and any one who believes in an overruling Providence might wonder why a cyclone does not come annually.

Inclosure 4 in No. 36.

Report of a Second Interview between the Rev. G. Badger and the Sultan of Zanzibar, his two Wazirs, Násir-bin-Said and Muhammad Bakashmar, being present and taking part in the discussion.

THE Seyyid began by complaining of the hard conditions of the proposed Treaty, alleging that a worse time for its imposition could not have been chosen. "Why had they not been presented during the prosperous reigns of his father and brother?" The cultivation of the island had been so injured by the late hurricane that it would require along period and double the number of slaves to repair the damage; and yet he, who had only been in power two years, was called upon to stop the importation of slaves at once. In other cases, argued His Highness,—and he instanced Portugal,—some space was given for the abolition, whereas he was required to stop the importation forthwith. "Again," said the Sultan, "you import coolies from India into the Seychelles and Mauritius; what would be the consequence to those islands if such supplies were stopped at once?" To this I replied that the coolies left India of their own free will, and were not kidnapped from their homes and forced into slavery. Bakashmar then argued in favour of a gradual abolition, by saying that a man who accustomed himself to take small doses of poison became eventually proof against its deadly effects; but that if he took an overdose at once, he would endanger his life. "And is it just," said the Sultan, "I appeal to you as a God-fearing man, to impose such hard conditions upon us under our actual circumstances?" I fully admitted the hardship. "On the other hand," said I, "in reply to your solemn appeal, let me ask by what right do you impose tenfold greater hardships on the wretched slaves who are torn from their homes—wives from husbands, and children from parents—to alleviate your distress? Has not the Creator made all men of one blood, and given them all souls, which before Him are of equal value, as your own religion testifies; and if so, how can you consistently treat these Africans as if they were irrational animals?" "But the Korân," remarked the Sultan, "sanctions slavery." "Granted," I replied, "but it does not sanction the kind of slavery which you wish to perpetuate. The Korân found domestic slavery to be an ancient institution in the land, and it enacts many rules for the treatment of slaves which, if fully carried out, would virtually abolish most of the evils of slavery. But the Korân does more; by the very fact of its laws making it a pious and meritorious act to manumit slaves, it so far favours the abolition of slavery." This argument, which the Sultan was disposed to combat, was seconded by Muhammad Bakashmar, who admitted the meritoriousness of manumission when slaves were freed voluntarily and not under pressure. "But would the slaves be better off," said the Sultan, "if they were all freed? Can you say that they are not well fed, and generally humanely treated? Do not some of them actually come back of their own accord to Zanzibar, after they have returned to their own country?" I admitted, upon the almost unanimous testimony of well-informed foreigners, that the slaves at Zanzibar had little to complain of in the respects mentioned. I even went further, and allowed that they acquired at Zanzibar a certain degree of religious knowledge and civilization which raised them above their native condition; but all these benefits, I added, and others to boot, would be the result of their freedom, as was proved by the example of the negro adduced, who must have been freed, otherwise he could not have left Zanzibar, and would certainly not have returned thither.

Such is the brief summary of what passed on the occasion. The Sultan was moved almost to tears when he spoke of the consequences which he felt sure would result from the proposed Treaty. He expressed over and over again his most anxious wish to concede what Her Majesty's Government demanded, and asked me to relieve him from the dilemma of either sealing the doom of his country or incurring the displeasure of the English. I said all that I could to assure him that he had exaggerated his difficulties,

and that in this as in all other earthly matters time would bring their alleviation,—that things would right themselves at last under the guidance of the Divine Providence. I also pointed out to him the danger to which he would expose himself and his sovereignty by resisting the wishes of the British Government, which had hitherto been the firm friend of his dynasty; and, in conclusion, I urged him to accept the Treaty, ready acquiescence in which might secure for him certain advantages which would go a good way to mitigate the consequences which at present he feared and deplored.

I am bound to state that the Sultan and his Wazirs were most courteous, and even affectionate in their demeanour towards me, and on taking my leave His Highness told me that he would ponder over all that I had said, and give me a reply to-morrow.

Zanzibar, January 16, 1873, 9 P.M.

Inclosure 5 in No. 36.

The Rev. G. Badger to Sir B. Frere.

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, January 16, 1873, 2 P.M.

THE Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed, has just called, bringing with him a letter from the Sultan, of which the following is a translation:—

“What we wish to explain to his Excellency our beloved friend Sir Bartle Frere, the Envoy of the exalted (British) Government. Your Excellency must be aware of our present condition, owing to the late hurricane, of the ruin of the trees, the plantation of years. All our people have become as a sick man full of pains, and requiring a skilful physician to treat him with gentle medicines until his disease is cured. But this which the (British) Government requires of us is a grave matter which we are unable to bear, for we are poor, and we have nothing but agriculture to depend upon, and this agriculture cannot be carried on except by slaves, and their importation to us to keep up the islands. Had your demand been light, we should have been delighted to consent to it at once out of respect for the (British) Government. This is the exposition of our state. Salam.”

To the above I wrote a reply, of which the following is a translation, and sent it by the Wazir:—

“(After compliments.)

“Your Highness’ letter has come to hand, and, seeing that I had informed his Excellency the Envoy of your communication yesterday, and had received his reply to the same, I am able to answer your present note. The summary of his Excellency’s reply is to this effect:—That there must be no hesitation about the new Treaty, since if you refuse to accept the same there will remain nothing for him to do but to return to England, where ships will be prepared to carry out the old Treaty in its entirety, which will result in greater evils than those which you allude to. But if you accept the new Treaty, then discussion may be becoming regarding the losses which the island has sustained, and regarding the importation of agriculturists from the mainland for its cultivation; also respecting any measures which may conduce to lighten your difficulties and those of your people: for Sir Bartle Frere is intensely desirous to support your Government and to promote your prosperity. This, in brief, is what I am authorized to say by the Envoy, and my loving advice to you is that you accept the Treaty, and, God willing, some arrangements may be made afterwards to assuage your embarrassments.

“(Signed) GEORGE P. BADGER.

“16th January, 1873 (16th Dhul Kaadah, 1289).”

The Wazir gave me to understand that the Seyyid wished a reply in writing in order to lay it before his advisers. I trust that the above will meet your approval. I may add that, by way of encouragement, I gave the Wazir some idea of the remarks which you made about Unyamwesi, &c.

An hour subsequently the Wazir returned with the message that the Sultan wished his note to be submitted to you. I told him in reply, adducing your note as proof of the same, that you had been fully informed by me of what the Seyyid had written, and that, in fact, I had dilated to you on his expressed difficulties more largely than His Highness had done in his note. I have sent another friendly message to His Highness urging him to accept the Treaty, and to trust to the generosity of the British Government to do all in its power to alleviate his difficulties.

Inclosure 6 in No. 36.

Extracts from Sir B. Frere's reply, dated January 17, 1873, to Mr. Badger's Memorandum of 16th instant.

I HAVE always said that I would gladly undertake that Government should aid His Highness in any plan of free immigration, provided he issues such firman as shall secure the immigrants against being enslaved and transported, and we cannot, I think, make our willingness in this respect too plain to His Highness.

I see no difficulty as to details: the immigration might be exclusively in the Sultan's own vessels—steamers if you like, and from a limited number of ports; and an English Consular officer might always be present to certify that every negro on coming on board was duly registered, furnished with a certificate of freedom under His Highness' and the Consular seal, and his position and rights fully explained to him in his own language before the steamer sails.

But then we must have a firman from His Highness defining what their position will be when they get here, to which our Consul and the immigrants can appeal as containing their Magna Charta.

The firman might provide that, from some future date all children born in Zanzibar and all new-comers should be free; and might also provide for the future power of redemption by persons now in slavery. Dr. Christie says they have now some right of the kind. There are now many ways of doing the thing if the Sultan will agree to do it somehow.

I am content to wait as long as His Highness likes, and if he wishes, to go away and come back again so as to give him ample time. But I doubt whether he will like it any better a month hence than he does now.

Altogether, if I were Wazir, I should advise His Highness to strike whilst the iron is hot, and get all the help he can from England whilst England is prepared to give it; otherwise I fear he may find "Enchantress" has brought him leaves from the Sybil.

I have drafted a reply to His Highness' letter, which I shall be much obliged if you will translate. It is a little more than you have told him; but it should go in writing, so that he can think over it, and show it to his people if he likes. Perhaps before it goes it may be well to let him know, if he likes, what its purport is likely to be.

 Inclosure 7 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

Zanzibar, January 17, 1873, 8 P.M.

THE latitude which your note of the 17th allowed respecting the presentation of your letter to the Sultan led me to try to see His Highness again prior to delivering it. (In any case the translation and transcription of the letter will occupy me a couple of days.) I accordingly sent a message to the Sultan at 5 P.M. by Colonel Pelly's servant, soliciting an interview. He sent back word that he was very much engaged, and begged me to write what I had to say. The Wazir came in while I was writing a note, of which the following is a translation:—

"(After compliments.)

"I especially asked an interview with your Highness in order, if possible to render unnecessary the delivery to you of a letter which I have this day received for you from Sir Bartle Frere. But do as you please. If you wish, I will come to you; but if you prefer it, I will prepare and send you the letter referred to.

(Signed) "GEORGE PERCY BADGER."

The Wazir had been sent to say that the Seyyid was very busy preparing letters for the mail, but would see me to-morrow at 10 o'clock, and that he wished to see the letter also. I requested him to tell the Seyyid, upon my own responsibility, that his yielding to your demands without reading the letter would be one thing and his concession afterwards another.

I then begged the Wazir to set before the Seyyid the great risk which he ran of incurring the displeasure of the English by fruitless opposition, and urged him to induce His Highness to send me a few lines in confidence, if he could do so conscientiously, expressive of his sincere hope, at least, that this matter would be speedily arranged to your satisfaction.

9 P.M.—The Sultan sent a messenger for me an hour ago. I found him with his two Wazirs and one of his principal Arabs. I explained to him that my retention of your letter was to give him an opportunity of conceding the demands of our Government without even the pressure contained in your remarks. He did not plead for delay, but he pleaded the absolute ruin which would befall his people, and he, for the first time, expressed a fear that his life would be in danger if he conceded your demands. "Of course," he said, "the exalted (British) Government is strong and we are weak, and it can do with us what it pleases." I asked him to give me a straightforward reply. He answered that he dared not do so; he had had two gatherings of the Chiefs yesterday and their verdict was a flat refusal. As an alternative, and in the hope that he might be better able to overcome the opposition of the Arab magnates, he suggested that you should meet them either on Sunday or Monday next at the palace, when I could translate to them the substance of your letter received to-day, and you yourself might address them on the question. I shall await your decision on this proposition.

Inclosure 8 in No. 36.

Memorandum by the Rev. G. Badger, containing the Reply of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, January 19, 1873, 3.15 P.M.

THE following is the translation of a note which I have just received from His Highness:—

"In the name of God, the Pitiful, the Compassionate.

"What we wish to make known to our beloved friend, Mr. Badger. May God, as I hope, increase his renown.

"To-day some of the Arabs waited upon me, and I acquainted them with what the (British) Government required of us. They replied unanimously, as on a former occasion, that they could not take away their lives with their own hands. I represented to them that the ships of the (British) Government, should they arrive, would cause us still greater damage, such as we could not bear. They replied, 'We respect the (British) Government too much to believe that they would resort to force and plunder unjustly; and we hold by God and the old Treaty.' This was the decisive view of all. Salâm."

The note is just what I expected at present. Let us hope that the consideration placed before the Chiefs by the Sultan will not be without effect. Having the translation of your letter to His Highness prepared, I sent it by his own messenger. If he can deal with the Chiefs himself, without our intervention, unless we are specially called upon to interfere, so much the better. We must regard and treat him as the head and representative of his people.

Inclosure 9 in No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.) 20th Dhil Kaadah, A.H. 1289 (January 18, 1873).

I LEARN from your friend Mr. Badger that he has delivered to your Highness the substance of the Treaty which I have been instructed by Her Majesty's Government to invite your Highness to enter into with a view to the entire stoppage of the Slave Trade by sea, the closing of all public slave markets and other matters.

I have received the reply with which your Highness has honoured me and its contents have been fully understood.

I have also been made aware of your Highness' wish that the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government should be explained in the presence of your Chiefs and Elders convened.

Nothing could be more consonant with my wish than clearly to explain to your Highness and to all interested in the prosperity of your Highness' dominions, the views of Her Majesty's Government in respect to the Slave Trade, and accordingly I have instructed Mr. Badger to wait on your Highness for this purpose at any time most convenient to you.

But as regards the contents of your Highness' reply above referred to, I must take exception to your Highness' conclusion that agriculture must necessarily suffer if fresh

slaves be not continually imported. On this point I would ask your Highness to consider the facts well-known to you in countries around you.

Not to dwell on the case of Egypt, where all agriculture is carried on by "fellaheen," who are not slaves, or of Aden, whither Africans flock in great numbers to earn wages by labour because there is no slavery, or the Cape Colony and Natal, and many other places on the African coast where slavery once existed, but where agriculture is now carried on by free labourers, I would ask your Highness attentively to consider the case of the Seychelles, Mauritius, and many other islands not far off, which are more like Zanzibar in being entirely dependent on the labour of negroes or other natives of hot countries, and where all such labour has now been for many years free. What is needed from abroad is there freely imported. This cannot be done here, because free negroes coming would be liable to be seized, sold, and carried beyond your Highness' dominions; but if the transit of slaves by sea be effectually stopped and free immigrants assured of good treatment and freedom in the Islands it would be easy to arrange for their importation. All this rests in your Highness' own hands and can be done by your own orders, wherefore I cannot admit your Highness' conclusion that agriculture must suffer in Zanzibar if the importation of slaves be stopped. Nevertheless, I solicit the favour of your Highness intimating to me whether I am correct in supposing that your Highness' objections to the proposed Treaty are purely financial.

Your Highness compares the state of Zanzibar to a sick man requiring a skilful physician and gentle medicines. I admit the justice of the comparison, and if I can aid your Highness in discovering and applying the medicine I shall best fulfil the intentions of Her Majesty's Government.

But it seems to Her Majesty's Government that to continue the importation of slaves is to administer to the sick man more of the poison which has made him sick, and that its administration must be stopped before any remedies, however salutary, can be applied.

I beg further to submit another consideration to your Highness' notice. It is indisputable that the Treaty of 1845 has been broken even from the time that it was made. Therein the late Seyyid Saïd engaged to "prohibit, under the severest penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions." But your Highness is well aware not only that slaves have been freely exported by thousands from those dominions every year since the date of the Treaty referred to, but that such exportation has been connived at and prompted by the officers of your Highness, and that a large revenue has been annually paid into the Zanzibar Treasury in consequence of the constant infraction of that Treaty. This fact being undeniable Her Majesty's Government would be fully justified in denouncing that Treaty on account of its constant infraction by your Highness' officials.

But, further, your Highness must be well aware, from the experience of the few years in which active exertions have been made by officers of Her Britannic Majesty's Royal Navy, that it is quite possible seriously to cripple the export trade in slaves, even with the very small squadron which has been employed on this service, and that there can be no doubt that Her Majesty's Government has the power, with an augmented force, to prevent it altogether. But such a plan could not be forcibly carried out without serious detriment to the legitimate port-to-port trade in your Highness' dominions. Such injury can only be avoided by your Highness accepting the arrangement set forth in the Draft Treaty furnished to you by Mr. Badger.

On this subject generally let me earnestly beg your Highness' serious attention to the concluding sentence of the letter from Earl Granville, Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, which runs thus: "Should your Highness, as Her Majesty's Government confidently trust you will, join with them frankly and cordially in carrying out efficient measures for putting an end to the export of slaves from your dominions, your Highness may reckon upon the friendship and support of this country and of the Government of India; but should your Highness, on the other hand, decline the terms which will be submitted to you by Her Majesty's Envoy, your Highness may be assured that, however much Her Majesty's Government may regret your decision, the objects which they have in view will none the less be pursued."

Such is the decision of the British Government, of which I am unable to waive any part; but as an old friend and as a sincere well-wisher of your Highness' prosperity and of the prosperity of the Zanzibar dominions, I advise your Highness to accept the same, since by doing so you will best secure the permanent friendship of the British Government, and promote in every way the welfare of your Highness and your dominions. This is what I have to say; and may you ever be preserved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 10 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 21, 1873.

EARLY this morning I sent a message to the Sultan requesting an interview with him. My principal object was to give him to understand personally, what I had explained to his messenger at the time, that his note to me of Sunday last (viz., January 19) could not be regarded as a reply to your letter forwarded to him immediately after. As His Highness was reported to be asleep, at 11 o'clock I repeated my request for an interview, and His Highness appointed 4 P.M. for that purpose.

Accordingly, at the hour fixed, I waited upon the Sultan at the palace. At first only the two Wazirs were present with His Highness, but subsequently were joined by the old Wazir, Suleiman-bin-Hamed, who still appears to exercise some influence, and two other Arab officials. I explained to the Sultan in the first place—following your instructions—that you did not wish to hurry him to a decision. Secondly, that if by yielding to the demands of Her Majesty's Government he apprehended any personal risk, or that an attempt would be made to subvert his authority—which we trusted was not the case—he might rely upon our support, and it was only for him to indicate in what shape the support should be given. On this point I am glad to say that, notwithstanding what His Highness said on a former occasion, he freely owned to having no such fear. Thirdly, I pointed out to him that, although you had no objection to his taking the Arab chiefs into his counsel on the subject of your demands, and had assented, at his own suggestion, to my discussing the matter with them in his presence, if he thought fit, nevertheless, seeing that we recognize His Highness as the head of the State, our ultimate dealings must be through him, and him alone.

His Highness commenced by saying that his acquiescence in those demands would entail the absolute ruin of the island and its inhabitants. I combatted this view by adducing the example of the Seychelles and Mauritius, as set forth in your letter to him, and I added the example of Oman, where there was no lack of native agriculturists, nevertheless thousands of free Belooches resorted thither every year to work, and returned home with the fruit of their labour. To his insistence on his own view of the case I again pointedly asked His Highness and those present with him, whether it was just that the disasters of Zanzibar should be repaired by the cruelties attending the importation of slaves; "Or," said I, "what would you think if a foreign Power, occupying an island contiguous to your own, were to come over here and kidnap, not your slaves, but your wives and children to cultivate their lands as slaves?" This argument appeared to tell on the listeners: but the certain ruin of the island, if the supply of slaves was cut off, was repeated again and again in different forms. I then adduced His Highness' own argument, which he informed us he had used with the Arab chiefs, namely, that his non-compliance with the demands of the British Government would probably entail even greater evils, and I urged him and those present to yield at once, and to trust to Her Majesty's Government to co-operate with him in alleviating the distress which he apprehended.

His Highness then appealed to me to use my efforts on his behalf to mitigate the demands of the Government, and to plead with you in the same sense. Thereupon I assured him in the most solemn manner that I was quite powerless in the matter, and that even you, as you yourself had told him, could not wave one jot of the demands. All that you could do—and I assured him of your readiness to do it—would be to represent his case to Her Majesty's Government and to aid him, in any practicable way, to insure the prosperity of the island and of His Highness' dominions generally.

I then urged His Highness' advisers present to join with me in counselling him to yield, pointing out to them the responsibility which they incurred by following a different course, that it must be clear to them—and they all frankly admitted it—that continued resistance was not only futile, but fraught with danger, whereas by a ready concession they might rest assured of the firm support of Her Majesty, of Her Majesty's Government, and of the British people.

I think that a favourable impression was made, and, on my rising to take leave, His Highness promised to ponder over what had been said, and to send you a reply as soon as possible. My parting kindly injunction to him was to avoid further useless arguments, and to come to the gist of the matter at once. To the expression of my sincere regret that I had come upon this Mission, seeing that my advice as an old friend was not listened to, His Highness and all present declared unanimously that it was by God's kind providence that you and I had been sent to them on this matter.

Inclosure 11 in No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to the Rev. G. Badger.

January 21, 1873.

(Extract.)

HIS Highness appears to be under a misapprehension on some most important points, regarding which I think we might at once enlighten him.

His Highness seems to think, that if he finally decides to reject the Draft Treaty, he will be able to revert to the old system of unlimited permission of all imports and transports of slaves within certain limits of latitude, &c. Such, however, is not the case. The permission so accorded has been notoriously abused, and whilst it lasts must be better guarded in future, after pointing out the possibility of the Treaty of 1845 being denounced by Her Majesty's Government on hearing of His Highness' refusal of the new Treaty,

I shall request the Admiral commanding the station to take steps, from a notified period, to establish a strict and permanent supervision of all transit of slaves between any two points on the high seas, and to detain all slaves in transit under His Highness' or the English flag, till it has been ascertained whether they are really destined for His Highness' dominions, and that His Highness can give sufficient assurance that they shall not be sold away from those dominions. Every slave so captured will be examined, and none will be permitted to be landed in His Highness' dominions unless they appear clearly to be adult working slaves, the lawful property of His Highness or his subjects, other than notorious slave dealers. Such adult slaves, with their own children, will be then permitted to proceed to their destination, only on His Highness giving, in writing, an acknowledgment of them by name and number, and undertaking that they shall be kept in His Highness' dominions, and shall not be sold away therefrom.

All slaves who, on examination, may appear to have been kidnapped or sold otherwise than by parents or lawful owners shall be at once set free; and all aiding or abetting in the detention of the kidnapped person will be proceeded against under the general Laws recognized by all European and civilized nations, as applicable to acts of violence on the high seas.

Adults so set free will be furnished with certificates of freedom, and landed in the territory of some native Chief who may engage to protect them as freed men whilst they stay in his dominions, and to permit them to go whithersoever they list.

Children who cannot be returned to their parents will be protected till able to earn their own subsistence.

I shall immediately, in concert with the Admiral, proceed to examine the coast, with a view to find some chiefs in whose territories the liberated slaves can be securely placed, and where all captures can be landed pending inquiry.

Of course, if Her Majesty's Government decide to declare the Treaty at an end, all slaves captured will be sent to such free colony, and none will be allowed to come to Zanzibar.

This is, of course, subject to all Treaty rights of foreign Powers to have vessels under their flags made over to them for adjudication; but the unrestricted transit to Zanzibar by the high seas will not the less be pretty effectually stopped.

His Highness will see, that in neither case, can his desire to secure slave labour for his islands be attained. The transit must, practically, be stopped, whilst he will lose all the advantages he might now secure by aiding us in our object.

If you think the time has come for explaining this to His Highness, it might be well to do so in brief, promising him to let him have it in full and in writing if he wishes hereafter.

Unless His Highness is prepared to accept the Draft Treaty, I think it would be well that we should have another interview before His Highness sends any written refusal.

If he is prepared to accept the Treaty, our interview, after signing the Treaty, would have a much more pleasant object, viz., to see what can be done to ease off the pressure of the new order of things.

Inclosure 12 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 22, 1873, 8 P.M.

I HAVE just received a visit from the Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed, who was sent by the Sultan to inquire after my health. I took advantage of the opportunity to entrust him

with the message to His Highness that, whether he accepted our proposals or not, the British Government were determined to put a stop to the transport of slaves by sea; and that he must not entertain any hope whatever of a continued supply of slave labour for the island. Thereupon the Wazir dilated, on his own responsibility, upon the serious losses which the arbitrary proceedings of the cruisers and their boats had entailed upon the Sultan and his people. He adduced several instances in point, which of course I could neither credit nor controvert.

I then intimated to the Wazir that it would form a part of your Mission, after the draft of Treaty had been accepted by His Highness, to concert measures, in communication with him, whereby any of the evils alleged should be remedied, and other arrangements made to alleviate, as far as possible, any detriment which might arise either to His Highness or to his people by his acquiescence in the demands of Her Majesty's Government.

On my urging the Wazir to use his influence with the Sultan to induce him to accept the conditions submitted to him, he replied that the subject was one which required delicate handling on the part of His Highness, and that we must not expect to receive a reply before the expiration of a couple of days.

Inclosure 13 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 24, 1873, 6.30 P.M.

I SENT to request the Wazir Nasir-bin-Saeed to pay me a visit. He has just been with me, and I have urged him to press the Sultan to a favourable decision without further delay. He said that His Highness regarded accepting our conditions as tantamount to taking his life with his own hands, and that of course he hesitated to do. I combated this notion, and asked him to second me by assuring the Sultan that every proper facility would be accorded for the immigration of free labourers, and that wherever there was a demand for such labour the supply would certainly be forthcoming in time, especially if the immigrants were well treated. "But, admitting for argument's sake," I added, "what His Highness states, will his refusal better his prospects?" As the Wazir admitted that it would not, I pointed out that that consideration alone was a sufficient reason for his acquiescence in our demands. To the Wazir's plea that His Highness must consult his people far and near, I replied that he had most probably made up his mind what to do, and the sooner he acquainted you with this resolve the better. Were his chiefs to blame him for concession, was there not every chance that hereafter, when the screw was put on, which it certainly would be, that they would turn round and blame him for having refused to accept our conditions? That Her Britannic Majesty's Government would not have selected a personage of your standing for its envoy had it not fully decided on the course which it intended should be taken; and that, inasmuch as the principal foreign Powers had expressed their approval of your Mission, the Sultan, in the event of non-acquiescence, would meet with their disapprobation and with the certain cessation of the friendship which had hitherto existed betwixt the Sovereign of Zanzibar and the British. I then reiterated my former advice to the Sultan not to trust to the hope of obtaining any more slaves from the mainland; that the restrictions enforced during the first four months of the year would be continued; and that, whereas he and his people might be accorded a short respite if His Highness accepted our conditions, no such respite would be granted if he refused them. The Wazir promised to report all that I had said to the Sultan, and then suddenly asked whether you were about to leave for the mainland in the flag-ship. I told him that I had not heard of any such arrangement; all that I knew was that it had always been your intention, before finally leaving Zanzibar, to visit different places on the coast. "I should like very much to accompany you," said the Wazir. To which I replied that, in the event of the signature of the Treaty, I felt sure that you would be very glad to have the company of His Highness, or of any one deputed by him, as your object in that case would be to concert measures for the benefit of the island, in which you would be delighted to act in unison with His Highness. The Wazir appear gratified with this assurance, and, in taking leave, again told me that he would not fail to convey all that I had said to the Sultan.

Inclosure 14 in No. 36.

Dr. Kirk to Major Smith.

(Extract.)

January 24, 1873.

I HAVE just come from the Wazir. He said—"How blind we were, when you came with terms that allowed us all the slaves we need, not to close with you." He continued—"Now, is there no means of going back to those terms?" I replied, none whatever. He sounded me in different ways, always to see if there was not a hope of terms. The impression left in my mind was—1st. That the pressure from the outside Arabs is gone, and all left in the Sultan's hands. 2nd. That the Sultan and his Council until now have not understood that modification of what has been asked is utterly out of the question; and, even now, they hardly believe we will carry out our proposal to the bitter end if they refuse. I backed up all Mr. Badger's arguments, and with some effect.

Inclosure 15 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 25, 1873.

DR. KIRK called upon me after his interview with the Sultan to-day, and we agreed that it would be desirable to give His Highness a written note, which he might show to the assembled chiefs to-morrow, telling him plainly that no compromise could be accepted by you. The following is the translation of the note:—

"(After compliments.)

"Having been led to understand from the tenor of a conversation which I had with your Highness' Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed, last evening, and also from what passed between you and the Consul Kirk to-day, that your Highness still trusts that some modification of the demands made in the proposed new Treaty, or that some middle course may be proposed to you, his Excellency the Envoy has instructed me to assure you, before your next meeting with the chiefs, that, acting upon the orders which he has received from the Exalted Government, he cannot agree to any such compromise; therefore your option lies exclusively between acceptance and refusal, and, as your sincere friend, I beseech you to elect the former, which will be better for you and your people in every respect; whereas refusal on your part will bring upon you great troubles, and deprive you of the friendship which has hitherto existed between you and the British Government. So much from—

(Signed)

"GEORGE P. BADGER.

"January 25, 1873 (26th Dhil Kaadah, 1289)."

The Sultan had sent to say that he would pay me a visit, and before I had completed the translation of the above into Arabic, he came accompanied by his Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed.

Inclosure 16 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 26, 1873.

I FORGOT to mention one remark made by the Sultan, in the report of my interview with him last evening. He said, in deprecation of the conditions in the draft Treaty, "What is to become of the ivory which has already been ordered, and of the slaves who are coming or to come with it, on the faith of the old Treaty? Just fancy what a fearful loss the stoppage of those consignments will entail upon all concerned." Thereupon I pointed out to him that the date to be fixed for the operation of the new rules had been left blank by Her Majesty's Government; that therefore you had some discretion in that particular. "In that respect," I remarked, "you will have a privilege, if you accept the new Treaty, which certainly will not be accorded you in the event of your refusing it. Your Highness is at perfect liberty to discuss that matter with Sir Bartle, who I am sure will allow time for the expiry of all existing legal contracts, and take into his best consideration any valid arguments which you may adduce for a little further respite to cover accident," &c. Of course I studiously avoided naming any terms being

allowed but the prospect of some term being allowed was evidently a great relief to His Highness, and I doubt not that he will adduce it to his Chiefs and others as an alleviation of the terms proposed in the new Treaty.

Inclosure 17 in No. 36.

Note of what passed at a Meeting between the Sultan and Sir B. Frere on the 27th January, 1873.

ON the morning of the 27th, at the Sultan's own request, I met him privately at the British Consulate. After a few remarks of a general nature had passed, His Highness said that he had requested this interview to talk over the terms of the Treaty. He said that the Arabs were at this time ruined and without a dollar in their houses, as I could see with my own eyes if I would ride through the island which had been devastated by the hurricane. That he was sure that Government did not know this fully or it would not have chosen this moment to insist on the sudden abolition of the only means which the Arabs could command of procuring labour to remedy their disasters. That I was an old and trusted servant of Her Majesty's Government, and that I ought to give the weight of my observation and experience to impress on Her Majesty's Government the extent of the ruin which had overtaken the island and the necessity of some mitigation of the terms demanded and delay in carrying them out. I replied that your Lordship had passed the whole of your official life in the study of foreign politics and especially of this question. That you had been informed in the fullest possible manner, not only by Dr. Kirk but by private individuals, of the actual state of the island, and that, knowing all this, you and Her Majesty's Government were still firmly convinced that the effect of the measures proposed would not be otherwise than beneficial to His Highness and his dominions. His Highness then inquired how the supply of labour was to be kept up if the export of slaves were put an end to, saying that in four years' time those now on the island would have disappeared through deaths, kidnapping, &c. To this I replied by pointing out to him the instance of Kurrachee, a bare sandy plain, where free labourers for all and every variety of work were induced to come by liberal payment, from Muscat, Mekran, the people of which he knew, and many other places, even from China. On this His Highness said, "Yes, but our Arabs will now have no means of paying them owing to their recent losses, and trade is so dull they will not soon recover those losses." I pointed out that the present commercial dead-lock was owing to the fear his subjects felt that His Highness would not agree to our proposals, or, at least, to the uncertainty which existed on that head.

His Highness hereupon dropped this point, and said that he required something to tell his Arab councillors as the result of his interview, and asked what we would do to carry out the promises of aid which we had given him should he accede to our wishes, for that at present they were blindfolded in that respect. I replied that he must first tell us whether he was with us or against us in our desire entirely to stop the export of slaves from Africa, and the best way of assuring us in that point was to do what we desired by signing the Treaty, and then I could discuss with him as to how we could best help him; that the Treaty which I was commissioned to negotiate was definite, and that the only point on which I had any discretion was the date of commencement of some of its provisions. His Highness now reverted to the losses caused by the hurricane, whereon I told him that it was too late to discuss them, that I was here to carry out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, and that I was quite assured if he rejected the present offers he would hereafter repent his rejection as a far greater calamity to his dominions than any hurricane. Seyyid Burghash replied, "Your hand is most powerful, and we cannot resist." I said that we did not wish to carry our Treaty by force. "Then why destroy us, as we are assured you will by insisting on your Treaty?" "The Arabs," he continued, "were a poor people, and trusted in the honour of England, whom they could not resist."

I then pointed out to His Highness that this was no new thing that was asked of him; that he and his predecessors had over and over again been urged to take steps in the sense indicated by the Treaty, and had been told that the consequence of refusal would be our insistence on the total abolition of Slave Trade. Here His Highness broke in with some warmth. "When," he said, "have I ever broken the Treaty? Have not I always to the best of my power and with the freest will always aided Her Majesty's Consul in carrying out any measures against any of my subjects? Have not my soldiers aken slaves by force from the houses of their masters? Have not I suffered in silence

the outrages of your cruisers, even the burning before my very eyes of my own dhows uncondemned and innocent, as happened to one brought from Dar-es-Salaam? How can I do more? I cannot with the force at my command prevent thieves and kidnappers carrying on their trade."

It was, I replied, to stop these things of which he complained that I had come, and to give security to his kingdom. "Then why not stop the northern Arabs coming here? I do not want them, they are no good to me; let your authorities in Persia and Bombay put them down, if you wish to aid me."

His Highness, who had spoken with much vehemence, here called for a glass of water, and I took the opportunity to point out to him that as by his religion the use of intoxicating liquors was forbidden, since their abuse led to crime and ruin, so in this matter of Slave Trade it should be put down entirely, as its partial continuance led to excess, and thereby to the ruin and disasters of his country. His Highness replied, "We are in your hands; if you persist, all the Arabs will die, and die through your instrumentality, and I do not wish it so; for if 200 people were shut up in a house, and no food brought, will they not die?" I told His Highness that, if ever I met him again after I left Zanzibar, as I hoped to do if ever he carried out his intended journey to Jerusalem and prolonged it to Europe, I was sure that he would then thank Her Majesty's Government for what they had done, though now their measures might seem harsh to him. I said, "Aid will come to your Highness if you accede to our wishes, and our Government will help you, but that Government has spoken, and its word is now final; it is not in my power to alter its decision save in the one point of extending the date when the Treaty should commence." He asked if this would be for years. I said "Most certainly not." "But," said the Sultan, "you allow Portugal fifteen years to put an end to slavery, and I hope I may consider our welfare as almost dearer, and ourselves as a little nearer to you than Portugal." When I had convinced him, through Dr. Kirk, of his error in this comparison with Portugal, His Highness returned to the subject of the extent to which our demands had been stretched. "Twice," he said, "did you raise your demands in Seyyid Said's time; again in Seyyid Majid's time did you do the same; now this fourth time have you come to me, Burghash, with still more crushing exactions, and if I grant this, God only knows what the fifth demand may be." (Referring, probably, to the abolition of the status of slavery in the island.) "How do I know this is final, is there nothing beyond?"

I then said that, as I had over and over again assured him, the Treaty was the one sole imperative object of my Mission, beyond which I had no intention to demand anything. That what subsequent measures might be discussed, would depend on His Highness' own wishes and suggestions; and told His Highness that if he would give me his word of honour that the answer should be favourable, I was prepared to take on myself the responsibility of granting the continuance of the present state of affairs till the 31st of December of this year. Hereupon he excitedly addressed Dr. Kirk, and said we had come when the island was ruined; that the time offered was of no use, and that he could not do now what at a time of ordinary prosperity he would readily have done. I replied, as I had replied before, that I could not now consider that; that if he did not accept our terms, England would take steps which would annihilate his Slave Trade, and with it unavoidably deeply injure his legitimate commerce. Here he again referred to the ruined state of the island, and all connected with it. I resumed that matters were now at a crisis; that his choice lay between acceptance or refusal of the terms which Her Majesty's Government had, through me, submitted to him. The Sultan answered—"It is good; I asked for this interview to assure myself if there was no middle course open to me, which you might have yet kept back. I do not want you to go back to England unsuccessful through my acts; but in your success lies my ruin. A spear is held at each of my eyes, with which shall I choose to be pierced? Either way, it is fatal to me." I again denied this, and said that I had no alternative beyond those I had already mentioned. He said that were the slaves at Dar-es-Salaam, or some other sea-coast town, the matter might be different; but with none there, and so short a time in which to get them down, no supply could possibly be obtained. I emphatically repeated my assurance that I could do no more; that so sure as the sun shone above, so sure was it that England could and would put down the Slave Trade. His Highness said, "Do what you like, we will never give up your friendship. We could submit to be cut in bits by degrees for your sake; but you come by the right of the stronger to cut off at once the life and the head of the weaker. I have troubled you much, and kept you long; but, please God, you shall have a favourable answer." I pressed him to tell me when I might expect it; but he answered, "Give us yet a little time; we are a poor and but a narrow-minded people, and require time to see our way."

Thus ended an interview of nearly two hours' duration, which I have thought it well to summarize at this length, as it shows the difficulties which have to be contended with in dealing with this Prince. He came evidently hoping that there was some alleviation in the terms which might be granted to him, in spite of the earnest assurances to the contrary which have been frequently reiterated to him by Dr. Kirk and Mr. Badger on my behalf.

His Highness on this occasion was unattended by any of his own Ministers. Dr. Kirk, at His Highness' request, was attended by the Interpreter to the Consulate. Mr. Hill, Secretary to the Mission, and Major Evan Smith accompanied me; and I had the aid of the Rev. G. P. Badger, for which, invaluable at all times, I felt on this occasion the more obliged, as Mr. Badger was suffering severely from gout, and was unable to walk without severe pain.

Inclosure 18 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

I SENT word to the Sultan after you left that I wished to see him. He sent a written message in reply asking me to go to him at once. I found with him old Suleiman-bin-Hamed, his two Wazirs, and another official, who together seem to form his private council. I delivered the memorandum, which was as follows:—

“His Excellency the Envoy directs me to inform your Highness that his vessel will be shortly ready for sea, and that he therefore wishes to have an answer to the communications already made to you, inasmuch as there are other matters which he is charged to discuss with your Highness before his departure.

(Signed)

“GEORGE PERCY BADGER.

“30th Dhil-Kaadah, 1289 (January 29, 1873).”

After reading the memorandum the Sultan remarked: “I am answering the communications,” meaning that he was preparing a detailed reply. I questioned whether he could urge any fresh arguments against signing the Treaty, and that, therefore, further procrastination was useless. To which he answered:—“This is a very grave matter indeed to me and my people, and I should not be doing my duty were I not to deliberate fully and to advocate their cause and my own; but if you want to force me to sign the Treaty, let the Envoy send me a few lines saying that Her Majesty the Queen imperatively orders me to sign it and I will do so.” I explained to His Highness that what I meant was, that a bare repetition of what he had already urged was useless, unless he also specified distinctly what his objections or difficulties were to signing the Treaty. “Objections,” he said, “we have none, for as I told Sir Bartle Frere the other day, the Arabs are ready to be cut up piecemeal by the English, but hesitate to be killed outright.” I told him to put metaphor aside and to speak out plainly. He answered: “I mentioned it the other day to the Envoy, when I said that the Arabs had asked what compensation they were to receive for the great losses they would inevitably incur.” My rejoinder was: “The Envoy has to deal with you as the head of the State, and it is for you to deal with your chiefs. If your difficulty is simply financial, why have you not already explained that fully, seeing that his Excellency gave you an opening to do so in one of his letters. Those were not vain words which he used, and you ought to have attended to them; still, rest assured, that in this matter of a gratuity in any shape you must be content to trust to the Envoy's reserve, for he will not enlarge on that subject to you until you have signed the Treaty.” “But, why not?” he asked. “Because,” I said, “Her Majesty's Government does not intend to buy your acquiescence in conditions which are founded on justice, and which it can carry out without your acquiescence. But the Envoy, acting under the instructions of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, wishes to carry out this measure in a friendly way, and in a way that will benefit and not injure you.” This argument seemed to have weight with all present, especially the remark that you would not purchase the signing of the Treaty. Nevertheless, I was urged again and again to state, confidentially, what you meant by “assisting” them,—whether it meant a money gratuity. That I positively refused to do, beyond referring to the words of your letter to the Sultan, saying, that I had already, perhaps, gone too far,—although I had premised that in this matter I spoke, on the present occasion, on my own responsibility,—when I intimated to them that if the difficulty was only a financial one there was good reason for them to believe that you would do all you could

to remove it; but since nothing of the kind could be discussed before the signature of the Treaty, I urged the Sultan to lose no time in signing it as his only chance of securing favourable consideration, and by all means to avoid unnecessary delay in sending you a decided reply. He hoped to be able to do so now in a very short time, and promised, if possible, to send me a "gratifying" note, as a forerunner, during the evening.

8 P.M.—His Highness has sent to beg me to excuse his not writing. The new moon has been announced, and, besides the public festivities on such occasions, religious readings are held in which he takes part, so that he has no time to-night to fulfil his promise.

Inclosure 19 in No. 36.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Sir B. Frere.

(Translation.)

January 31, 1873.

TO his Excellency the eminent Wazir, our beloved friend, Sir Bartle Edward Frere, the Envoy of the British Government, may God add to his renown.

Your respected letter, dated the 20th of Dhil Kaadah (19th January, 1873) reached us, and I, your friend, understood perfectly all that you set forth therein. Moreover, the friend of all, Mr. Badger, delivered to us the draft of the Treaty which was committed to your Excellency by the Queen. We read it, and we considered it attentively, and found therein what distracted our mind. If we receive and accept it, we shall compass our own destruction, and we fear that insurrections may arise were we to do so, and that it would happen to us as it happened to the Americans (the reference here is to the civil war in the United States, which Captain Wilson, of the United States' corvette "Yantic," told him in an official letter had arisen out of the Slavery question). On the other hand, if we refuse it we should be distressed at your returning disappointed.

With regard to your remark that agriculture would be promoted in Zanzibar if the negroes were protected from seizure and slavery (we reply that) in Zanzibar all are protected from seizure and slavery, excepting those who were in slavery in their own country, and who were brought hither as slaves.

Then, again, even the wealthiest man in Zanzibar has not the means of doing what Captain Fraser has done, who has set up a sugar-press, extracted oil, and manufactured soap, &c., paying (the labourer's money) wages; were he to attempt it he would certainly become bankrupt. This institution (slavery) which exists amongst us is of old date and is not contrary to our law.

With regard to your remark, intimating that you had inferred from our first reply that perhaps we demurred to the new Treaty from financial considerations only, would that such were the only reasons. The reasons, however, are many. In the first place, we cannot [accede to it] through fear that our concession might lead to insurrection. 2nd. Because all our subjects being agriculturists, if slave labour were cut off, their agriculture would perish. 3. If their slaves escaped from the islands it would be impossible to bring them back from the mainland, owing to the danger [of seizure] on the sea betwixt them and the mainland. 4. That at the present time all the plantations are ruined by the (late) hurricane, and require a thorough renewal, and can yield no profit for a long time, until the trees are fully grown.

With respect to your observation that a large sum has been paid into the Zanzibar Treasury, derived from the export of slaves, pray ask the Farmer of the Customs the amount of the debts owing to him.

Touching what you say about the Queen assisting us, you have not explained that to us in such a way that we might estimate it, and use it as an agreement with our people.

You wish to force upon us a new Treaty, telling us that we have broken the old Treaty. Has any order ever emanated from us sanctioning the transport of slaves beyond the prescribed limits? Or have we ever even complained to the (British) Government of what the crews of the men-of-war have done justly beyond those limits? Or have we ever taken part with any one found transporting slaves in violation of the Treaty? The Treaty provides that whoever is found transporting slaves beyond the (prescribed) limits shall be seized and his ship burnt. And, as far as we are concerned, whenever any violation of the rule has been made known to us, we have punished the offender.

Further, owing to the oppressive proceedings of the crews of the men-of-war, most of our subjects have secured the protection of the French Government. They have not

done this for the sake of carrying slaves, but as a security against violence. And this year those who have not yet done so will seek the same protection.

Our officials are as sheep (submissive), and if one of them is found guilty of a wrong we dismiss him; but how can we trust to, or place any confidence in, the new Treaty when, as is fully set forth in a pamphlet (Blue Book), the preceding Treaties have been so violated?*

To sum up: If your Excellency can ask of us something lighter than these demands, such as we could bear, and such as would involve less loss to us, we would bring ourselves to grant them out of respect for the (British) Government, and in consideration of your having come to us. On the other hand, if this matter is to be forced upon us we have no power (to resist), and we commit our cause to Almighty God. Salam. From your loving friend.

(L.S.) BURGASH-BIN-SEYYID.

Written at Zanzibar, 2nd Dhil Raadah, A.H. 1289 (31st January, 1873).

Inclosure 20 in No. 36.

Note of an Interview between the Sultan and Sir B. Frere on the 1st February, 1873.

AT 4 P.M. the Envoy went, by appointment, to visit His Highness. His Highness had inquired in the morning, through Dr. Kirk, whether the visit was to be a formal one, at which the Envoy expected the attendance of all His Highness' Court, or a private one, at which His Highness alone would be present? Dr. Kirk replied, that the Envoy's visit would be to make a formal and important communication to His Highness; but he believed it would be the Envoy's wish to leave it to His Highness to judge who should be with His Highness on the occasion.

For two or three days previously there had been a cessation of the little civilities, in the shape of presents of fruit, ice, &c., which had been usually sent by His Highness to persons connected with the Mission on shore. At 4 o'clock, the Minister, who usually comes some time before the hour appointed to conduct the visitor to the palace, had not appeared. There were, at first, no guards or escort on the street, though a few subsequently turned out. The Minister met the Envoy in the streets in front of the place, but His Highness did not come out to meet the Envoy, who was kept waiting in the audience-room for some minutes before His Highness appeared from a side room. The Envoy was subsequently informed by the Consul that there had been some mistake as to the time of the appointment owing to the difference of English and Arab time; but nothing whatever was said by His Highness at the time or subsequently by way of apology or explanation, beyond the slightest possible allusion to the difference of watches.

After this, singly or by twos and threes, his brothers and principal Ministers dropped in, till perhaps fourteen or fifteen of His Highness' Court were present.

The Envoy addressed His Highness, and stated, that after what had passed between himself and His Highness at their last interview, he had received His Highness' letter of the day previous with much regret. That he wished to reply in writing to His Highness' remarks—as far as he understood their purport—in sufficient detail to prevent His Highness, supposing that he concurred in them, and to explain what he seemed not to understand; but that he found such correspondence necessarily occupied much time, and as he was about to leave Zanzibar for a while on the 3rd, he wished, before he went, to say a few words, which he particularly begged His Highness would hear patiently to the end, when he would be glad to hear anything His Highness might wish to say in reply.

That his instructions were to visit Zanzibar and Muscat and to conclude Treaties with His Highness and with other Chiefs, with a view effectually to put a stop to the exportation of slaves from Africa; that, in writing to His Highness, he would take the liberty to quote those instructions in detail, because he felt some misunderstanding from the terms of His Highness' letter that the object of this Mission had been imperfectly apprehended by His Highness.

That he gathered, generally, from the tone of His Highness's letter, that His Highness was in no way disposed cordially to aid Her Majesty's Government in any fresh measures intended to give more perfect effect to the objects of previous Treaties, viz., the complete and final stoppage of the export of slaves from the coast. But, after what

* This, I presume, refers to the reports of some illegal seizures by or excesses on the part of the crews of cruisers.—G. P. B.

had previously passed on the subject, he was unwilling to believe that His Highness could mean a distinct refusal to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government, and he therefore would ask His Highness for a clear answer as to whether he would or would not sign such a Treaty?

That, in the event of His Highness declining, it would be the Envoy's next duty to proceed to the coast and to Muscat, and to report to Her Majesty's Government the means whereby the export of slaves could be best checked without His Highness' assistance; that he had already consulted the Admiral as to the naval force required effectually to watch these coasts, and much as he should regret to rely on forcible means of repression, which must more or less impede legitimate commerce, he could not too often assure His Highness of his conviction that in this mode, even if His Highness' aid were withheld, it was in the power of Her Majesty's Government very completely and effectually to stop the Slave Trade by sea.

That His Highness had referred to the use of the French flag adopted by His Highness' vessels to escape search, and the Envoy could not but gather from His Highness' remarks and from other circumstances that His Highness had some doubts as to whether the French Government concurred with Her Majesty's Government in desiring to see the Slave Trade by sea effectually stopped. He therefore begged to repeat more explicitly, and in greater detail, his reasons for believing that the two Governments were in accord on this question, and his hope that, in due time, instructions would reach the French Representative here effectually to check such abuse of their flag.

The Envoy then briefly described his probable movements before and after the arrival of the mail, due about a week hence, and informed His Highness that there were several matters regarding which he would address His Highness or communicate with him through Her Majesty's Consul, but which required attention before he could finally leave Zanzibar.

There was also the matter of the connection of British subjects with the Slave Trade. This was a question which was materially affected by whatever might be His Highness' course regarding the Slave Trade. But it would be the Envoy's duty very emphatically to warn all British subjects of the risk they run if, directly or indirectly, by lending money or otherwise they mixed themselves up with slave trading transactions.

That there were expressions in His Highness' letter relative to the compulsion which Her Majesty's Government could employ to enforce compliance with their wishes which had caused the Envoy great regret, because, as His Highness was well aware, the Envoy had studiously sought to carry His Highness with Her Majesty's Government in this matter and to avoid the slightest appearance of dictation or threatening. But that, if His Highness meant his letter to be a distinct refusal to enter into a fresh Treaty, the Envoy could not tell what might be the course ordered by Her Majesty's Government. He could only assure His Highness that Her Majesty's Government would not be turned aside by any difficulties from putting a stop to the Slave Trade and would use whatever means they thought most effectual for enforcing their just demands.

The Envoy then took leave of the Sultan, informing him that he would not again trouble His Highness with a visit before his departure, unless he intimated a wish to see him, but that Her Majesty's Consul and Political Agent would be, as usual, the channel for all communications between the two Governments.

As Mr. Badger interpreted, sentence by sentence, in Arabic, His Highness heard the Envoy throughout with some expressions of dissent and warmth of temper, and an occasional remark, *e.g.*, when the Envoy observed that he had found some parts of His Highness' letter difficult to understand, His Highness asked Mr. Badger whether he had not been able to comprehend it? to which Mr. Badger replied, that it was not the words but the drift which the Envoy did not understand.

At the conclusion of the Envoy's remarks, His Highness remarked, "We have considered what has been said, and we are convinced it involves destruction to us. It is quite in your power to destroy us, but you ask us to destroy ourselves, and that we cannot do. If your object had been to require something short of that from us, we should have granted it at once, for we have no better friends than the English."

The Envoy took his leave. His Highness accompanied the Envoy to some paces beyond the door. The Wazir followed the party to the Consulate attended by some Persian soldiers.

Inclosure 21 in No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Highness,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar Harbour, February 1, 1873.

I HAVE received your Highness' letter of the 31st January, but I have not fully understood it.

I have already informed your Highness of the precise tenor of my instructions, viz., that "The experience of the last few years having conclusively proved that the existing Treaty engagements between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and your Highness for the suppression of the export trade in slaves from your Highness' dominions on the East Coast of Africa, do not suffice for the attainment of the object for which those engagements were framed, and Her Majesty's Government having determined to spare no effort to put a stop to this traffic," Her Majesty had sent me as her special Envoy to your Highness and the Sultan of Muscat, with full powers "to enter into negotiations, and to conclude Treaties with you both, and with any other chiefs with whom it may be desirable to contract engagements for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade."

I have accordingly come, and, in accordance with Her Majesty's orders, have endeavoured in every way, by oral explanation, as well as by writing, by friendly remonstrance and argument as well as by official communication, to "impress upon your Highness the extreme disappointment of Her Majesty's Government at the want of an efficient execution of the provisions of his (your) existing Treaty engagements," to "explain" to your Highness "that this evasion of his Treaty obligations can no longer be tolerated by Her Majesty's Government, and that they call upon your Highness to co-operate with them in framing arrangements which shall effectually put a stop to the exportation of slaves from your Highness' dominions on the East Coast of Africa."

Having faithfully performed this duty, and forwarded to your Highness a Draft of a Treaty such as Her Majesty's Government wished to enter into, I have been surprised to receive from your Highness a letter full of reasons why you should not only make no effort effectually to put a stop to the exportation of slaves, but complaining of the efforts made by Her Majesty's Government under the Treaty to stop such traffic.

Your Highness refers to your fears of insurrection, of sufferings like those of the Americans, and of trouble caused to you and your people by the action of the men-of-war engaged in checking violations of former Treaties, but your Highness must be well aware that I have urged your Highness to accept the Draft Treaty mainly because I believe it to be the best preventive that can be desired to obviate all risk of such things as your Highness apprehends happening hereafter.

I have repeatedly explained to your Highness that now, when every civilized country has abandoned, or declared its intention to abandon, agricultural slave labour, it is too late to argue that free labour is anywhere incompatible with prosperous agriculture. Nor can the losses caused to Zanzibar by the hurricane be admitted for a moment as a valid reason why men, women, and children should be kidnapped, or forced from their homes in Africa to come and labour in your fields here.

I cannot understand your Highness' remark regarding the debts owing to the Farmer of Customs; but it can be no answer to the fact that your own Customs returns show that for many years past your Highness' treasury has received Customs on numbers of slaves, far exceeding the utmost wants of your own islands, and that the surplus supply of slaves on which you have so received Customs must have gone elsewhere, in direct contravention of all the Treaties made by the British Government with Zanzibar during many years past.

Neither do I understand the reference to a "pamphlet" as a reason why you can place no confidence in the new Treaty, nor your Highness' remark regarding the Treaty being "forced" upon you. It has been my anxious wish, since I came here, to make it clear to your Highness, and to all in Zanzibar, that what Her Majesty's Government desired was your Highness' free co-operation in the great work which has been so long a national object with the British nation.

These remarks of your Highness are not the words of friendship, nor, as it seems to me, of reason, when your Highness knows the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government effectually to stop the exportation of slaves, and the firm determination of Her Majesty's Government to spare no exertion to accomplish that object.

I am well aware of many difficulties which beset your Highness' Government in any attempt to put a stop to a traffic which, however inhuman and condemned by all civilized nations, is, of course, an established, and very profitable to many in your Highness'

dominions. I am also fully cognizant of the heavy losses which have fallen on all classes in Zanzibar consequent on the hurricane of last year, and I have assured your Highness of the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government effectually to co-operate with your Highness in any practicable measures which can be suggested for meeting and overcoming your difficulties, provided your Highness consents to enter into the engagements which I have proposed to you for the more effectual suppression of the East African slave traffic.

This being the case, I am unwilling to believe that your Highness' letter is intended as a direct refusal to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in this matter; and I must beg your Highness to state in distinct terms, and in writing, whether your Highness is prepared to execute the Treaty, of which a draft has been submitted to you, or not?

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 22 in No. 36.

Dr. Kirk to Major Smith.

Sir,

Zanzibar, February 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of the Right Honourable Sir Bartle Frere, a Memorandum of what has passed between His Highness the Sultan and myself during the absence of his Excellency the Envoy.

His Highness may be said now to have completely withdrawn in conversation the refusal he before gave when the draft Treaty was submitted to him; and I understand he would, if permitted, gladly sign that Treaty in its entirety, if the full operation thereof were delayed for a term of years, and the slaves to be introduced limited during that time to a yearly import of 3,000.

In recording this change in His Highness' Council, I must point out that I have not for a moment given him to hope that such terms will be accepted by the Envoy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 23 in No. 36.

Memorandum by Dr. Kirk.

ON the 3rd of February, after departure of Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," having the special Envoy on board, the Sultan solicited an interview with Mr. Badger, without expressing the object in view. Having communicated with Dr. Kirk, Mr. Badger explained by note to His Highness that, in the Envoy's absence, all communications must take place through the usual channel, i.e., the British Agency.

The same evening the Agent, having addressed His Highness the letter annexed, was invited to an interview the following day, at 10 A.M.

On the 4th of February Dr. Kirk was received with the usual courtesy by His Highness outside the palace, and taken to a private chamber, with none present, save His Highness and the Moonshee of the Agency.

His Highness next inquired when the Envoy might be expected, and, being told that he would probably return on the 9th or 10th day of this month, replied that an answer would be prepared. Thereupon His Highness, addressing the Agent slowly and deliberately, said: "When you find you have heaped a load upon your camel that it cannot pass the city gate, do you not lessen the burden and gain your object? Now, lessen this heavy burden the Government have laid on us, be it ever so little, and we are your servants, and you will gain all you desire; give us some respite, and we will accept the Treaty."

Dr. Kirk assured His Highness that his Excellency, in offering one year before the Treaty should come in force, had already lessened the difficulty of which he complained, and almost exceeded his instructions; but this year of grace, which was held out in the hope of a cordial compliance on the part of His Highness with the wish of England, had now been withdrawn. It was beyond the power of his Excellency to accept any proposition short of the Articles contained in the Draft Treaty, the time when these should take effect being alone in any measure left open to his discretion; but, once these were accepted, his Excellency was empowered, and would be ~~only too~~ willing, to comply with

every possible and reasonable suggestion His Highness might make that would be to the good of his Kingdom with especial reference to his own position and that of his people, owing to the operation of the Treaty.

Being invited to show in what way this would be done, the Agent said that, under such circumstances, His Highness might require support, and that this could be given in any way most pleasing to himself; it might be by ships or in money. His Highness had already been pressed to say if his objections had been of a financial nature clearly with the implied object of relieving him if that were the case. His Highness was now without vessels, and in the present state of his finances ships could not be easily obtained. But in thus asking His Highness if his difficulty was financial, the Envoy had avoided all possible misunderstanding, and could not be accused of wishing to purchase the Sultan's compliance with money, as the consideration of such matters had been placed after an unreserved acceptance of the Government propositions.

There could, moreover, be no doubt Her Majesty's Government might be able to assist His Highness in finding labour and he might be assured that the furtherance of this would be one of the chief objects his Excellency would consider, so soon as the Treaty had been signed.

His Highness had now taken a course openly against all that the Envoy had been commissioned to ask of him in the name of the British people.

Instead of discussing the good offices that might have been asked had His Highness taken an opposite course, it had now become the Agent's painful duty to address His Highness the short note he had received yesterday, and that awaited a reply. This referred to a duty which, while the two Governments were in accord, Great Britain was ready to permit, although so clearly forbidden by Treaty; thus a source of revenue greater than that he derived from the Slave Trade had been already cut off, and this was but the first result of the difference of interests that His Highness' refusal had caused.

The Agent proceeded to explain that it was impossible for him to discuss anything relating to the Lord Canning's arbitration, out of which results, probably quite unforeseen to all parties, might arise, in the event of a prolonged refusal on the part of His Highness to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in the Slave Trade. But there were still nearer contingencies to which it was the Agent's duty to call His Highness' attention, namely, the effect of Her Majesty's Government forcibly carrying out what had been asked, in direct opposition to His Highness. He might say that he cared little for himself or for his continued rule, which certainly would be imperilled, but he could not thus shut his eyes to the fate that must befall to his people, for whose good he had been placed over them as guide in times such as these. There could be no doubt that, first, the present want of confidence in the credit of all Arabs would be continued; his subjects compelled to sell or mortgage at ruinous prices; and debts to British subjects enforced, perhaps with a high hand. Such proceedings, together with the forcible action of the fleet, could not long continue without causing a rising of slaves, and an object unanticipated in the present negotiations brought about with a violent convulsion and the utter ruin of the Arab race in these parts.

Having heard all this—which was given not consecutively, as above, without comment from His Highness—the Agent was told that it was now most important that the substance of what had passed should be repeated in his (the Agent's) presence to the Council, as they would never believe such words coming through the Sultan, and the effect of his stating them only be to make a settlement more difficult by raising doubts in their minds as to his own sincerity in the Arab cause.

Thereupon the following Councillors, who were evidently in readiness in a room adjoining, entered—the Seyyids Suleiman bin Hamed, Ali bin Sood, Hamed bin Suleiman, Mohammed bin Hamed, Nasser bin Saeed, and the Sheikhs Mohammed Bakashmir, and Mohammed Abdulla es Shagsi.

His Highness, without preamble, began to repeat to his Council the substance of all the Agent had said, calling upon him from time to time to confirm the statements.

Ali bin Sood then said that this was indeed force, and under compulsion what was left for them to do? The Agent repeated that whatever they, from their point of view, might think of the terms of the draft Treaty, there was some hope there, some benefit to them. Their right in present slaves was left unmolested, and an arrangement made that would introduce the new order of things slowly, whereas the course they had forced the Sultan to follow was utter ruin. Not that England would stir up their slaves, but that the slaves, sure of the neutrality of England, and seeing the rude way in which the Arabs must necessarily be dealt with, would of themselves rise and throw off their masters.

The Agent was then pressed by Hamed bin Su'eiman to show what were the specific ways in which they would be assisted; on being told again that Great Britain did not come here to purchase their assent, he replied, "That is true, but we are led like blind beasts; it may be to corn, it may be to chaff." Being asked what he would ask, he replied, "Our Sultan will sign if you will promise to give what we require; we ask neither money, nor arms, nor ships; we have hitherto got on alone, and do not desire to accept such things; Arabs have been poorer than seen now, and our fathers have worked with the spade, but we never have, some one has always done that for us; now, what we ask, and the only thing we can accept, would be for Government to grant to us a time before bringing the introduction of slaves entirely to a close, and allowing us during that time just what might be thought absolutely needed." The Agent, being asked how many he supposed Zanzibar Island had been in the habit of retaining after making all allowance, said that he knew it did not exceed 2,000 or 3,000 yearly. Seyyid Hamed bin Suleiman at once said, "Give us that, even for a few years, and the matter is ended." It was in vain to call attention to the fact that such a relief would be granted in opposition to one of the clauses in the Treaty, and reversing its nature if allowed for any long period, to which the answer was, "Not so; it is only a matter of detail when it takes effect; the Envoy mentioned one year, we say a term of years: surely, this is a subject fairly open to discussion."

Again, after some discussion among themselves, in which Ali bin Sood was heard to say that, after all, if the thing was to be done, money would be almost essential, Seyyid Hamed bin Suleiman said to the Agent, "Tell the Government we have decided, and are ready to sell our slaves to them, and accept money in exchange; on that let slavery be abolished." The Agent replied that this would be accomplishing more than Government had ever spoken of, and that he, for one, should much regret anything that led to immediate and unrestricted freedom; that, as the friend of the country of the Arabs and of civilization, this was a process in which the Arabs could give England the greatest assistance; and that nothing could be more inopportune than sudden emancipation.

On taking leave, old Seyyed Suleiman bin Hamed laid his hand on the Agent's arm, and in the most earnest manner, with tears in his eyes, said, "I have heard nothing of what has passed, I am now old and deaf; but, if Government press this matter, I myself will live to reach London, and Paris, and New York, and claim a hearing and justice for the Arabs."

Feeling sure that the discussion had produced a serious effect on the Council and completely drawn them from their former open opposition, the Agent left His Highness, who assured him that before the return of Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress" the whole subject would be reconsidered and answered with the additional light now thrown upon it.

Throughout the whole discussion nothing could have been more deferential or courteous than the conduct of every Arab present. There was not one angry or strong expression let fall, although conversation passed most freely, unrestrained either by the presence of the Sultan or the British Agent.

Inclosure 24 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

February 3, 1873.

AT about 4.30 P.M., or just after you had sailed in the "Enchantress," I received a note from the Sultan, of which the following is a translation:—

"To our beloved friend Mr. Badger, may his glory be permanent!

"I wish an interview with you, let me know when it may be. Will it suit an hour and a half after sunset or on Tuesday morning? It is for you to decide and send me an answer. Salam.

(Signed) "BURGHASH-BIN-SAID."

I was about to reply in accordance with what I conceived to be your instructions yesterday, namely, that I had been charged not to hold any intercourse with His Highness unless he first assured me that it was with a view to accepting the conditions of Her Majesty's Government, when the Kadhi Shahab-ud-Din happened to mention your having told him that we must now hold no further communication with His Highness except through the Consul, I accordingly sent for Dr. Kirk, who confirmed this, giving your reasons for the prescribed course. I then wrote to the Sultan as follows:—

"To His Highness the Seyyid Burghash.

"Before his Excellency the Envoy left to-day he directed that any communication which you wished to make should be made in the first instance through the English Consul. I must, therefore, request your Highness to apply to the Consul about the desired interview. Salam.

"(Signed)

GEORGE PERCY BADGER.

"February 3, 1873 (5th Zhil Hijjah, A.H. 1289)."

4th. The Kadhi and I removed into the Consulate this morning.

6th. To-day Dr. Kirk sent back the customary present of two goats which the Sultan makes to the resident Consuls on the occasion of the impending Muslem festival of the Hijj. Dr. Kirk explained to His Highness, in a note which I translated into Arabic, that he could not receive such courtesies while the demands of Her Majesty Government remained unaccommodated to; expressing his earnest hope at the same time that His Highness would speedily accept the proposals which had been submitted to him.

8th. I close this Memorandum as I understand that you have returned in the "Enchantress." Dr. Kirk will doubtless inform you of the position of affairs up to this date.

Inclosure 25 in No. 36.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Sir B. Frere.

(Translation.)

February 11, 1873, 10 P.M.

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

To his Excellency the exalted Wazir, our beloved and highly-esteemed friend Sir Bartle Edward Frere, the Envoy of the British Government. May his renown be perpetual!

Your esteemed letter arrived, and your friend understood what you stated. As respects the new Treaty, we cannot sign it on account of the hardship which it involves to us; on account of dread of insurrection; and on account of the ruin which it would cause to the plantations of our subjects. Then, he who is the friend of all, Mr. Badger, mentioned to us that if we do not accept the new Treaty, the exalted (British) Government would send their ships to carry out the old Treaty in its entirety, from which there would arise much more damage than we have yet experienced. But if they carry it out according to its provisions, that would cause us no harm, and we form that estimate of them and of their justice; but should they violate (those provisions), we are helpless, and shall take patiently whatever God may decree with regard to us.

You also request at the close of your letter that we signify to you either our acceptance or refusal in one word, No. But it does not become (behoove) us to use that word to you. Besides, we have (already) informed you that if your Excellency had asked what was less onerous for us, such as a diminution in the imports (of slaves), or the prohibition of the markets where the public slave dealers meet, or the diminution in the number of boats (carrying slaves), we should have rejoiced at your returning satisfied with us.

This is what we have to communicate to you. Salam.

From the loving, &c.

(L.S.)

BURGHASH-BIN-SAID.

12th of Zhil-Hijj, 1289 (11th February, 1873).

No. 37.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

My Lord,

Mombasah, March 27, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th instant, in which I referred to the reception with which I met at the great coast slave-depôt, Kilwa Kavinja, I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, the accompanying Memoranda and copy of a letter which I addressed to Dr. Kirk on the subject.

The Memoranda give both sides' versions of the affair. I need not say which is the correct one.

I requested the removal of the Governor, as I considered that, at the present moment, it would be unwise to allow an insult like that complained of to pass unnoticed, and trust your Lordship will approve of my having done so.

Dr. Kirk, who arrived here to-day with the mails in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," tells me that, on his delivering a letter in the terms requested to the Sultan, His Highness promised to punish the Governor as Dr. Kirk saw fit. I shall have the honour to communicate the end of this incident on a subsequent occasion, when the result of my application is known.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

Memorandum by Colonel Pelly respecting Kilwa Kavinja.

KILWA KAVINJA being one of the most notorious points for the export of slaves, Sir Bartle Frere visited it on board Her Majesty's steam-yacht "Enchantress."

His Excellency, accompanied by his staff, landed on the afternoon of the 11th March; but on debarking, there was a total absence of those courtesies which are invariably paid by the local officials of the Zanzibar Government to our Representatives, &c.

His Excellency observing at an open doorway, near the landing-place, some British Indian subjects, and being informed it was the residence of the representative of the firm of Jeyram Sewjee, and also His Highness' Custom-house, approached, and spoke with them in his usual kindly manner. But these men—who proved to be Bhattias—received his Excellency with signs of mingled fear, aversion, and insolence.

I explained to these Indian subjects who his Excellency was, and asked them whether they were unaware of his arrival in Her Majesty's vessel, then lying in front of them. They admitted the fact of their being aware; and then indolently rising, led the way into an inner room of one of their houses.

His Excellency then continued his conversation, inquiring as to the condition, trade, &c., of British subjects at Kilwa Kavinja, and expressing his desire to see their principal men. But for the time none of these principals appeared, and it was impossible to elicit more than the admission that there were, in Kilwa Kavinja, about eighty families of Khojas, twenty-five houses of Bhattias, and three Mehmons.

In regard to all other questions and matters these Indian subjects were doggedly reticent.

By degrees his Excellency came to the question of the Slave Trade, and requested some information concerning the statistics of this trade, as carried on at Kilwa. But the aspect and manner of these men at once became that of culprits, determined to deny their guilt and brave all consequences. "There was no Slave Trade; and if there was, they had no records of it; perhaps slaves were exported, but the books were kept at Zanzibar, &c., and the duty on slaves was levied at that port; accounts were not balanced, as between the firms at Kilwa and Kavinja."

Prominent among the Indian subjects who thus conducted themselves was one named Ramdass, who is Custom-house Agent at Kilwa, on behalf of one Lukmeedass, who in turn is Custom-house master and Customs farmer at Zanzibar, on behalf of the well-known firm of Jeyram Sewjee, of Bombay, and which firm therefore is, through its Agents on the African Coast, an accessory in the Slave Trade, and a participator in the profits thereon.

Among the persons present, I particularly noted Laljee, Samjee, Purshotum, and Dial.

This Dial, who appeared on the scene only at a late moment, pretended to be the Mookhee, or Headman.

But few Khojas appeared, nor was anything to be elicited from the Bhattias.

His Excellency then requested to see the head local authority, or his deputy. Excuses were made that this person's house was a long way off. Eventually, however, one of the company proceeded to inform the head authority, who, I am told, is Salim bin Syud bin Omar, of his Excellency's presence; and after some delay returned with the asserted reply that the said person was unwell; but no excuse was offered, no deputy appeared; and it seemed clear to me either that the messenger had not gone to the local authority, or that the local authority was resolved to ignore the presence of the Envoy.

In view to clearing this point I proceeded myself, and quite alone, to the Wali's house, which I found to be within two or three doors of where his Excellency was sitting. I found a servant at the doorway, and asked if his master were in, and if so, whether he were ill. The man laughed and said he is here and quite well. "Then," said I "I wish

to see him." The servant then opened an inner door and called to his master, who came out in a careless manner and asked what I wanted. I asked him "if he were ill?" he said "No." I then informed him of what the messenger had said, explained to him the wish of his Excellency to see him. The man said he wished to put on his turban, &c., and would come. So I waited at the street door until he reappeared, when I indicated the road, and moved on to apprise his Excellency of the Wali's approach.

But I was almost immediately stopped by another servant who ran after me, and called me back; on turning round I saw that the Headman instead of following had merely crossed the street and was standing among some ruffian looking half-caste Arabs and negroes beckoning me back.

Presuming the man wished to make some apology for his conduct I went back to him, when he seated himself on a sort of a curb-stone raised along the street, and desired me to sit by him. I explained to him that I had come only on the part of his Excellency. The man then insolently replied, "Then let him come here and sit here, I will not move to see him."

Having myself passed twelve years in representing British interests with the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar, I could no longer conceal from myself that the conduct of this local authority must be dictated by the Sultan of Zanzibar and was simply an expression of the policy of that Sultan.

I therefore deemed it unnecessary to prolong explanation with this subordinate, but turned on my heel and rejoined his Excellency with an intimation of what had occurred.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

March 13, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

Memorandum by Sir B. Frere.

AFTER Colonel Pelly had left the Wali's house, Captain Fairfax, R.N., Major Euan Smith, Mr. Hill, and Navigating Lieutenant Rowe, R.N., happened to pass with one of the interpreters attached to the Mission, Mr. Hill had just proposed that they should visit the Governor as a matter of courtesy, when they found him seated in the street where Colonel Pelly had last seen him. They went up to shake hands, knowing nothing of what had previously passed. He only half acknowledged their salutations and immediately attempted to raise a discussion on the pretext that they had gone to the fort without his permission. Captain Fairfax immediately assured him in most conciliatory terms that they had no idea of the kind, that passing the Fort, a dilapidated old building used as a prison, and seeing the Jemadar of Arabs at the gate, they had inquired of him what the building was, and had visited such parts as he had, of his own accord, shown them.

The Jemadar being present and entirely confirming all Captain Fairfax had said, the Wali could say no more to the English officers; but abused the Jemadar for having shown them the Fort; talked much in an excited manner of which the officers understood the purport only from observing Arab and half-caste armed men collecting round and appearing inclined to make a disturbance.

They therefore took leave of the Wali, who omitted the usual courtesies to a parting visitor and they joined me at the Custom-house.

The Wali subsequently sent for the interpreter, demanded his name and threatened him, and the Swaheli pilot with evil consequences for bringing the party to the place; some of the Arabs round asked whether they should arrest the interpreter there? others observed, "It would be better to let him go to Zanzibar where he could be seized." The Wali whilst talking at, but not to the party, had said in the interpreter's hearing, "These English show force to Seyyid Burghash and come here to show force to me, but I will meet force with force."

The Jemadar Suleiman bin Hafiz appears to have behaved civilly and to have used his influence to keep others quiet.

Six of the Arab soldiers pushed their way into the Custom-house whilst I was sitting there, ranged themselves on each side of the doorway handling their arms as if preparing to use them at once and looking ready for immediate mischief. They subsequently moved away when I took no further notice of them beyond asking who they were; but the demeanor of all the Arab officials was unmistakeably insolent and defiant as that of the Indian traders was at present.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 37.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

ON my return from my late visit to the Mozambique Channel and Madagascar, I put into Kilwa Kavinja on the 11th, and landed with all the gentlemen of my suite and two officers of the ship about an hour after the vessel came to an anchor.

You will understand the manner in which we were received from the inclosed memorandum by Colonel Pelly, who remained with me when the other gentlemen went to walk through the town.

The Custom-house officials, as well as the Wali Salim bin Syud bin Omar, were perfectly aware of the position which their visitors held in the service of Her Britannic Majesty, and their neglect and insolence had the effect of inciting the rabble of Arabs and negroes about to be so very threatening in their demeanor that I was at one time not free from anxiety lest some of the armed ruffians in the crowd should assault the gentlemen, who had gone ashore unarmed, in reliance on the courtesy shown to them in visiting a friendly port.

I am unwilling at the present moment to enter on any discussions with His Highness on such matters; but the consequences of no notice being taken of such conduct may affect the future safety of Her Majesty's officers who may have to visit the place on duty, and I request therefore that you will explain in detail to His Highness' Minister what occurred, and require that Salim bin Syud bin Omar be removed from his office, and caused publicly to apologize to you for the conduct of himself and his subordinates towards officers who, he was aware, were of high rank and consideration in the service of Her Britannic Majesty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 37.

Salim bin Sa'ed bin Omar to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

ON the 11th an English ship arrived, and the people landed in the afternoon. Their chief entered into the Custom-house, and the Captain and four other men went on till they entered into the Fort without giving warning. Your slave, the Akida, was inside, and the door-keeper could not prevent them. Then Suleiman came out to them, and they went away. They have done nothing. This is what took place with the Captain. But regarding the Governor, who was in the Custom-house, he sent a man from thence to call me, and when he reached the house he found the sepoy who was at the door, and asked him where Salim was. He told him, "Asleep, but we will call him;" and when he received this answer he sent an Englishman, who came with violence and kicked the Sepoy who was at the door, and entered by force and spoke much, but I did not understand him; and when I went out to ask what he wished, he took hold of me to drag me to the Governor. I did not consent to be drawn by one who had no authority, and I refused to go, because it is an insult to our King if I followed him as a goat.

Then the news went to the town that Salim was seized, and they arose to seize me, and to know the truth. When they reached and found me sitting, they sat with me. Then we asked the English about their going to the Fort; they had no reply, but asked for pardon—and also about their going to my house and seizing me. To this also they made no reply, but begged pardon.

This is what happened. I feel it best to tell you; and then they went on board ship and went away, and their second ship followed them. She was behind them when they left.

Dated 13th Maharram, 1290.

No. 38.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," April 1, 1873.

THE Sultan of Zanzibar having up to within a few days of my final departure from his dominions given no answer to the letter with which Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to entrust me for presentation to His Highness, nor to any others of which I was the bearer from members of Her Majesty's Government, I addressed to Dr. Kirk on the 15th ultimo the letter of which I inclose a copy.

Acting on the hint conveyed in the note which, in consequence of my letter Dr. Kirk addressed to him, Seyyid Burgash at last forwarded to my care the letters which, with a translation, are herewith inclosed.

As His Highness himself says, "they are all of one tenor," and the discourtesy of replying to Her Majesty's letter by a Circular note will, I doubt not, convince your Lordship, as it has confirmed my own conviction, that the tone of Seyyid Burgash's refusal to accept the proposed Treaty did not arise from a momentary fit of temper, but from a studied policy of disregard to the wishes of England.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 38.*Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.*

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I REQUEST that you will inform His Highness the Sultan that it is not my intention to return to Zanzibar after leaving it early next week, and that as it is my duty, in accordance with the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, to return at once to India and England to report the results of my Mission, no further opportunity is likely to occur for His Highness to address Her Majesty's Government through this Mission on any of the subjects which I was directed to bring before him, or for him to make me the bearer of any reply to the letters to His Highness' address which I have had the honour to deliver to him.

It will be sufficient if you give His Highness the opportunity of stating to you anything he has to say, and of forwarding through you any letter he may wish to have delivered to me.

It would not be consistent with the respect due to Her Majesty's commission that I should at the present moment further press His Highness on these points, or do more than give him the fullest opportunity of reconsidering before it is too late the position in which he has placed himself by his refusal to attend to the wishes and advice of Her Majesty's Government, and by his neglect of the forms of courtesy invariably observed by civilized nations on such occasions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 38.*Dr. Kirk to Sir B. Frere.*

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 18, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith five letters from His Highness Seyyid Burgash to Her Majesty the Queen, the Viceroy of India, Her Majesty's Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and India, and the Governor of Bombay.

These letters were written by His Highness immediately on receipt of my note of the 18th instant, and given to me at the interview on the evening of the same day. Being sealed, and no copy supplied I informed His Highness, as instructed by your Excellency, that it was impossible for you to accept closed letters in reply to those of which you had been the confidential bearer. His Highness at once said that the letters were of one tenor and that he had no objection to my opening them, but that he would give me a copy of the text which was common to all.

I inclose herewith an Arabic copy of these letters with translation, from which it

will be seen that His Highness unhesitatingly refuses to accede to the demands and wishes of the British Government as regards the Slave Trade between the mainland and the islands, while, with reference seemingly to the charge of having failed to check the Arabian slavers, he only remarks that there are thieves in all countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 3 in No. 38.

Dr. Kirk to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.)

March 15, 1873.

I AM instructed by Sir B. Frere to inform your Highness that, as it is not his intention to return again to Zanzibar after leaving it on Monday, no further opportunity is likely to occur for your Highness to address Her Majesty's Government through his Mission or any of the subjects which his Excellency was directed to bring before you, nor will your Highness be again able to make his Excellency the bearer of any reply to the various letters which were delivered to you at the beginning by the hand of his Excellency.

According to his intention Sir B. Frere will now proceed at once to India and England to report the results of his Mission.

It is my present intention to proceed in one of Her Majesty's ships to join his Excellency at one of the harbours on the African coast.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 4 in No. 38.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Dr. Kirk.

(Translation.)

THE letter to the Queen, the Wazeers, the Governor-General, and the Governor of Bombay, all of one tenor, namely:—

Your honoured letter has reached, and what you mentioned has been understood, and his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere has reached, and we were glad with his arrival in safety; he has explained to us the demand of the honourable Government to prohibit the import of slaves to the islands, and to close the markets, and we replied to him as we were able: and the above-named is now leaving Zanzibar, and we do not wish that he go from us with other than a glad heart; but the demand which he asked was hard upon us, and upon all our subjects, on account of the hurricane in Zanzibar last year. As for the prohibiting of the transport of slaves to Arabia, we will endeavour as much as we can, but let it not be hidden from your knowledge that there are thieves everywhere.

From your friend,
(Signed) BURGASH BIN SAEED.

Dated 16th Imharram, 1290.

No. 39.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

“Enchantress,” April 2, 1873.

BEFORE leaving Zanzibar finally on the 17th ultimo, I thought it advisable, in view of the reception which I had met with at Kilwa Kavinja, to request His Highness the Sultan to furnish me with letters to the Governors of all the northern ports of his dominions, which I thought I might have occasion to visit. This I did through Dr. Kirk, in a letter, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy; and it is only due to the Sultan and his local Governors to say that, in consequence of the letters which he gave me, I met with every possible courtesy at all the ports at which I touched.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will inform His Highness the Sultan, that it is my intention on leaving Zanzibar on Monday to visit Bagamoyo and also Mombas, Lamoo, and possibly other ports to the northward, and request that, if general instructions have not been already sent to His Highness' officials on the coast, the necessary steps may be taken to insure that the usual marks of respect and courtesy shown to high officers of Her Britannic Majesty's service may be observed towards any of the officers of the Special Mission, who may visit any of His Highness' ports.

Should there be any difficulty in forwarding His Highness' instructions, I shall be happy to direct that they be taken charge of by the officer commanding this vessel, or one of Her Majesty's ships which may accompany us, who will see that they are delivered by the first boat which may land at any place we may visit.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 40.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," April 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a letter and Report by Mr. Elton on the Slave Trade, which is carried on in the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa.

This paper is particularly interesting, as touching on a part of the world of which, since the removal of our Consul in 1858, Her Majesty's Government have little, if any, reliable information.

It speaks so fully for itself, that I need not trouble your Lordship with any comments on it, further than saying that it confirms my conviction that the immediate appointment of a Consul at Mozambique is almost essential for carrying out our policy for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade.

The presence of a Consul at Mozambique would doubtless speedily attract to that fertile but almost neglected province many English traders and much English capital, a state of things which, as I have already stated in a previous despatch, the Governor-General is most anxious to see brought about. Hitherto, with no one to protect British interests, our traders have been naturally shy of venturing there. The development of commerce which would thus ensue would in itself be one of the greatest possible checks to the Slave Trade, and the presence of a Consul would encourage the Portuguese authorities to take more active steps than they have hitherto done for its suppression, while he would always be in a position to furnish Her Majesty's cruisers with information as to the probable whereabouts of a slaver, or the shipment of cargoes on dhows.

The Consul should also be empowered to visit the Comoré Islands and Johanna as opportunity offers. As I stated in my despatch of the 12th ultimo, Johanna will soon, I trust, become a dépôt for liberated slaves who may be taken in the Mozambique Channel; and the occasional visit of the British Consul would control their employment, and guarantee their safety and good treatment by the Sultan.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Mr. Elton to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

British Consulate, Zanzibar, March 20, 1873.

IN obedience to your Excellency's wish expressed to me on board Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," I have the honour to inclose a Report on the East Coast (Portuguese possessions), bearing on the general position of affairs, and especially on the Slave Trade question.

May I call to your Excellency's recollection a fact which I had the honour of stating in conversation, and which I should perhaps have inserted in my Report, viz., that should any difficulties arise in the future with regard to the disposal of captured slaves, Natal would always be ready to take over any number for employment on the coast plantations.

They would fall under the Refugee Act and be bound to work for a term of three years, receiving their wages before a magistrate, after which period they are free either to choose a new master, remain with the old one, or be received into a native settlement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON,
Acting Assistant Political Agent and Vice-Consul, Zanzibar.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Report by Mr. Elton on the Portuguese Possessions on the East Coast of Africa.

AT Delagoa Bay local influences combine against Slave Trade. Considerable commerce exists between Natal and this port; the Portuguese are on bad terms with the surrounding tribes, and an eager immigration in search of work to Natal is popular amongst the Amatonga, a numerous and agricultural tribe, which, under varied titles, extends from the head of St. Lucia Bay almost to the banks of the Zambezi.

This system is described in the Report of the Special Committee of Inquiry into the Introduction of Native Labourers into Natal, dated November 13, 1872, which speaks for itself, and all arrangements which could be effected for the facilitation and protection of such immigration would not only confer a boon on the community of Natal in general, but also be a valuable aid to the future movements of civilization, as it gradually stretches out beyond its present limits, by accustoming the native mind to the practicability of earning the goods they covet by their own industry.

These tribes, who but a few years past were actively employed in "collecting" men and women for their neighbours, have totally discontinued, and could not now be tempted, into resuming the slave traffic in any form. They have discovered that all their wants can be sufficiently supplied by sending their young men down to Natal to work for three or four years, and speak with disgust of the old days within their memories when their only source of gain sprung in many instances from selling their own kith and kin.

Slaves are of course still held by the inhabitants of the town of Lorenzo Marques, but the numbers are not increased by purchases from without, although the children of slave women are still to be considered as chattels belonging to the master's establishment and estate.

The Inhampura (Limpopo) River was a frequent resort of slave vessels in years past, and the tribe on its mouth, the Mindongues, is composed of an agricultural people whose young men would anxiously embrace any opportunity of travelling to Natal by a safe route.

The immigration by sea has been carried on with some degree of regularity from Delagoa Bay to Natal of late years, the natives usually paying their own passages with money advanced them by relatives returned from work. Five or more fresh hands place themselves under the direction of one of their friends who has already accomplished a similar journey, and on their arrival in the Colony either accompany their guide to his old master, or to some neighbouring planter enjoying a "good name" amongst the tribe.

But after a time an order was published enforcing the Portuguese native passport system. This involved the payment of fees amounting to 15s. to the Governor of Lorenzo Marques, who was obliged to testify to having himself witnessed each man furnished with the necessary papers before leaving the shore.

The natives, unable to see the justice of this extra charge (the tribes do not pay tribute to the Portuguese Government, and simply used the town for the purpose of embarkation), discontinued the sea route for some time, until at last the planters agreed to pay the passport dues. This led, however, to questions of allotment, terms of agreement, time, bargains, &c., and was gradually replaced by the adoption of another system under which the natives shipped at Delagoa Bay, and on arrival at Natal remained on board until their friends, actually at work in Natal, brought sufficient money to the captain of the ship to refund him for their passport fee, 15s. per man in addition to the sum of 1l. per head for passage money. Strange as it may appear this arrangement was frequently carried out, and the fact of its being possible is a clear proof of the persevering wish of these tribes to reach the scene of labour, from whence they return laden with beads, blankets, clothes, knives, cooking pots, and sufficient money to pay their chiefs' fees (either 10s. or 1l., the amount varies in different tribes), and very often to purchase the highest object of their ambition—a cheap gun and ammunition from the Portuguese.

Although still carried on to a small extent, this immigration by sea is discouraged

by the Home authorities at present. From my own personal observation during three separate visits to Delagoa Bay, I cannot detect any of the evils of "collecting," or the slightest suspicion of illegal traffic in the system, and I venture to think a great justice would be done to the surrounding native tribes, and at the same time a great impetus given to the planting interests of a British Colony by—

1. Thoroughly clearing up with the competent Portuguese authorities the questions of passport dues, and the forms to be complied with both on departure from and return to the port of native immigrants,

2. Appointing a protector of immigration at both Natal and Delagoa Bay, whose duty it should be to see that the men are not overcrowded and supplied with a sufficient quantity of food, and to report on the manner in which each party was assembled prior to shipment.

I need only cite two cases which show the pressing necessity of protection. The natives are in the habit of providing food for the voyage themselves, but they are naturally improvident and always ready to curtail expenses, indeed, willing to starve for a day or so in order to save a few extra pounds weight of meal.

The "Basah" schooner sailed from Delagoa Bay for Natal in December 1872 with about sixty men on board, who brought their own food and paid their 1*l.* 15*s.* per head themselves. Of course no inspection was made of the quantity of food shipped by the passengers, it being nobody's absolute duty to carry out such inspection. On sighting Natal a mistaken signal lead the captain to keep off the shore fearing an approach of bad weather, and it was only on the tenth day that she anchored at her port. The "Amatonga" had only brought two day's provisions and, already half starving, could not understand passing the Natal bluff, which some of them recognized. They became noisy and inclined to be mutinous, pointing to the sails and to the shore actually frightening the captain into loading his guns and pistols and warning his men to be on the look-out, when fortunately one man was found who understood the position and explained it to his comrades. Whatever could be spared from the schooner's stores was served out to the natives who behaved, as soon as they realized the necessity of, the case, admirably. All were eventually landed rather pulled down after a week's short commons, yet this was a case which might have led to a frightful disaster and scandal, and, indeed, was only saved from such an ending by a happy accident.

An equally dangerous blunder occurred some months earlier, when a smaller schooner, overcrowded, ran short of water whilst making an unusually baffling passage.

Now, however, should the Royal mail-steamers touch at Delagoa Bay, there is no doubt a regular supply of free labour could be imported to Natal by a forty hours' passage, at the rate of 1*l.* passage money per head, and every steamer would find scores of men to return by the same route, and willing to pay such a fare rather than risk the long land journey and the black mail levied by the Amazulu.

In a conversation with Senhor Amaral, the Governor-General of Mozambique, his Excellency stated that some difficulties had arisen in consequence of reports reaching Europe that natives were forcibly "collected" for this immigration, and that the Governor of Lorenzo Marques was in the habit of realizing for himself so much per head for all men so "collected." In consequence of this report he had suspended the Delagoa Bay immigration for a time, and personally paid a visit of inspection, when he was satisfied that only the legal charge of 15*s.* per head had been exacted for the passport fees, and that no pressure was used to "collect," and in consequence at once directed the embargo to be removed. I ventured to assure his Excellency of what I feel no doubt of in my own mind, that the eagerness on the part of these natives to work in Natal was so great that, unless allowed to proceed by sea, they would certainly travel, with difficulty and some danger, to the Colony in order to seek employment; and I detailed the facts of the system which had fallen under my actual observation.

In reply, his Excellency begged me to assure the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal that, with proper supervision at the port of Lorenzo Marques, the Portuguese Government would in every way aid the Colonial Government in any endeavours to place this immigration on a sound basis for the future. I do not think there can be any doubt that, to the healthy tone of the demand for labour and the fair payments of the Natal planters, the coast in a very great measure owes its immunity from slaving as far as these Amatonga tribes extend.

Inhambane furnishes annually over 5,000 tons of cargo, produced in and around the settlement, and from the plantations on the mainland, known as Masheesh. During 1866-67 the Custom-house receipts amounted to 310*l.* In 1868 they exceeded 2,000*l.* and in 1869 recorded 3,100*l.*, the exports being principally india-rubber (which has been recently found in great abundance), oil-nuts, sesame, coffee, bees-wax, hides, and

ivory. The inhabitants are occupied in legitimate trade, and though holding many slaves, do not increase their numbers to any great extent by purchase in the neighbourhood. At Bazaruto, Chilwaone, and Sofala the hold of the Portuguese is strictly limited to their small towns and the immediate environs. The natives who are under Umseila, although willing enough to come into the factories to trade, jealously guard against any approaches on the mainland, where, however, it is perfectly safe for an Englishman to travel.

Umseila holds all the country from Delagoa Bay close up to the Zambesi, and to the westward to the Matabili, under a feudal form of Government, exacting tribute and military service from the Amatonga, his tribe, pure Zulu originally, although intermarrying with the women of the conquered race, still carefully foster and preserve their warlike character. He is entirely independent of the Portuguese, and even enforces tribute from Sofala and the settlements on the lower bank of the Zambesi, taking good care to insure regular payment by a display of force.

The Boers of the Transvaal Republic are exceeding unpopular amongst Umseila's people on the Limpopo. Indeed, the hold of the Boers on their own district of Zouthpansberg is purely nominal. Here their offence was, and continues to be, a system of kidnapping and binding to service—in reality, simple slavery, not unfrequently exaggerated by the employment of force and the stirring up of native tribes to indiscriminate war. An active promoter of dissension and the worst form of forced labour is Albasini, formerly Portuguese Consul to the Republic, who now lives in a stockaded fort in the Zouthpansberg district, and has made himself an object of fear and hatred to all around him. I do not wish to assert that the Transvaal Boers are generally implicated with proceedings which may be construed as slavery, but there is not the least doubt that many "outlying" Boers, and especially those of the Zouthpansberg district, engage in practices which, *per se*, are purely and simply forcible slave collecting followed by slave holding. Boers of Transvaal.

At Quillimane and on the Zambesi, on the adjoining rivers, such as the Mecusa and the Mariagomo, and especially on the Angoxa, the question of implication in slave traffic becomes serious, and the extreme difficulty with which reliable information can be collected is hardly appreciable to people at a distance. The involved interest, distrust, and, above all, the intense jealousy of all foreign interference, combine to render both a tedious and disagreeable task. The custom of permitting individuals to own small armies of slaves has worked the complete destruction of all law, and the seeds of rebellion have been sown broadcast by the atrocities which slave-hunting marauders have committed on tribes whose natural bent it would be to dwell in peace. Bonga commands the traffic of the Zambezi from a fort marked on the maps by his name, and dictates to all around him. Two considerable expeditions sent against him have resulted in the almost total loss of the Portuguese troops engaged. Stockaded forts called "aringas" are held by men who, barely able to control their armed slaves, can be of no possible assistance to the Government. The slaves of Valentino Moraes (who captured Angoxa some years ago for the Portuguese), on his death, drove his brother, the heir to his property, into Quillimane, and declared their independence on and above the Mariangomo, where they hold a large and formidable "aringa." The late Captain Faulkner met his death at the hands of Belchior's slaves from a natural result of the demoralization consequent on such total subversion of Government as that at present existing on the Zambezi. Quillimane, &c.

The inland Slave Trade cannot be said to have been suppressed. About Christmas 1870, a gang of about 100 women and children were brought down from the Shiré by a native chief to the town of Quillimane for sale. I arrived there from Mozambique about the 10th January, 1871, when the matter was openly talked about, and I saw a number of the recently-purchased slaves.

During a considerable delay in and around Angoxa I heard constant reports of slaves being shipped for Madagascar from the adjoining rivers. I see no reason to doubt the truth of these reports; and that there is a considerable traffic now carried on from Angoxa is allowed by the authorities themselves, who state they are powerless to interfere.

With regard to the shipment of slaves to Cuba, referred to especially in the Earl of Kimberley's despatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, I should state that public conversation gave 1869 as the latest date on which any such shipment had been effected on the coast; two ships were waiting for cargo near Quillimane during that year, then suddenly disappeared, and were said to have been successfully dispatched with slaves on board. Slaves for Cuba.

I have heard men who hold Crown grants of land, the natives on which pay tribute to the holders and supply them with labour, say that they could at any time collect large

Slave brigantine at
Mozambique.
March 1872.

numbers of slaves for export. They regret the failing demand and laugh at the idea of active interference on the part of the authorities.

One open case occurred near the town of Mozambique in March 1872. A brigantine lay at anchor high up in Conducia Bay for more than a week, waiting for a cargo of slaves. One morning it was reported she had taken them all on board and sailed out of the Bay. This turned out to be perfectly true, and the authorities dispatched a vessel in pursuit of her twenty-four hours after her departure. Of course it was then too late, and news was afterwards received that the cargo was successfully run to its port of destination.

Dhows with slaves destined for the northern ports of the Island of Madagascar are constantly running from the inlets dotting the difficult coast extending from Mozambique to Cape Delgado, and the difficulty of suppressing such a traffic without any earnest co-operation on the part of the Portuguese authorities would be very great.

I should add that the custom of exchanging unruly slaves and sending them from one part of the coast to another is very prevalent. Large launches manned by slaves keep up the communication between Inhambane, Bazaruto, and Sofala, and between Angoxa and Mozambique.

(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON.

*Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate,
Zanzibar, March 20, 1873.*

No. 41.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," April 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of two letters addressed respectively to Dr. Kirk and the Political Resident at Aden, on the subject of the disposal of liberated slaves.

As the season is now approaching when we may reasonably expect that a considerable number of captures may be made by Her Majesty's cruisers, I have thought it well to give these temporary directions which are founded on the experience I have gained during my stay on this coast; and, should they meet your Lordship's approval, I would suggest that letters to that effect should be addressed to Dr. Kirk and General Schneider by the Imperial and Indian Governments.

I shall have the honour of treating of this subject in greater detail in a subsequent Report.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 41.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

"Enchantress," April 1, 1873.

THE following suggestions regarding the disposal of slaves captured by Her Majesty's ship on this station, may suffice till further instructions can be received from Her Majesty's Government.

From slaves declared free at Aden, the Political Agent will generally be able to provide for many of the young girls an asylum with the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy at Aden. With these exceptions, and the few who may be provided with local service under respectable and responsible masters at the Political Agent's direction, all should be sent to Zanzibar.

At Zanzibar you will have open to you, as an asylum for children, the Universities' Mission and the French Roman Catholic Missions at Zanzibar and Bogamoyo, the Church Missionary Society's Mission at Kissoludini, and the Free Methodist Mission at Ribl.

The two former establishments can probably take all or more than you are likely to have to provide for; but it may be well to keep a few, not exceeding twenty or thirty in all, at the disposal of the missions near Mombasah, as it is very desirable to take a beginning with similar establishments in that direction. Mr. Wakefield

informed me he could take half that number at once, and it would be very desirable to send Galas or northern negroes thither. George David* seemed to think that he could take an equal number at Kissoludini, but it would be necessary before sending them to obtain the sanction of Dr. Rebmann, or whoever may at the time be the superior local authority of the mission.

A few of the adults may likewise be taken charge of by the missions, others you may provide with service in the household of respectable Europeans or other inhabitants of Zanzibar. Captain Frazer told me he could take almost any number likely to come at Kokotoni, and I see no reason why freedmen should not be assigned tentatively and with due precautions to respectable and responsible native landed proprietors on the island, who are able to satisfy you that they will treat such servants as freed men and not as slaves, and be just and humane in their dealings with them.

In the event of any remaining undisposed of, they might be sent to Johanna to Mr. Sunley's care, and he will see that they are provided for there on any terms you and he may think reasonable.

Registration should be carefully attended to, and no one should have a freed man assigned to him who is not willing to keep account and inform the Consul what becomes of such servant.

Some token should be devised, to be given to all who can take care of it, as a mark of freedom. Various suggestions have been offered for some peculiar bead or article of metal, which can be worn round the neck or wrist. It should be something uniform, cheap, easily kept, and of a kind that all would learn to value and take a pride in possessing and preserving. I have no doubt you will soon fix on something which will fulfil these conditions.

There remains the question of terms of assignment. It will probably be best to proceed tentatively, beginning perhaps with terms similar to those which are found to satisfy free emigrants to Natal.

In some cases of the very young and invalid it will be necessary to pay for their being duly cared for. I agree very much in the opinions I find you have recorded on this subject, and request you will act on them at your discretion pending further orders from the Home Government.

You should retain such establishment as you find absolutely necessary for giving effect to these suggestions, reporting your proceedings from time to time as you find necessary.

I shall be obliged if you will favour me with any observations which may occur to you on these suggestions, and on the general subject; and I authorize you to act on my suggestions as far as you concur in them, pending further instructions from higher authority.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 41.

Sir B. Frere to General Schneider.

Sir,

"Enchantress," April 2, 1873.

THE maintenance of slaves captured by Her Majesty's cruizers and liberated at Aden, has for some time been a question of some difficulty, owing to but few of them being required at Aden itself as servants or labourers, and to the want of means of housing them until employment is found for them, or till they can be shipped to Bombay.

For many of the young girls you will no doubt be able, as hitherto, to provide an asylum with the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy; for others, and for some of the boys and adults, you will be able to find a home under respectable and responsible masters, as domestic servants, or otherwise. But the majority, I am of opinion, will be best disposed of at Zanzibar, at Johanna, and at the various missions established on the mainland of Eastern Africa. I have informed Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar of my views on this subject, and suggested to him the means of disposal which seemed to me most likely to insure the welfare of liberated slaves. I have accordingly now to request that, pending orders from the Home Government, you will forward to Zanzibar by the first suitable means of transport all negroes who may be handed over to your charge by the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruizers, and for whom you are unable to

* Dr. Rebmann's head catechist.

insure speedy and suitable employment at Aden, always bearing in mind that this should be done as economically as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 42.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Your Highness,

Mombasah, March 28, 1873.

SINCE I had last the honour of an interview with your Highness, I have visited many of the principal ports in your Highness' dominions, and have satisfied myself by personal observation and inquiry as to the substantial truth of the facts which formed the foundation of the proposals I had the honour on the part of Her Majesty's Government to submit to your Highness.

The records of your Highness' Custom-house show that as many as 30,000 slaves have of late years passed through the various Custom-houses in your Highness' dominions, and paid duty to your Highness' Treasury; in addition to which, there can be no doubt that large numbers have been smuggled past without being recorded or paying duty.

This number is far in excess of what can possibly be required to supply the domestic demand of Zanzibar and the other islands and places in your Highness' dominions, for supplying the wants of which reservations have been made by Treaty, permitting the free passage of slaves from one part to another of your Highness' dominions at certain seasons and within certain limits.

The residue, to the number of many thousands annually, are exported to Madagascar and other foreign countries to the south, and to Somali Land, Arabia, Persia, and other foreign countries to the north. On most of these slaves so exported, contrary to the express provisions and in defiance of the spirit of Treaties, custom dues have been paid to the farmer of your Highness' Customs. All suffer the greatest privations and tortures from the commencement of their captivity till their arrival at the ultimate destination, and many more persons die from the sufferings thus inflicted on them than are finally sold into slavery.

Some of the persons thus destroyed or sent out of Africa are your Highness' subjects, or might in their own country contribute to the prosperity of your dominions. So far their export or destruction increases the dearth of labour so much spoken of by way of justification for the import of slave labour into Zanzibar and the islands; but the great majority are not subjects of your Highness, nor persons over whose lives or liberties your Highness can claim the slightest original legitimate jurisdiction.

I have further satisfied myself as to the truth of the statements that great numbers of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are more or less directly implicated in the traffic. Some of them, in various capacities under your Highness' orders, are required by your Highness to pass and tax all slaves so exported, and to become parties to a systematic evasion of the Treaties with Great Britain; and as the greater part of all trade passes through the hands of Indian subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, or of Indian potentates in subordinate alliance with Her Majesty, such traders are as capitalists and dealers indirectly implicated in all the ramifications of the Slave Trade.

Your Highness has been made aware of the determination of Her Majesty's Government not to permit this state of things to continue; and having satisfied myself that there was no misrepresentation or exaggeration as to the essential facts, and your Highness having expressed your determination to take no part in any measures for giving better effect to the spirit of the Treaties with the Government of Great Britain on the subject, I have been compelled to give such instructions to Her Majesty's Consul and to the Senior Naval Officer on this station as seem to me necessary, with a view to give effect to the determination of Her Majesty's Government.

Your Highness is aware that heretofore during the months of May to December inclusive, Her Majesty's naval officers employed on this station have been directed to respect all passes granted by the officers of your Highness' Customs to vessels freighted with slaves, provided such passes professed to cover vessels proceeding from one part of your Highness' dominions between Kilwa and Lamoo to another; and no slaver with such papers on board has been seized and condemned, unless there was something in the circumstances of her condition at the time which was plainly inconsistent with the

Custom House Pass.

It has been found, by experience, that this practice opens a door to the greatest abuses. Your Highness' officials grant passes, and receive customs, without restriction or discrimination, for all slaves exported from your ports, provided the Commanders of the vessels ask for a pass within the prescribed limits. Once provided with such a pass, the vessel sails; and if able to elude the vigilance of Her Britannic Majesty's cruizers, frequently escapes with her cargo direct to some foreign country, where the slaves are landed and disposed of. At other times the slaves are landed in Zanzibar or Pemba, or some other part of your Highness' dominions, and there await a convenient opportunity of being shipped, and sent away.

In either case, the clear intention of the reservations provided in the Treaty are frustrated; and slaves, which could never have been intended by the framers of the Treaty of 1845 to be allowed to pass, are passed, and exported from Africa, in direct contravention of the objects of that Treaty.

No. 43.

Sir B, Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord, *"Enchantress," off Cape Guardafui, April 5, 1873.*

ON finally leaving Zanzibar on the 17th ultimo, I took passage, with all the members of my Mission, on board Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and proceeded to Bagamoyo, leaving directions for the "Enchantress," which was not quite ready for sea, to meet me at Pangani.

The anchorage at Bagamoyo, though good, is in an open roadstead, so exposed to every wind that it is by no means always safe for vessels to approach, more especially as they cannot get within a mile of the shore.

A small-sized town, of which, as usual, our Indian subjects are the chief inhabitants, has sprung up, and is chiefly enriched by the caravans which are in the habit of collecting here, both before and after a journey into the interior. One of these caravans arrived, during our stay, from the Unyamwezi country; the savage-looking natives, who then made their first visit to the coast, presenting a marked contrast to the domesticated slave, from whom one is apt to form one's ideas of what a free African is. They had never heard either of Dr. Livingstone or Mr. Stanley.

We were met on the beach by Lieutenant Cameron and Dr. Dillon, of the Livingstone Relief Expedition, by the Fathers of the French Mission which is here established, and by the usual crowd of Arabs and Indians. The Relief Expedition has been considerably delayed by various causes, such as a difficulty in obtaining porters, which I imagine may, to some extent, be traced to the unwillingness of the Arabs to afford them any assistance, but they had got a considerable quantity of baggage, with a sufficient carrying-power over to Kikoko, on the other side of the River Kingani, and were, I trust, in a fair way to make a successful start before the rainy season sets in.

We were indebted for a night's shelter to the hospitable care of the French fathers. Their Mission at Bagamoyo was established four and a half years ago, by Père Horner, on land granted them by the late Sultan, and in that time they have, with no other aid than that of their pupils—chiefly slaves liberated by our cruizers—cleared some eighty acres of land, built comfortable houses for themselves and the Sisterhood which is attached to the Mission, and set up a chapel and dormitories, and schoolrooms for their 300 pupils. Most of these are boys and girls, but there are some adults, who have married, and live in a small village close by. The Mission would be almost self-supporting by this time were it not for the recent hurricane, which blew down several of their buildings, including the greater part of the chapel, and otherwise did much harm. The brethren of this order are chosen on account of special aptitude for their work, and are themselves the instructors in the several trades which their pupils learn. These latter seem happy and intelligent; some quite little boys, who had not been at the establishment more than two months, were already able to spell out their French lesson books.

This order being Alsatian, has naturally suffered considerably from the late war, and their superior, Père Horner, whose acquaintance I made in Zanzibar, where I accompanied him over the establishment which they have in that town, has now left for Europe to endeavour to collect more funds. The Zanzibar establishment receives liberated slaves and educates them in the same manner as at Bagamoyo; it possesses, besides, a foundry, which is worked by negroes, and till lately maintained a hospital and resident French

physician, whose services were always at the disposal of any European sailors or indigent persons who might require them. The poverty caused by the war has, however, necessitated the recall of this gentleman to Europe, and the hospital no longer exists, though the Fathers still assist the sick as best they can. Whilst I was at Zanzibar they took in and cared for, till his death, a young Englishman, named Hicks, who had come out to collect natural history specimens. I was so much struck with the admirably practical system on which this Mission is conducted, that on finding their funds were at a low ebb, and that they had received nothing on account of the liberated slave children made over to them, I contributed to their funds, on Government behalf, the sum of 200*l.*, and feel sure that my having done so will meet with your Lordship's approval.

We left Bagamoyo on the morning of the 19th, and having rejoined the "Enchantress" off Pangani, stood on in company with the "Daphne" to Mombasah, which we reached early on the morning of the 20th.

As the town of Mombasah is one of the most picturesque, so its harbour, extending as it does with good anchorage for large ships almost round the Island, is one of the best and its position at the end of one of the numerous spurs of the Kilimandjaro range is one of the finest on the coast. I consider, now that our monthly steamers run so close by the town, that they might easily touch there if necessary; there are few if any sites along the coast which afford so good an opening for English colonization, with so fair a prospect of immediate success.

The accompanying interesting memorandum by Colonel Pelly gives an account of its past history and present trade. •

As I was anxious to receive the mail which was expected by the 24th at Zanzibar, I requested Captain Malcolm of the "Briton," who met us at Mombasah, to allow the "Daphne" to return for it to Zanzibar, and profited by the opportunity to pay a visit to our two missionary stations at Ribe and Kisoludini, both a short distance inland from Mombasah.

We were supplied with porters and a guard of the Sultan's soldiers by the Governor of the town; and, after landing some distance up the creek behind Mombasah, proceeded through a well-wooded and undulating country to Ribe, the home of Mr. Wakefield of the United Methodist Free Churches Mission. The country was but little cultivated, though it supports a considerable number of inhabitants, Wanika and Wakamba, who rushed out to greet us in full war attire and in a manner which might have been alarming had not the friendly salutation 'Yambo' mingled with the yells of the warriors as they passed brandishing their spears and bows and arrows.

The mission-house at Ribe is well and healthily situated on a hill commanding a view of a wide tract of country stretching to Mombasah and the sea, from which it is some fifteen miles distant. Mr. Wakefield gives the natives a good character for friendliness. We saw at the Sunday Schools and Services about forty Wanika and Galla converts, the latter drawn to the mission by having made the acquaintance of Messrs. Wakefield and New during their journeys in the Galla country, of which accounts have been published by the Royal Geographical Society.

From Ribe we went on to the Church Missionary Society's establishment at Kisoludini, prettily situated in a spot where the numbers of cocoa-nut trees, the wild cotton, which grows abundantly, and other valuable products of the soil, show of what it is capable were only its cultivation attended to.

Mr. Rebmann, who for nearly thirty years has been resident missionary in this part of Africa, was himself at Mombasah, where I had much interesting conversation with him; but we were received by his native catechist, George David, who was educated at Nassick, and has for some time been resident at Kisoludini. There is a small colony of eight, including women and children, at this station, which consists of a few well-built and comfortable houses.

Mr. Rebmann, whom I was sorry to find utterly prostrated in bodily strength by overwork and solitude, is a scholar of the highest repute, who has devoted his life to the study of the languages of East Africa. He has completed dictionaries of three of the most extended dialects—one of the tribes round Lake Nyassa, another of the Suaheli or Coast dialect, and a third of Kanika—the first and last being ready for the printer, and the other only requiring fair transcription. If these works could be printed they would be of inestimable value to future labourers in Africa; but Mr. Rebmann seems unwilling to part with his manuscripts, and unequal to the task of taking them to Europe.

Except by the study of languages, the example of a holy life, and precept to those who sought his teaching, Mr. Rebmann has been able to do little missionary work, and the results of his mission, as far as number of converts goes, would in general be deemed

disappointing. He has, however, gained a high character for the mission among the natives; and I have no doubt that here, as at Ribe, far greater results would follow if a larger industrial element were admitted into the establishments. I have discussed this subject very fully in my despatch on the mode of employing liberated slaves.

The natives of this port are quite alive to the advantages they would gain by the presence among them of Englishmen in whom the conduct of the missionaries has inspired them with perfect confidence (we were more than once asked to remain in the country), and I feel sure only want example to advance rapidly in the path of civilization.

The "Daphne" having returned with the mails we left Mombasah on the 28th under her escort for Lamoo, the "Briton" returning to Zanzibar. At Lamoo, which is a thriving commercial town with a large fort, situated up a long creek, and somewhat difficult of access for large vessels, owing to an awkward bar outside, we were well received by the Governor, but could gain little information, though we heard that three dhows had started north with slaves, chiefly Gallas and Abyssinians, the day before our arrival. We did not overtake them on our way north, and had no means of verifying the statement.

We approached Merka close enough to distinguish people on the walls, but it was too late to go on shore that evening, and the anchorage in the open roadstead being bad we did not land. It is a small walled town, with many stone buildings, at the foot of a bare hill of red sand and rock, with precarious shelter for dhows behind a small reef. The country at no great distance must be more fertile than the bare hills on the coast, for we saw numerous clusters of Somali tents and huts with flocks of sheep, cattle, and camels in the neighbourhood, confirming what we were told that anything in the shape of protection on this coast invariably draws round it population.

We were told that the town is managed by a kind of council of the townsfolk—many of whom are Indian Borahs—that his Highness has a Governor in the fort with a small Arab garrison, and a Custom-house managed, as usual, by a Banian. No countryfolk are allowed to stay in the town after sunset, when all strangers are turned out, the gates are closed and not opened without an express order from the Governor till next morning.

This was the last town in the Sultan's dominions which we saw, and nearly the last where he has a garrison, though he is said to have a port at Warseck.

Though the Sultan's want of power is not so apparent in the northern as in the southern portion of his dominions, owing to his keeping stronger garrisons of troops for fear of the Muscat Arabs, I saw nothing which did not confirm the views which I had previously formed, and which I expressed in my No. 25 of the 10th ultimo.

From Port Durnford to Ras Hafun, on the Somali coast, there is no safe harbour for vessels; and it is to the central shores of Eastern Africa, rather than to the inhospitable coast further to the north, that our attention must be turned for the development of its commerce and the suppression of the Slave Trade.

But this Somali coast should not be neglected. In the interior it is said to be a fine pastoral country. Cattle and sheep, asses and camels abound, and are largely exported, as are hides, orchilla-weed, and oil-seeds. The cultivation of the latter is said to be rapidly extending, and of late years many slaves have been landed on this coast. It was formerly supposed that all these slaves were re-exported, either coastwise, or by being sent across the Peninsula to the coast opposite Aden. But Dr. Kirk has lately been informed, on good authority, that as many as 4,000 are annually imported to remain in the country.

The Somalis have a bad name among the Coast people further south as cruel, blood-thirsty, and untrustworthy; but they have not been found to be so at Aden, whither they flock from the opposite coast, and have a good character as cheerful, industrious, and intelligent labourers, much quieter, and more easily managed than Arabs.

Possibly, as in the case of the Galla, they by no means deserve the character given them by their neighbours. Fifty years ago, Captain Owen was assured that the Galla on this coast were the most cruel and untameable of savages; but later travellers have found them even more easily managed than their Negro neighbours. Herr Brenner, a companion of the late Baron Vanderdecken, and now Austrian Consul at Aden, assured me he had travelled alone for months together in the Galla country, and had never been molested. I know of but one Englishman who has resided on this coast. Mr. Heal has for some years lived at Brava as local agent for the Hamburgh house of Hanning and Co. He describes the place as much resembling Merka, and the people as extremely uncivilized and impulsive, and subject to no central authority whatever; but by no means ill-disposed or untrustworthy to one who understands them.

The "Daphne" quitted us at Ras Hafun, in accordance with orders from the Senior Naval Officer on this station; and I would take this opportunity of expressing

my sense of the cordial co-operation which I have always met with from Commander Bateman.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 43.

Remarks made to Colonel Pelly by the Rev. — Rebmann at Mombasah concerning the Muzrooi Tribes.

THERE is an interesting notice of this tribe in Dr. Kraff's work.

When the Portuguese were expelled Mombasah, the Mombassians found themselves unable to maintain their independence unless supported from without. They therefore dispatched an Embassy to Muscat soliciting a Governor from the Imam of that State. The Imam sent them a chief and following of the Muzrooi tribe—being a tribe of the hill regions of Oman, in the neighbourhood of Roostack. These Muzrooi deputies gradually made themselves independent at Mombasah, which district they continued to rule for a century or more.

Eventually, the Imams of Muscat endeavoured to reduce the Muzroois of Mombasah to obedience, and the Muzroois, in their extremity, turned to the English, some of whose vessels of war, under the command of Captain Owen, R.N., chanced to be then present in the Mombasah waters. This occurred between 1820 and 1830. Captain Owen accorded the Muzrooi provisional protection, pending confirmation of the same by his Government. But the British Government refused to interfere, and after two unsuccessful attacks, the Imam of Muscat was successful in a third attack against Mombasah, which was prosecuted, as it was said, with ammunition supplied by the English.

The Muzrooi then retired to the mainland, while twenty-five of their more powerful tribesmen were deported by the Imam to Bunder Abbas.

At present the head of the tribe is one Moobaruck bin Rashid,* who still pretends to entertain hopes of re-establishing his dynasty. Only last year he went into open rebellion, and, attacking the adherents of the Sultan of Zanzibar, the latter was compelled to dispatch a force of some 400 soldiers against him. Moobaruck retired to a mountain stronghold called Mooalee, distant some 20 miles inland from Bunder Ghasee. The Sultan's force followed him thither. Moobaruck, promising obedience, no action had taken place, and the troops returned to the coast.

At present† Moobaruck is residing at Mooalee with a few followers. It is said that he is a man of character and considerable personal influence. The Waneeka of the mainland secretly favour his pretensions, and some even among the inhabitants of the town of Mombassa itself are suspected as his adherents.

After the rebellion of Moobaruck the Sultan declared Moobaruck's younger brother Khutam head of the tribe, and this Khutam now resides at Bunder Ghasee, a port distant about 60 miles to the southward of Mombasah, while another brother is entrusted by the Sultan with the Government of Onyombo, a port about 60 miles distant to the northward of Mombasah.

The walls of the town of Mombasah were built by the Muzrooi dynasty.

Among the tribesmen of the Muzrooi is one Shaik Ali bin Abdullah, who has long studied at Mecca, and is reported a deeply learned man. He now usually resides at Mombasah, but is for the moment gone to Zanzibar, where he is supposed to possess many books and manuscripts.

The town of Mombasah is considered to be healthier than the surrounding districts. The Mooalee hills are considered to enjoy a very healthy climate.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Mombasah, March 27, 1873.

P.S.—Appended is a memorandum showing the present export and import trade of Mombasah, the details therein given having been collected from the Custom-house records at Mombasah.

L. P.

* Called *Buruk* by the Swahelis.—L. P.

† I understand from Dr. Kirk that the Sultan's expedition of last year wholly failed; and that the Muzroois Chieftains, whether at Mooalee or Ghasee, are still in a state of semi revolt.—L. P.

Inclosure 2 in No. 43.

*Memorandum on Trade of Mombasah.**Imports, 1872.*

From mainland.—Ivory (elephant's teeth) 1,250 farislah: 1 farislah equal 36 lbs. (price for 1 far. 60 dollars); gum copal 1,774½ far. (price for 1 far. 5 dollars); horns 61½ far. (price 12½ dollars per far.); hides 77 (price 2 dollars per hide); hippopotamus teeth, 2 far. (price 6 dollars per far.); bees-wax 1 far. (price 9 dollars per far.)

From Bombay.—Piece goods, rice, and other articles to the value of 13,318¾ dollars.

From Zanzibar.—Long cloth and other articles to the value of 150,000 dollars, as follows:—Linen, long cloth, kanakee (blue dyed cloth), chintz, coloured cloths, drills, shirtings (bleached), beads, wire-brass, American soap, gunpowder, firearms, lead, metal, brass dishes, &c., china plates, Muscat cloth, dates, loaf sugar, rice, pepper and other cardamons.

Exports, 1872.

To Zanzibar.—Ivory 927 far.; gum copal 3,294 far.

To Bombay.—Ivory 323 far., gum copal 480¼ far., horns 61½ far., hides 77, hippopotamus teeth 2 far., bees-wax 1 far.

Tribes.—Kindanee, Changama, Kengana. Chief: Mohamed Unes.

Suaheli.—Tribes. Kalleefee, Mombasse, Bravee, Motarfa, Wakatwa, 'Joomboo, Malindy, Someli, Paja. Chief: Sheikh Khamees bin Kombo.

Arabs.—Tribes.—Rajabee, Remeche, Mamree, Ben' Haroosee, Mangaree, Jenabee, Muzroe, Thimamee, Ben Shakalee, Riamee. Chief: Sheikh Majeo bin Jalur—Arabs resident of Maculla and Shehr.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

March 28, 1873. .

No. 44.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Macallah, April 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches of the 28th February and 6th March respectively, inclosing correspondence and asking my opinion on the subject of forming a dépôt of liberated slaves at Johanna.

I have anticipated your Lordship's wishes in this respect in my despatches from which your Lordship will have seen that I am in favour of acceding to the Sultan of Johanna's application. I am, however, now engaged on a despatch on the whole question of liberated slaves, in which I shall again touch on this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 45.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

THE reports made by Sir H. B. Frere of the results of his investigation into the state of the Slave Trade in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar establish the complicity of British subjects in that nefarious traffic, and impose upon Her Majesty's Government the obligation to use the utmost endeavours to relieve the British name from the scandal and disgrace which their unlawful practices bring upon it. •

I have therefore to direct your particular attention to the 16th and 23rd clauses of the Order in Council of the 4th of November, 1867, by which you are empowered to deal with British subjects engaged in, or being accessory to, the purchase or sale of slaves, or having slaves illegally in their possession; and I have to enjoin you to cause all such British subjects against whom you can obtain sufficient evidence as having been engaged in such practices to be brought before you, and thereupon to deal with them according to the powers vested in you by the Order in Council.

I send you herewith copies of the Acts of Parliament now in force, defining the crime of slave-dealing and the punishment to which British subjects engaged in it are made liable.

The crime itself is of so serious a character, and the punishment to which persons convicted of it are amenable are so severe, that it may probably be desirable in the majority of cases to remit the parties accused for trial in the High Court at Bombay; but in regard to this, much must be left to your discretion.

You will give the greatest publicity to the instructions contained in this despatch, a copy of which will be sent to the Viceroy of India.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 45.

Earl Granville to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

THE reports of Sir H. Bartle Frere having established beyond all question that great numbers of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are more or less directly implicated in the Slave Trade, it has been my duty, in obedience to Her Majesty's commands, to send to Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar the instructions of which I inclose a copy, directing him, under the powers vested in him by Order in Council, to adopt the most decided measures for the apprehension and punishment of any subjects of Her Majesty directly or indirectly engaged in the Slave Trade.

In pursuance of this instruction Her Majesty's Consul may be expected to send to Bombay, for trial before the High Court of that Presidency, subjects of Her Majesty who may be brought before him charged with such offences; and I have the honour to request that your Grace will communicate a copy of my instruction to the Viceroy of India, to the intent that his Excellency may apprise the Governor of Bombay thereof, and direct him to co-operate in carrying out the determination of Her Majesty to spare no pains to relieve the British name from the stigma which now unfortunately attaches to it, by reason of the large participation of British subjects in the East African Slave Trade.

It will be for the Viceroy of India to consider whether, as it is supposed that the British subjects carrying on this Trade on the East Coast of Africa are in communication with parties in Her Majesty's Indian dominions, some public notice, such as Her Majesty's Consul is directed to issue, might not conveniently be published in India.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 46.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government have been much disappointed by the refusal of the Sultan of Zanzibar to accede to the proposals which Sir Bartle Frere was instructed to make to him with a view to the suppression of the Slave Trade carried on from his dominions.

Her Majesty's Government are not, however, prepared to acquiesce in this refusal, and I have accordingly to instruct you to inform the Sultan that Her Majesty's Government require him to conclude the Treaty as presented to him by Sir Bartle Frere, with the insertion of a passage in the first Article, by which the Sultan will specifically engage to take effectual measures within all parts of his dominions to prevent and suppress the trade.

I inclose a copy of the Article as amended.*

You will further state to the Sultan that, if the Treaty with this insertion is not accepted and signed by him before the arrival of Admiral Cumming, who is ordered to proceed at once to Zanzibar, the British naval forces will proceed to blockade the Island of Zanzibar.

* See Article I of Treaty, Inclosure in No. 57.

If the Treaty is signed by the Sultan you will say that Her Majesty's naval forces will co-operate with His Highness for the execution of its provisions, by seizing all vessels having slaves on board belonging to countries between which and Great Britain, as between Great Britain and Zanzibar, there exist Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade which admit of such seizure being made.

With regard to vessels belonging to other than such countries, you will inform the Sultan that Her Majesty's Government will hold him responsible if such vessels escape from his ports, or enter into the waters of Zanzibar.

The British naval officers are to follow the instructions that they have with regard to such vessels.

If the Sultan, having made this Treaty, should infringe its obligations, you must refer home for instructions before any penal measures against him for the purpose of enforcing it are adopted.

Instructions will be sent by the Board of Admiralty to the naval officers, directing them to establish the blockade of the Island of Zanzibar, and to enforce it according to the law of nations, on being informed by you that the Sultan refuses to sign the Treaty.

You will furnish the naval officers with a copy of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 47.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(Extract.)

Muscat, April 15, 1873.

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of November last, directing me to obtain Treaties with other Chiefs on the African, Arabian, and Persian coasts, besides the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, I proceeded to Makallah, on the Arabian coast, and arrived there on the 6th instant.

I found it a thriving town, with a small sheltered anchorage, and with every mark of considerable commercial activity. I was very well received by the Nukeeb, Silah-bin-Mahamed, who, on the 14th of May, 1863, signed an anti-Slave Trade Engagement with Her Majesty's Government. This engagement was considered by the Arabs as personal, and only binding during the lifetime of the Chief who signed it;* but the Nukeeb readily consented to renew it for himself, his heirs and successors, and I have the honour to inclose a copy of his agreement to that effect.

From Makallah I went to Shahah, with the Nukeeb of which place we have an engagement precisely similar to that signed by the Nukeeb of Makallah. The Nukeeb, or Jemadar, lately in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, lives some twelve days' journey in the interior, and I did not therefore see him; but his Minister came off to the ship and assured me that his Chief had recently sent to Aden a renewal of his engagement to put down the Slave Trade; that Sir Salar Jung, the enlightened Minister of the Nizam, and his other friends in India, had fully convinced him of the necessity for doing so, and that he would undoubtedly send down to Aden, as soon as possible, a duplicate of his renewed engagement in case the former had miscarried.

In commercial prosperity, Shahah, exposed as it is to the force of every wind, is much inferior to Makallah, and it is probable that no large number of slaves are ever taken there from the African coasts.

In Makallah we saw a large number of negroes, and owing to our neglect of the place where till quite recently no man-of-war had been since the "Dryad" in 1868, there has been probably a considerable importation of slaves, especially of Gallas and Abyssinians; but a more frequent supervision of the Arabian coast, and an occasional call from a man-of-war, and visit from an assistant to the Political Agent at Aden, would doubtless soon put an end to it.

• • Inclosure in No. 47. • •

Engagement by Nukeeb of Makallah confirming for Heirs and Successors the Engagement of May 14, 1863.

(English version.)

WHEREAS under date 14th May, 1863 (25th Dhil-Kanda, A.H.), a solemn agreement was entered into by me, Silah bin Mahamed, Nukeeb of Makallah, with Brigadier

* Silah-bin-Mahamed has died since signing this agreement.

William Marcus Coghlan, covenanting to abolish and prohibit the export or import of slaves from or to any part of my territory, from or to any other place whatever in Africa or in Asia or elsewhere; and whereas his Excellency Sir H. B. E. Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Special Envoy, has now impressed on me the advantages of adhering in perpetuity to the terms of the said Agreement, therefore, and accordingly I, Silah bin Mahamed, Nukeeb of Makullah aforesaid, on behalf of myself, my heirs, and successors, do hereby solemnly confirm and engage to be bound by the terms of the aforesaid Agreement of May 14, 1863.

Done at Makullah this 7th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1873.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

(And on the Nukeeb's behalf.)

No. 48.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

*"Enchantress," off the Coast of Oman,
April 16, 1873.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that, in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions, I arrived at Muscat on the 12th instant. Colonel Pelly at once went on shore to announce my arrival to the Sultan, Seyyid Toorkee-bin-Said, to explain to him the objects of my mission and the nature of the Treaty which I was instructed to propose for his acceptance, and to arrange an interview. Colonel Pelly soon returned with the gratifying assurance that the Sultan was in every way disposed to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government, and bringing a memorandum which His Highness had signed to that effect.

Accordingly, at 8 o'clock on the morning of Monday the 14th, I landed at the steps of His Highness' palace, with my Staff and the officers of Her Majesty's ships "Enchantress," "Vulture," and "Kwangtung," in full uniform, and in company with Captain Miles, the Acting Political Agent. After the customary formalities had been gone through, and the letters from Her Majesty and Her Government had been delivered, the Treaty, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, and which had been carefully gone through the day before by His Highness, was signed, and a duplicate copy left in His Highness' possession.

The Arabic version of this Treaty was certified to be correct by His Highness' own Mirza, by Captain Miles, and by Mr. Lucas, the translator to the Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Your Lordship will perceive that by this Treaty, Seyyid Toorkee engages, for himself, his heirs and successors, to prohibit absolutely the import and export of slaves within his territories, to abolish all public slave markets, and finally confers for the future freedom on all slaves as soon as they set foot in his territory. This last stipulation I consider peculiarly valuable, as it will discourage slave traders from bringing their human wares to a country where the latter at once cease to be available property.

Seyyid Toorkee did not conceal either from himself or from me the difficulty which he would meet with in enforcing the faithful observance of this Treaty on all his subjects, but with the support and good-will of Her Majesty's Government this courageous Prince will, I doubt not, compel its practical fulfilment.

I had other interviews with the Sultan during my stay at Muscat, in which topics were touched on of much interest to His Highness but foreign to the Slave Trade, amongst others the Muscat subsidy, concerning which I shall have the honour of addressing your Lordship after consultation with the Viceroy of India.

I would take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to General Schneider for his courtesy in affording me the escort of the "Kwangtung" as far as Muscat, and to Captain Elton of that vessel for the readiness with which he performed all that was required of him.

I cannot conclude this despatch without an acknowledgement of the value of Colonel Pelly's services at Muscat. During his long residence in the Persian Gulf he has acquired an influence to which I attribute the good-feeling shown towards England by Seyyid Toorkee, and much of the success which attended the negotiations at Muscat.

The replies of His Highness to the letters of Her Majesty the Queen, the Duke of Argyll, and your Lordship, are herewith inclosed, with translations. I was much struck with the good tone which pervades them.

I have the honour to add that I left Muscat this day to report my proceedings to the Viceroy of India.

* I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Muscat, signed April 14, 1873.

Preamble.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Seyyid Toorkee bin Saïd, Sultan of Muscat, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have agreed to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, which shall be binding upon themselves, their heirs and successors; and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland having appointed as Her Plenipotentiary Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Bath and Grand Commander of the Star of India, he having communicated to the Sultan of Muscat his full powers, found in good and due form, and the aforesaid Sultan of Muscat, Seyyid Toorkee bin Saïd, acting on his own behalf, they have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The import of slaves from the coasts or islands of Africa or elsewhere into the dominions of Muscat, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan of Muscat's dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease; and any vessels engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such naval and other officers or agents, and such Courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of Her Britannic Majesty; and all persons hereafter entering the Sultan's dominions and dependencies shall be free.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

The Sultan engages to protect, to the utmost of his power, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection, shall, from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, be prohibited from possessing slaves, and in the meanwhile from acquiring any fresh slaves.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by Her Majesty, and the Ratification shall be forwarded to Muscat as soon as possible.

In witness whereof Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Seyyid Toorkee bin Saïd, Sultan of Muscat, on his own behalf, have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Muscat this 14th day of April, 1873.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.
(L.S.)

An Arabic translation of the same by his Highness Mirza, and certified to be correct by Captain Miles, Acting Political Agent at Muscat, and by Mr. Lucas, translator to the Agency, was signed and sealed on the same day by His Highness Seyyid Toorkee.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

The Sultan of Muscat to the Queen.

(Translation.)

Madam,

Muscat, April 15, 1873.

I HAVE received with sentiments of the profoundest deference and respect the letter with which your Majesty honoured me from your Court at Balmoral, under date the 16th day of November last.

In selecting my most highly esteemed friend Sir H. Bartle Edward Frere to visit me, your Majesty has conferred on me an additional honour. His Excellency's name, so revered in the East, was already familiar to me, and I trust that I have received your Majesty's special Envoy in all respects as your Majesty would wish, and particularly in reference to the Slave Trade.

His Excellency, on his return to your Majesty's Court, will doubtless submit to your Majesty my earnest and respectful reciprocation of the desire which your Majesty is pleased to express for the improvement and perpetuation of those friendly relations with which your Majesty has hitherto honoured my ancestors and myself. And be assured, Madam, that, so long as the grace of God may preserve me to rule in these territories, the policy of the Muscat State will always be conformed to that of your Majesty's Empire.

Permit me to submit an expression of my most earnest and solemn hope that the Almighty may continue to bless your Majesty with uninterrupted happiness and prosperity, and that your Majesty will always honour me with your commands.

Your Majesty's faithful friend,

(Signed) TOORKEE BIN SAID.

Inclosure 3 in No. 48.

The Sultan of Muscat to Earl Granville.

My Lord,

Muscat, April 15, 1873.

I AM honoured by the receipt of your Lordship's letter dated from the Foreign Office on the 9th of November last.

Her Majesty's Special Envoy, Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, has visited me at Muscat, and I am unaffectedly sensible of the high honour which Her Majesty's Government have been pleased to accord to me in deputing this high functionary and great statesman to make known to me the views of Her Majesty's Government.

I doubt not that the fresh Treaty which I have signed for the complete suppression of the Slave Trade within my dominions will be agreeable to your Lordship and meet the full approval of Her Majesty.

So long as it may please God that I should rule at Muscat, my policy and actions will always be in deferential conformity with those of Her Majesty's Home and Indian Governments, and I am confident that, when the real facts of questions are known to those Governments, they will always treat me with justice and generosity.

Your Lordship may be aware that some years ago the British Government divided my late father's (on whom may God have mercy) dominions into two separate States. At that time I ruled at Sohar, and under your arbitrament I lost my position and became subject to the Sultan of Muscat.

God has at length provided that I should become Ruler of the Muscat territories, and Her Majesty's Government have been graciously pleased to recognize me accordingly. I find, however, that the terms of the British arbitrament are persistently ignored by the Ruler of Zanzibar, while, on the other hand, hostilities by sea are forbidden to me by your Government.

I have begged my friend, Sir Bartle Frere, to represent the real facts of this question to your Lordship. And if your Lordship should take the trouble to read the terms of the Arbitration and the present state of the question in general, your Lordship, or any other high-minded statesman, would say that either the Government are in honour bound to see that the terms of their arbitrament are fulfilled, or, failing this, at least to permit me to put the question to a renewed arbitrament of the sword.

However, Sir Bartle Frere and your Lordship will doubtless confer on this matter, and I will cheerfully abide by whatever his Excellency and your Lordship may decide.

Meantime I beg your Lordship to believe me your true friend,

(L.S.)

TOORKEE BIN SAID.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Gulf of Omdn, April 16, 1873.

THE accompanying copy of a letter and its inclosures, addressed to me by Colonel Pelly, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and now attached to this Mission, will show how successfully he has carried out the instructions which he received last year, to hold the Trucial Chiefs of the countries near the Persian Gulf strictly to their anti-Slave Trade engagements.

The letter also contains a copy of a letter from the Sultan of Muscat, which gives an earnest of his readiness to sign the Treaty, of which a copy was forwarded to your Lordship in my immediately preceding despatch.

The renewal of these engagements, coupled with the new Treaty with Muscat and the Agreement of the Nukeeb of Makallah, completes our power to prevent the Slave Trade on the littoral of Eastern Arabia, and leaves the Sultan of Zanzibar alone in his determination to resist the wishes of the civilized world and to maintain the horrors of the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 49.]

Colonel Pelly to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

"Enchantress," March 31, 1873.

DURING the summer of last year I received from the Indian Office copy of correspondence instructing me to hold the Sovereigns and Trucial Chiefs of the countries near the Persian Gulf strictly to their engagements for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

2. As the anti-slavery engagements of the Trucial Chiefs had been of a personal character, and did not expressly bind their heirs and successors, it seemed expedient to transmit to the present Chiefs copies of the engagements when communicating to them the instructions of Her Majesty's Government.

3. Accordingly I addressed to all the Trucial Chiefs a Circular letter, and forwarded it through the British Agent on the Arab Coast, with a transmitting letter.

4. Inclosed are translated purports of the replies of the Trucial Chiefs now marginally enumerated, and I trust that these renewed assurances may be deemed satisfactory by your Excellency.

5. The British Agent has not forwarded to me the reply of the Chief of Shargah,* but from his letter of the 4th September, 1872, it appears that his reply was favourable. It appears further from the Agent's letter of the 5th October, that he had personally visited the several Chiefdoms, and found them free of imported slaves.

6. As regards the Sultan of Muscat, I addressed His Highness, suggesting his adherence to his anti-slavery engagement.

7. A translated purport of the reply of the Sultan of Muscat is inclosed. This document is at the present moment remarkable, and on the whole, I think satisfactory.

8. Referring to the Persian littoral of the Gulf, I beg to inclose for your Excellency's information a copy of a letter I addressed to the Persian Slave Commissioner at Bushire, and of a translated purport of his reply. Your Excellency is aware that our Anti-Slavery Convention with Persia is insufficient for the purpose of practically suppressing the Slave Trade with that country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

P.S.—Since writing the above letter, I have received the reply of the Chief of Shargah. It is quite satisfactory, and I beg to append its translated purport.

L. P.

* The engagement with the late Chief of Shargah, Sultan-bin-Sujgur Joasmee, included Ras-ool-Khymah.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 49.]

Circular addressed by Colonel Pelly to the Chiefs of Bahrein, Aboothabee, Shargah, Ras-el-Khymah, Ajman, Amulgavine, and Debaye.

(After compliments.)

August 20, 1872.

IT will be in your recollection that in 1847 A.D. (1263 A.H.), Shaik (name of subscribing Chief) entered into solemn engagements with the British Government for the suppression of the Slave Trade between Africa and the Territory of (subscribing Chief); a copy of this engagement is now inclosed.

Her Majesty's Government having come to suppose that the Trade in Slaves is still actively carried on between the East Coast of Africa and the Coast of Arabia, I am directed by Her Majesty's Government to hold all the Trucial Chiefs of the Persian Gulf strictly to their engagements, and I doubt not you will afford me your earnest and constant support in endeavouring wholly to prevent the import of any African slave into your territory, and in endeavouring also to prevent any of your craft from becoming in any manner engaged in the prosecution of the Slave Trade.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY, Colonel,
Her Majesty's Political Resident in Persian Gulf.

Inclosure 3 in No. 49.

Colonel Pelly to the British Agent at Shargah.

(After compliments.)

August 20, 1872.

I TRANSMIT to you inclosed circular letters addressed to the Chiefs of Aboothabee, Shargah, Ras-el-Khymah, Ajman, Amulgavine and Debaye.

I request you will yourself hand these letters to the several Chiefs at your early convenience, and impress on them the illegal and odious character of the Slave Trade, and the grave nature of the responsibility they would incur should they in any manner encourage or permit that Traffic within their several territories, or on the part of craft owned by their tribesmen or subjects.

I request you will yourself watch and instruct all over whom you may possess influence to watch and report faithfully whether any of the craft along the pirate coast are *bonâ fide* engaged in the Slave Trade, and whether any slaves still find their way into the Trucial Chiefdoms, and if they do find their way, by what route; that is to say, whether by direct import from seaward, or whether from some distant point by land transit.

You will repeat to me once every month the result of your inquiries and observation.

But you will, of course, clearly understand that while the suppression of the Slave Trade is to be rigidly observed, this suppression is not to be allowed to interfere with the lawful coastal or sea-borne trade of the Arab chieftains and their communities.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Rashed ben Hamad ben Rashed, Chief of Ajman, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

Bushire, October 1, 1872.

I HAVE received your letter of 15th Jemadee al Sanee, with copy of Treaty, stipulating the prohibition of slaves with my grandfather, father, and self. Since the date of the Treaty I have always prohibited the Traffic, and shall hereafter do the same, please God.

Inclosure 5 in No. 49.

Extract of a Translated Purport of a Letter from Sheikh Ahmed ben Abdullah, Chief of Amulgavine, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

I HAVE received your letter, a copy of Slave Treaty. I have prohibited the importation of slaves, according to the desire of the Government, and shall always do the same.

Inclosure 6 in No. 49.

Husheer bin Maktoom, Chief of Debaye, to Colonel Pelly.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

YOUR letter arrived. You write concerning the Slave Trade; up to the present I do not know that craft have brought slaves to my country to trade in them. When Hajee Abdool Rahman came I sent two of my men with two of his to search the crafts which arrived from Batinah. They saw nothing, and I, please God, will obey your orders. Any time that I hear that any slaves are brought to my country I shall stop them.

Inclosure 7 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Evan ben Ali Al Khuleefa, Chief of Bahrein, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

August 24, 1872.

I HAVE received your letter of 15th instant in regard to the engagements which in the year 1263 was entered into between the British Government and Sheik Mahomed ben Khuleefa, Chief of Bahrein, for abolition of Slave Trade between Africa and the Island of Bahrein.

I now inclose an engagement from myself, and will endeavour to the best of my ability to abolish the Traffic in the same manner as I have done heretofore,

I am always ready to carry out the terms of this engagement.

The Agreement is word for word like the Agreement entered into in the year 1273 (1856), marked B in compilation of Treaties for abolition of the African Slave Trade, but in Colonel Pelly's name.

(Signed)

J. C. EDWARDS, *Assistant Resident,
Persian Gulf.*

Inclosure 8 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Hajee Abder Rahman, British Agent at Shargah, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments)

August 24, 1872.

FROM instructions conveyed in your letter of 15 Jenadi Sani, you ordered me that I should caution the Chiefs of Oman that they should not engage in the Slave Trade in this country, and they should forbid their subjects and others to use their ships for the purpose of bringing slaves. Your letter to the Governor of Shargah I have given, and told him what was necessary. He replied favourably, and now I want to go to the other Chiefs and give them your letters, and I will tell them that bringing slaves is forbidden; and according to your orders I shall leave a man in each of their countries to give me intelligence.

Inclosure 9 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Hajee Abder Rahman, British Agent at Shargah, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

October 5, 1872.

THE people of Batinah are importers of slaves in these parts, and I have warned the Chiefs of these parts to discontinue the Traffic. I have arrived from Ras-el-Khymah, Amulgavine, and Ajman, and found that the boats in those parts did not contain any slaves. I shall always take prompt measures to prevent the trade.

Inclosure 10 in No. 49.

Colonel Pelly to the Sultan of Muscat.

Your Highness,

August 20, 1872.

HER Majesty's Government having reason to suppose that the African Slave Trade is still actively carried on, and that numbers of the slaves exported from the East Coast

of Africa are imported along the coast of Arabia, I have requested my friend Lieutenant Colonel Ross to peruse to your Highness a copy of a Circular letter which I have addressed on this subject to the Trucial Chiefs of the Persian Gulf, and of a letter of instructions which I have issued to the British Agent on the Arab Coast.

It is unnecessary to remind your Highness of the solemn engagements entered into by the ruling dynasty of Oman and the British Government for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, and I am well assured that your Highness' attention and efforts have already been turned in this direction. I feel equally assured your Highness will persist in your endeavours absolutely to prevent the import of slaves into your dominions, or the passage of slaves along your coast line towards the ports of the Arab Littoral of the Gulf.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 11 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from the Sultan of Muscat to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

September 20, 1872.

I HAVE had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and was glad to hear of your welfare.

I have understood all that you had written to me, particularly that in regard to the Slave Trade as between Africa and the Arabian ports.

This trade, in fact, continues to be carried on because of there being no check to it at its source. But if vigilance and exertion were used at the proper place, the object in view would be gained, and the matter would be stopped effectually.

On my part, every attention is given and all efforts made to prevent the sale of slaves and the importation thereof to the best of my means and ability.

But it would be impossible for me to put a stop to this matter (trade) unless I had some means of connection with a place in Africa; for in that case it would be easy for me to prevent [the trade] and see to matters. And then if you or the Sirkar wished me to undertake this affair I would have no excuse or difficulty in carrying out your wishes. But this on condition that I should have a place there, and liberty to settle therein and exercise power and enforce authority. I would then be in a position to meet your wishes in regard to the export of slaves from Africa, and I would bind myself to its being altogether stopped. It is evident that, for one having a settlement in those parts, there would be no difficulty in this matter; on the contrary, there would be every facility in managing it.

Inclosure 12 in No. 49.

Colonel Pelly to Mahmood Khan.

(After compliments.)

Bushire, August 28, 1872.

I SHOULD feel obliged by your deputing one of your Assistants to resume his place of residence in the southward position of the Gulf, in view to being enabled more readily to co-operate with the British Officers in their lawful endeavours in regard to the trade in slaves.

I think that the thriving port of Lingah would be the most convenient point for your Assistant to reside at, and I am addressing the British Agent at Lingah in view of his affording your Assistant every aid on my part, and towards facilitating his communications with the Commanders of Her Majesty's vessels of war in the event of their requesting the presence of a Persian Commissioner on board their vessels whilst cruising.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 13 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Mirza Mahmood Khan, Slave Commissioner, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

August 30, 1872.

YOUR friendly letter has been read, and I was happy to hear of your welfare.

In regard to the Assistant, I shall carry out anything you may consider advisable. I have sent my Assistant, Mirza Abdul Hereen, and am about to leave myself: please God,

I shall shortly arrive. Attention to the business I am deputed on is necessary for satisfaction of both exalted States; and I will not be found wanting in carrying out anything you may suggest connected with [the duties of] my appointment.

Inclosure 14 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Salem bin Sultan, Chief of Shargah, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

February 28, 1872 (Zilhaj 25, 1289).

I WAS very happy to receive your letter of 15th Jemadi-ul-Sani, with two copies of Treaties entered into by my father, Sultan bin Saggur.

I beg to inform you that as regards fresh importations of male and female slaves, I have prohibited all my subjects and the vessels in my territories from trading in slaves.

All slaves that come into my territories I seize, according to the terms of the Treaty, and make over to the Government Agent.

You may rest assured that I shall carry into effect whatever the Government may desire, and am always happy to receive your commands.

No. 50.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

*"Enchantress," off the Coast of Kattywar,
April 22, 1873.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th ultimo, respecting the erection of a lighthouse on Latham Island, to the southward of Zanzibar, I have now the honour to transmit copy of a letter which was addressed to Dr. Kirk by the captain of the steam-ship "Calcutta," belonging to the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, suggesting that a light should be placed on Pemba Island and on Moina Island, to the north of Zanzibar.

When I wrote the despatch referred to, I overlooked the obstacle which the Commercial Treaties with European and American Powers present to the Sultan's imposing any port duty or anchorage fee, however light or useful. No such levy can be made in his name or by his authority without the concurrence of all the Treaty Powers.

As, however, the necessity is urgent, I would submit for consideration the following propositions:—

That with His Highness' consent, and under his authority, an International Board be created at Zanzibar, similar to that which has managed the improvements at the mouth of the Danube. A Convention might be drawn up, empowering His Highness and each of the Consuls to appoint a delegate to sit on a Board for managing the expenditure of the funds to be raised by a tonnage duty for lighting the ports on the Zanzibar coast. They should have power to raise funds by loan or security of the tonnage dues, to make contracts, and to appoint competent executive and inspecting officers, rendering accounts to His Highness, and doing all in his name.

I would further suggest that the Convention should be entered into in London by the representatives of the four Treaty Powers, and should then be sent to the Consuls, with instructions to request His Highness to attend to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 50.

Commander Atkinson to Dr. Kirk.

*British India Steam Navigation Company's Steam-Ship "Calcutta,"
Zanzibar, March 26, 1873.*

Sir,

AS I hear that you are about to meet Sir Bartle Frere, I take the opportunity to represent to you the great advantage it would be to the mail steamers and vessels generally, if there was a light shown from the north end of Pemba during the night, or, say, just before daylight, and by so doing ensure their arrival at Zanzibar during that day. This would be dangerous to attempt without a light, as the land is very low, and

the strength and direction of the currents very uncertain. The second, that on Moina, would enable steamers to run on after dark (if delayed and unable to get further), and reach a safe anchorage, from whence they could reach Zanzibar early next day. As commander of a mail steamer, bound to arrive on a certain day, I feel deeply the importance of "leading lights."

Had there been a light on Pemba, I would have arrived here yesterday, but was unable to do so, having to make Pemba during the night. The uncertainty of the strength and direction of the currents about these islands is well known, and therefore all the more necessity for lighting the channels leading to Zanzibar.

Hoping that this may meet your approval and support, I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. ATKINSON.

No. 51.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Poona, May 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a Memorandum which I have drawn up, showing the history of the connection with the East Coast of Africa of the Indian traders generally known as "Banians," and the manner in which they are at present associated with the Slave Trade on that coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

Memorandum by Sir B. Frere regarding Banians or Natives of India in East Africa.

OF all classes connected with the trade of East Africa there is none more influential than the natives of India generally known as "Banians."

History of Indian
trade with East
Africa.

Greek and Roman authors describe a flourishing commerce between India, Arabia, and East Africa, and the earliest detailed accounts we have of this coast represent a distribution of races connected with trade very much resembling what we now find existing: native African races as cultivators, labourers, and sometimes, though rarely, as rulers; the ruling power at ports generally in the hands of foreigners of Arab or Persian origin; and all trade monopolized by Indians, or Arabs with Indian connection, and having their homes and chief places of business sometimes on the Egyptian, Arabian, or Persian coast, but more often in India, at Tatta in Sind, Mandavie in Cutch, the port of Kattywar on the Gulf of Cambay, Surat, Calicut, and other ports on the Malabar coast.

Vasco de Gama and the Portuguese who followed him found a trade relatively to the rest of the commercial world much larger and more important than at present, but carried on much in the same fashion by vessels of the same build and character as the modern dhows, availing themselves of the regular trade winds to sail to and fro between the ports on the same coasts of Africa, India, Arabia, and Persia, and carrying articles of much the same character as at present.* And what is more to our present purpose, he found all this trade in the hands of men whose homes were in India, or closely connected with India, and he describes the traders as in dress, habits of life, and trade, character, and names exactly resembling what a modern traveller would find at the same ports on the same coasts. The Indian traders do not appear, in his day, to have reached further south than one of the large rivers south of Sofala, where he met the first of the Moors seen in his first voyage. But they were then in possession of all the best trade, at every port from Sofala northwards to Aden.

This vast Indian trade seems to have been sorely crippled, and in some parts extinguished, by the advent of Europeans to these seas. Empire in these parts, then as now, fell to the nation which had the greatest command of ships of war, fire-arms, and artillery. The Portuguese were far more powerful at sea than any nation they met with on the coast, and speedily subdued the whole coast from the southernmost limit of the Indian trade to Aden and Socotra, and by Muscat and Ormuz to the Persian Gulf, building forts

* See "The Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama," translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley, for the Hakluyt Society, 1869.

at all the principal ports, and commanding points of estuaries and islands, and destroying the Arab and Indian marine. Their own account of their proceedings, and of the wholesale cruelties they practised on all who opposed or were suspected of opposing them, are sufficient to account for the extinction of the greatest part of such trade as they found, for the bitter opposition they met with from the Arabs, who ultimately resumed the dominion of all north of Cape Delgado, and for the sterile character of their occupation of the coast, where they had no hold but on the fears of the natives, and thus missed the opportunity of developing their hostile occupation into an African Empire.

At the same time, during the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rovers—English, Dutch, and Arab—made these seas unsafe to all but large and well-armed vessels. Of the proceedings of the English and Dutch, some idea may be found from Defoe's novels, *e.g.*, "Captain Singleton," and the second part of "Robinson Crusoe," and from the adventures of European privateers and pirates, as related in the "Tales of Buccaneers;" nor, if we may judge from the sober narratives of our earlier voyagers, did the native Indian or Arab merchantman fare much better at the hands of the regular European trader, up to the time when the English East India Company obtained the undisputed mastery of Indian foreign commerce. The Great Company then put down English and Dutch freebooting and piracy at the same time, and by the same measure by which they put down all "free trade," as competition with their own monopoly was then called; but it was not till the present century that much was done to check Arab piracy, which went far to destroy what little Indian trade with Africa Portuguese misgovernment had spared.

Up to thirty years ago the depredations of Arab pirates in the Indian seas, and even on the Indian coasts within sight of Bombay, were matters of recent memory. I have met, in my early life, many men, natives and Europeans, who had suffered from their outrages or had taken a part in putting them down. The pirates came from all ports between Aden and the head of the Persian Gulf; but the most numerous, active, and cruel were from the southern parts of the Persian Gulf, where Wahabee and other forms of religious fanaticism gave a species of sanction to their depredations and cruelties. Their suppression was mainly due to operations directed by considerable land and sea forces of the East India Company against the pirate nests in the Gulf, to the activity of the Bombay marine and Indian navy, both in cruisers and surveying vessels, and to the growth of the comparatively civilized authority of the Imaum of Muscat, who, during the first forty years of this century, built up a considerable navy and became a conquering power on the East African Coast.

The Indian traders seem never to have quite forsaken the East African trade; when it was at its lowest, which was probably in the latter part of the last and the earlier years of the present century, a few ships made an annual voyage from Mandavie, in Cutch, and from Surat, Bombay, and occasionally from other ports of the Kattywar and Malabar coasts, bringing ivory and other African produce in exchange for cloth, metals, and beads; but their return from what was then a most hazardous voyage was a great event at all the ports to which they belonged, calculated and watched for as the season of fair winds came round, and greeted at Mandavie and all the smaller ports by crowds assembled on the shore, and by firing of guns and general rejoicing in the shipping and town.

While Surat and Guzerat had a large manufacture of blue cotton cloth as late as fifty years ago, East Africa was the chief market for it. Some, it is said, was carried by the Portuguese to Brazil, but the greater part found a market in the interior of Africa. About that time Captain Owen found a few Banians and Indians at every place of trade on the coast, but the very small commerce they carried on seems often to have struck him.

I have met during my present visit to this coast few Indian houses which boast an antiquity of more than forty years. Some have told me that the usual system of trade in former days was for a supercargo to deal from the ship, though there were always a few Indian residents at each port where there was sufficient of a settled Government to make their property secure. In Madagascar and elsewhere the Indians assured me that though their oldest house was not more than sixty years standing, their caste had traded to the coast for ages previous.

During the past forty years the great Indian immigration to this coast has gone on at a constantly increasing rate, which bids fair to restore the Indian trade with East Africa to more than its old proportions. Many causes have contributed to this end: the general peace in Europe, the final suppression of Arab piracy, the establishment of the Muscat Arabs at Zanzibar and on the coast, the appearance at Zanzibar and elsewhere of English, French, German, and American houses, and probably, above all, the great impulse given to Indian trade by the extinction of the Company's monopoly, and by the

vast development of commercial enterprise among those Indian castes which have heretofore almost monopolized this branch of commerce. I have been assured on good authority that the fresh arrivals from India last year numbered more than 250 traders to Zanzibar and its neighbourhood alone. For some of the Indian trading classes, trade in East Africa seems to have the same charms as colonizing has for some of our own countrymen at home.

Present numbers
and classes.

It is difficult to arrive at exact conclusions as to the total numbers of Indian traders on the East African Coast, but I am convinced that the best official returns are considerably below the truth. Dr. Kirk estimated the Indian traders connected with Zanzibar in 1870 at 3,710 of all castes.* Probably the returns at his disposal, chiefly furnished by the Sultan's Farmer of Customs, gave only the residents at the principal port, or those who were known to the heads of the community at Zanzibar; for we found at almost every place we visited numbers considerably in excess of those he set down, and we met them as long-settled residents at many places omitted in his list, and were assured of their residence at many more. It is possible that they may at some of these places be late arrivals, or be included under large centres of trade entered in Dr. Kirk's list of 1870. But there can, I think, be no doubt that the aggregate number is much larger, and that they are more widely scattered than would be supposed from that Return.

Each individual is generally an independent trader or partner or managing clerk in a house of business, and few have families, so that their numbers in Zanzibar would represent in India a commercial community many fold more numerous.

Most of them belong to four or five of the great trading classes of Western India. We met a few representatives of other castes—a few goldsmiths (sonars), tailors (Guzerat dargis), servants, such as cooks, washermen, &c., and two bards (bhats), travelling separately, and testifying to the extent to which the love of African travel has of late years possessed some of the least moveable of Indian races.

Bhattias and
Banians.

All these, however, were rare exceptions, and the Indians we met with were generally Bhattias, Lohanna Wantias, Khojas, Mehmons, or Bohras. The Bhattias are probably the most important by wealth and influence at Zanzibar, and with the Banians proper, or Johannas, who are comparatively few in numbers, form the Hindoo portion of the Indian community. The Bhattias are one of the very ancient, skilful, and important subdivisions of the Hindoo commercial castes, but from being a comparatively small caste, and more addicted to foreign than domestic commerce, they are not so well known to us in India as many castes of less importance, except in Bombay itself and in Guzerat, Cutch, and Kattywar, where their red turbans, often with a peak in front, strike the stranger as differing from the ordinary head-dress of the Hindoos.

Among their ranks have been found of late years some of the most active and intelligent of Hindoo reformers, as well as some of the most bigoted upholders of ancient abuses. They are all Vaishnavas, and the notorious "Maharajah case" dragged to light the worst peculiarities of a decaying superstition; but its frightful revelations did scanty justice to the courage and high principle of a few men whose exertions in the cause of truth and purity of life are likely to have a permanent influence on the moral history of India.

I have met with no rational explanation of the fact that, whilst the Bhattias in India as well as in Africa are most jealously observant of Hindoo rites and formalities in their most rigid form, while a visit to Europe entails absolute exclusion from all religious, social, and caste privileges, they have always been permitted to visit and reside in East Africa without incurring more penalty than a series of purgatorial observances of no great severity, and not entailing more than a few days' exclusion from the caste and social communion.

I have been told that a residence on an African island, like Zanzibar or Mozambique, is not, according to the Shastris, such a separation from the land of orthodox Hindooism as a residence on the mainland would be. But this distinction is certainly not now observed in practice. Another and perhaps more probable explanation is that the practice of visiting and trading with the East Coast of Africa had become habitual to this class before the extreme restrictions of the present Hindoo system were invented, and that an old-established and profitable exception was allowed to be made in favour of an influential caste. But none of these explanations satisfactorily account for the anomaly.

Khojas, Mehmons,
and Bohras.

The Khojas, Mehmons, and Bohras are well known to all residents in West India as Mohammedan traders who are found everywhere, almost monopolizing by dint of

* *Vide Administration Report, July 18, 1870*

frugal industry many most profitable branches of trade. In a West Indian market town or seaport the tinman, dealer in marine stores, locksmith or ironmonger, dealer in looking-glasses, furniture, glass or china, millinery and small drapery wares, and most of the pedlars, are generally Bohras. The Khojas and Mehmons are mostly occupied in foreign trade. Cutch and the Kattywar ports, especially Jamnugger, Surat, and Bombay, are their usual homes. The few Bohras who are engaged in agriculture are reckoned among the best cultivators in the finest cotton-producing villages near Broach, and Khojas and Mehmons bear a similar character in Sind, Cutch, and Kattywar. All three classes are very reticent regarding their origin or religious tenets, partly from reserve, but very frequently from want of knowledge or interest in the subject, all their thoughts from their early youth being generally turned to business. All are sectaries, deemed more or less heretical by the orthodox division of Muslim. The Bohras and Khojas seem, in part at least, of Semitic or Persian descent; but they, as well as the Mehmons, are charged by more orthodox sects with various remnants of idolatrous and mystical worship. The history of the Khojas has been carefully investigated in the course of the remarkable trial in the High Court of Bombay, when the origin and tenets of the sect were traced with judicial precision by the counsel in discussing and by Sir Joseph Arnold in deciding on the claims of Agha Khan to be spiritual head of the sect and lineal representative of the "old man of the mountain."

On the African Coast and in Madagascar all these classes showed a tendency to the kinds of trade usually followed by them in India. They generally monopolize all that the Hindoo Bhattias and Banians do not possess of the trade in cloth and cotton goods, ironmongery, cutlery, china, and small wares. In Madagascar they assert that they have been, for at least a century, settled at Nosi Beh and other ports, and that they preceded the Hindoos on the African Coast.

At larger ports a few representatives of all castes will be found, but generally one or other caste will be found to preponderate at all the smaller ports. The Bhattias and Banians are most numerous at and near Zanzibar, the Khojas on the island and mainland of the equatorial regions, and the Bohras to the south in Madagascar, and to the north in Galla and Somali-land. Everywhere, wherever there is any foreign trade, it passes through the hands of some Indian trader; no produce can be collected for the European, American, or Indian market, but through him; no imports can be distributed to the natives of the country, but through his agency. At every port the shops which collect or distribute articles of commerce are kept almost exclusively by Indians. Throughout our whole circuit, from Zanzibar round by Mozambique and Madagascar, and up to Cape Guardafui, we did not, except at Johanna, meet half-a-dozen exceptions to the rule that every shopkeeper was an Indian. We could converse everywhere with the whole body of retail traders and local merchants in Hindustani or Guzerati; and their accounts, at every shop, were kept in Guzerati or Cutchi by double entry, with the proverbial neatness and clearness of a Guzerat accountant.

Some of the large firms have been long established, and have a large capital; but, in general, the career of the young Indian trader in Africa is very similar to that of the Marwarree adventurers in Central or Southern India. Arriving at his future scene of business with little beyond credentials to his fellow castemen, after perhaps a brief apprenticeship in some older firm he starts a shop of his own, with goods advanced on credit by some large house, and after a few years, when he has made a little money, generally returns home to marry, to make fresh business connections, and then comes back to Africa to repeat, on a larger scale, the same process.

With rare exceptions, all these Indian traders are birds of passage. The houses they belong to may be of old standing, and we met a few old men who had been in Africa all their lives; but they were exceptions. The Hindoos never bring their wives or families to Africa, the Bohras and Khojas do, frequently; but even they seem to have as little idea of settling or adopting the country for their own as a young Englishman in Hong Kong.

Of all these races, it may be observed that they have been less affected than the upper classes of Indians in general by European education in India. All are so devoted to trade that the boy goes into the counting-house as soon as he can read and write; and in the case of the Khojas I am assured that the pontifical authority of Agha Khan has been actively exerted to prevent any of his followers from attending an English school. In Zanzibar itself the relation between the European or American house and the Banian very much resembles that with which we are familiar in India. The European merchant buys and sells with the aid and advice of a Banian, who sometimes stands to the foreign firm in a relation more like that of a partner than a mere broker, agent, or go-between.

Away from Zanzibar the Banian, or Hindi, is more of a retail dealer, bartering his import wares for country produce, which he sells wholesale at Zanzibar to the exporter. In the outports and country marts he does little wholesale business, except by making advances of import goods to adventurers going up the country, on engagement to be repaid by returns of up-country produce.

The Banians generally keep to the ports, or within a short journey of the coast, or navigable parts of large rivers. The trade with the far interior is almost exclusively in the hands of Arabs, or Arab half-castes, and Swahili, or coastmen, who push as rapidly as they can across the first 200 miles from the coast, halting little by the way. Livingstone tells of their having penetrated far beyond his furthest, into Cazembe's country; he had found them years before on the Upper Zambesi, and the Governor-General of Mozambique told me that when he was at Loanda, two or three years ago, two Zanzibar Arabs from Kilwa appeared in Angola, about the same time that some natives sent from Loanda reached Ibo, on the East Coast, taking two years to go and return.

I may remark, in passing, that the stock in trade which we usually found in the Banians' shops was as frequently of German or American as of English origin. The cotton fabrics were English, American, or German, with smaller quantities of Indian or French. The best hardware was English, but much, inferior in make, was of continental manufacture; coarse crockery, of German; brass and copper, of American make; beads, English and German (Venetian?); guns, old, of English make; new, of German or French; some as low as 10s. or 12s. each, in retail price.

Total extent of
trade carried on by
Indians.

Of the total extent of the trade which passes through Indian hands, it would be difficult to form any reliable estimate. Dr. Kirk shows that the Zanzibar Custom-house Returns are a very fallacious guide, nor will Indian or English Returns be a better index; for the German and American, the French, Arabian, Persian, and Malagash trade, which comes direct, as well as the English and Indian, passes through the same hands.*

Dr. Kirk was, however, good enough to show me the details of transactions of a single Indian house, whose affairs had been the subject of judicial investigation in his Court. The books showed a capital of about 434,000*l.*, invested in loans and mortgages in East Africa. Of this, about 60,000*l.* had been advanced in various ways to the Sultan and his family, a rather larger sum to Arabs in the interior of Africa, a somewhat smaller amount to Arabs in Zanzibar and on the coast; but the total of advances and loans to Arabs and natives of Zanzibar, all slave-owners, and most of them slave-dealers, was little less than 200,000*l.* This sum had been lent and advanced in various ways, by loans, advances and mortgages, on every kind of property, real and personal, and on various kinds of security, by advances of goods for trade, &c. Loans and advances to Europeans and Americans were set down at about 140,000*l.*, and those to Indians in Africa at about 100,000*l.* These were African assets, and did not include stock in trade or the capital of the Indian corresponding firms, composed of members of the same family, and doing a very large business with Africa at Mandavie and Bombay; so that, as far as I could judge, the capital employed in African trade and banking, by this one family, must be reckoned by millions sterling.

Our Indian firms are said to be doing business on a similar scale, and Dr. Kirk calculates the British Indian capital now invested in Zanzibar Island alone at not less than 1,600,000*l.*

I am assured that few of the larger Arab estates in Zanzibar are unencumbered by mortgages in Indian capitalists, and that a large proportion are so deeply mortgaged as virtually to belong to the Indian mortgagee.

In a word, throughout the Zanzibar coast-line, extending along 14° of latitude, with numerous large and fertile islands, all banking and mercantile business passes through Indian hands. Hardly a loan can be negotiated, a mortgage effected, or a bill cashed without Indian agency; not an import cargo can be distributed, nor an export cargo collected, of which almost every bale does not go through Indian hands. The European or American, the Arab or Swahili may trade and profit, but only as an occasional link in the chain between producer and consumer, of which the Indian trader is the one invariable and most important link of all.

Thus, a vast commerce has grown up, or rather revived during the last fifty years on these coasts, which has been in a great measure re-created and silently monopolized by a few of the less prominent classes of Indian traders. I know nothing like it in the history of commerce, and it is difficult to convey to those at a distance an adequate idea of the extent or completeness of the monopoly. We wonder at the vast development of Greek commercial industry during the same period, but though their business may be on

* *Vide* Administration Report for 1870.

a larger scale in individual transactions, nowhere have the Greeks the same sort of monopoly which the Indians enjoy on the East Coast of Africa.

I have spoken here much of the Zanzibar coast-line; but it must be remembered that the preponderating influence, if not monopoly, of the Indian trader is equally great, as far as the Portuguese possessions extend to the south, and on the north-west coast of Madagascar; northwards, it extends with rare intervals along all the shores of Africa, Arabia, Persian Gulf, and Beloochistan to the western frontiers of India. Along some 6,000 miles of sea-coast in Africa and its islands, and nearly the same extent in Asia, the Indian trader is, if not the monopolist, the most influential, permanent, and all-pervading element of the commercial community. I doubt whether along the whole coast, from Delagoa Bay to Kurachee there are half-a-dozen ports known to commerce at which the Indian traders are not, as a body, better able to buy or sell a cargo than any other class, and at most of the great ports a cargo can only be sold or collected through them.

It may be asked, how is it possible that such a trade can have grown up so little noticed by the commercial world elsewhere? The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Indians engaged in it all belong to the commercial classes which less than any others in India have assimilated their methods of commerce to ours. The Parsees, and many other mercantile classes in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, even when they have not adopted our habits, join our commercial associations, and, so to speak, make more or less common cause with the European merchant. But this has not been done by any of the classes who have absorbed the African trade; and our European merchants and officials, and Chambers of Commerce, know probably less of their proceedings than of any other class in the mercantile community.

Then, the European and American commerce to Africa has been almost a secret monopoly in a very few hands. The greatest pains have been taken to keep everything quiet, and though some of the houses traded on a great scale, and employed quite a fleet of merchant-vessels, the extent of their business was known to none but themselves, and was not fully realized by any but the most observant of their neighbours at Zanzibar.

As regards the extent to which the Indian traders are connected with the Slave Trade, I would premise that I found the question one which was regarded, as might be expected, with the utmost interest by the large and influential body of Indian merchants at Zanzibar. I had repeated conferences and discussions with the trading men, and the subject was one which was never lost sight of in my intercourse with this class of traders on the coast, and in the islands off it.

Complicity of
Indian traders in
Slave Trade.

I would refer to the inclosed paper, as giving in a readable form the views of a person who has paid great attention to the subject, and embodied in this paper the result of his inquiries, which amount to a verdict "Not proven."

In judging between opposite conclusions, it must be borne in mind that slaves are throughout this coast a great article of commerce and investment; that they are dealt in without any feeling of legal or moral responsibility by most natives of the coast, and by their Arab rulers; and that the Indian traders are, to a great extent, the capitalists, and almost monopolize the functions of collecting and distributing all articles of trade in this country.

This being the case, we may judge how nearly impossible it is for any one so employed to feel sure that no part of his commercial transactions is connected, directly or indirectly, with slave-dealing.

The Sultan's Customs are farmed by one of the most eminent Indian houses, and no doubt, as is customary elsewhere, the profits and responsibilities are not confined to one house, but are shared by other houses in friendly correspondence with the principal. Specially salaried establishments are rarely employed in such cases at the outports; one or more of the leading firms at an outport agrees to keep the accounts and pass-documents, almost all cash payments being settled at Zanzibar. Slaves are a considerable item at most ports, and everywhere are a direct and regular source of Customs revenue, and it is not only the Indian trader who farms the Customs, but his Indian agents at the outports who are thus directly implicated. It is their business to know of every slave landed or shipped, and thus to become accomplices in all the schemes for evading the exertions of British officials and the British Government to stop the trade. The collection and concealment of the slave cargo before shipment, the misleading the British cruiser, the running the cargo, and its concealment at Zanzibar or elsewhere on its way to its final destination in Arabia or other distant regions—all these are matters of everyday concern and business-interest to the Indian agent of the Indian farmer of the Sultan's Customs. He cannot help being aware of them, and taking part in them, at least by concealment of what he knows, and as an accomplice after the fact. If true to

his employer's interests, he cannot help siding with the slave-trader, and against the British Government and British officers employed in stopping it.

More than this, if the Customs agent does his duty, he must take an active part in considering whether this slave is too weakly to be shipped, or that one so near death as to entitle the importer to be excused the payment of Customs, provided the wretched slave be left to die on the beach and the importer does not attempt to smuggle him past the Custom-house.

These, be it remembered, are the everyday duties of every Custom-house agent at every port from Cape Delgado to Magadoxa, and the Custom-house agent is, with few if any exceptions, one of the most respectable Indian traders at the place.

Such being the plain undoubted facts of the case, it seems to me almost superfluous to inquire what proportion of Indian traders have any direct dealings in slaves, and buy or sell them on their own account, either openly or under such terms as "black pepper" or "soiled ivory." The records of the Consulate and Vice-Admiralty show that instances of British Indian subjects committing themselves by direct participation in the Slave Trade are not unfrequent. Two such cases occurred during my stay at Zanzibar. But it is not necessary to refer to such instances as establishing the fact that no one who trades at Zanzibar, as the Indian trader, can be absolved from something more than a silent spectator's share in the practical cruelties and iniquities of the Slave Trade as now carried on.

Many of the Indians I believe to be as worthy of confidence in all their other commercial relations as any merchant in Her Majesty's dominions; but it is impossible to deal either as buyer or seller, on the Indian system of advances, with men whose ordinary business is slave-dealing and not to share their profits; nor can I see where any clear line of distinction in this respect can be drawn between the man who, in express terms, shares the slaving adventure from beginning to end, and he who advances wholesale a cargo of cotton goods to be paid for by the slave-dealer when his slaving adventure is terminated and the profits realized.

As far as I could judge, after repeatedly discussing the matter very fully and freely with the most respectable of the Indian merchants, there are very few of them who would not be liable to prosecution under the laws against participation in Slave Trade, if those laws were rigidly enforced. Where the moral elements of guilty participation are absent, no Government would initiate a prosecution; but there can hardly be a doubt that a large proportion of the rich and influential Indian community at Zanzibar is liable to be dragged into Court to answer a criminal charge of aiding and abetting slave-dealing, whenever an accident might give to malicious or venal men a knowledge of the remoter ramifications of an everyday mercantile transaction.

If the general opinion of well-informed persons may be trusted, the Hindoo Indian traders (Bhattias and Banians) less frequently commit themselves by direct slave-dealing than the Mahometans (Khojas, Mehmons, and Bohras), and I heard of arrangements made by a Bhattia firm for alleviating the sufferings of slaves on arrival at Kilwa Kivinja, the great emporium of slave export, by a permanent dole of food and water. But at this same place the leading member of a Bhattia firm, acting as His Highness' Customs Master, repeatedly assured me that no slaves were exported from his port, nor any account kept of them, though, as I told him, I had seen at Zanzibar the abstracts of the accounts and the returns of the Customs received on slaves from that very port. Against Lamoo, at the other extremity of His Highness' dominions, where the Bhattia Customs Master received us with all honour, and professed the utmost willingness to give information, he denied that the slaves were exported, save in very small numbers, clandestinely; though we were subsequently assured that a day or two previous to our arrival, news having come of our approach, several dhows cleared out with cargoes of slaves, mostly Gallas and Abyssinians, and at both these ports the fact of a large and constant trade in slaves is not only notorious, but is not denied by the central authorities at Zanzibar. It can hardly be said in cases like this that, however free the Bhattia may be from direct slave-dealing, he is not clear of complicity in the crime of aiding and abetting and concealing it.

As regards practical remedies for this state of things, I confess I can think of none save the extirpation of slave-trading as a branch of ordinary and legitimate trade in the dominions of the Sultan. While it is permitted by His Highness' laws, and participated in by every member of the reigning family, and by their associates and dependents, it seems to me to be impossible to devise regulations which shall effectually bar our own subjects, who monopolize the trade of the country, from sharing its profits. All trade in human beings must be prohibited and cease to be legal. With the aid of our subjects, controlling as they do the whole of every kind of trade, the Slave Trade may then be effectually stopped.

But nothing less will, I feel assured, be effectual, or will acquit our Government of its responsibilities in the matter.

It has been proposed to withdraw British protection from British Indian subjects who are implicated in the Slave Trade, and this ought of course to be done as a part of the punishment when such implication is proved. But where all are, in a greater or less degree, indirectly implicated, such a measure would be ineffectual if partially applied only in cases of proved complicity, whilst it would be impossible to make it of general application.

Nor, if it could be applied by a general withdrawal of protection, would it absolve our Government from its natural liabilities. Our subjects have come to the East African Coast, and got implicated in this criminal Traffic, because they were our subjects; under no other flag could they have come in such numbers, and so monopolized trade. We cannot, if we would, now withdraw our protection, except for proved breach of our laws; and, as matter of fact, whatever we might say about withdrawals, it would not be possible to avoid protecting an Indian trader in his lawful calling if any other Power were seriously to molest him.

But whilst a complete stoppage of the Slave Trade is the only effectual remedy, other subsidiary measures should not be neglected. The strictest notice should be taken of all cases of direct participation, and fuller effect should be given to the measures commenced by Colonel Rigby for disavowing all Indians, whether subjects of Her Majesty or of her allies, from slave-holding.

Whilst I cannot acquit any portion of the Indian community of indirect connection with Slave Trade, I believe there is no class so anxious to see this question settled, and so cordially desirous that the Slave Trade should be at once and permanently prohibited, as the more respectable Indian houses at Zanzibar. They see clearly that whilst it is an open question all other trade must suffer, and the full development of the unrivalled commercial capabilities of the Coast must be indefinitely postponed.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Off Somali Coast, March 31, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

Memorandum respecting the Banians of Zanzibar and the Slave Trade.

THE people generally known as "the Banians" of Zanzibar are Hindoos and Mahometans of Cutch, Kattywar, and a few from other parts of the Bombay Presidency. It is said of them:—1st. That they hold slaves; and, 2nd. That they support and encourage the Slave Trade, which, but for them, would dwindle into small proportions.

2. It is not necessary to allude to the sources from which these impressions are derived; suffice it to say that they do prevail, and, with some, amount to conviction. It is however certain, so far as I am aware, that they are not based on the result of any formal inquiry. The evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1871 does not supply the want of such an inquiry, as it merely touches incidentally on the subject. On the contrary, the information it gives is of so general a character as likely to mislead, in absence of specific details; for instance, the answer to questions Nos. 296 and 636 may lead one to believe that all the Banians in Zanzibar, who are subjects of native States, are free to acquire, and that they do acquire, and hold slaves. Such, however, is not the case, as will be seen from the following remarks.

3. The first intimation the Banians received against holding slaves was given them about the year 1859, by Colonel (now Major-General) Rigby, who followed it up with rigorous measures, and succeeded in emancipating the slaves held by the Banians. Many of these Banians had lived in Zanzibar for twenty-five years and upwards, and had been allowed to possess slaves. The legality of Colonel Rigby's proceedings with regard to subjects of native States was disputed by his successor; and on the question being submitted to the Governor of Bombay, it was decided that those subjects of native States who might declare themselves to be under the authority of the Sultan should not be interfered with. Some of the Banians took advantage of this decision, and began to buy slaves. But His Highness the Rao, whose subjects the bulk of them were, issued a Proclamation, placing all his subjects at Zanzibar under the protection of Her Majesty's Consul, in the same way as purely British subjects; so that the case now stands thus: No native of India can either purchase or sell a slave; and out of the whole Indian

population at Zanzibar, about 4,000 in number, only 76, who had registered themselves previous to the Rao's Proclamation, as subject to the Sultan's authority, with the sanction of the Government, and who at the time had among them 171 slaves, are recognized as legal owners of slaves; but they are not allowed to sell any of them, or fill casualties by buying fresh ones.

4. The rest of the Banians, and all new arrivals from India, are absolutely debarred from buying or holding slaves; and I have discovered no grounds on which to suspect the prevalence of slavery among them. There are appearances, however, which subject them, along with all other residents in Zanzibar, to unfavourable suspicions on the part of casual observers. Large numbers of negroes are to be seen in their shops and houses, and employed on out-door work, apparently differing in nothing from the slaves of Arabs. But with regard to those employed in shops and houses, the Banians declare that many of them are servants receiving wages, and some of them are freed slaves, who, of their own free-will, prefer to remain in their families, where, I am convinced, from what I have seen of Zanzibar, they are much better off than they would be by leaving them. Numbers of this latter class live with their families in their own huts; and when one of them dies, the master whom he was last serving usually reports his death at the Consulate, in order that his property may be disposed of according to law. All these negroes know well that they are free, and that the Banians cannot hold slaves. They go to the Consul when ill-treated, and change one family for another. I am informed that within the last three years or so, only one case of slavery (not domestic) has been detected, in which a Bohra, being found guilty of having bought slaves on the coast, was sentenced to banishment and fine.

5. With regard to the negroes employed by the Banians in outdoor labour, they (the Banians) declare that they are so employed usually on daily, and in some cases on monthly, wages. If a Banian requires fifty labourers he collects them without difficulty in half-an-hour. It is a matter of indifference to him whether any of them and how many are slaves. But in this he acts like all other merchants, paying the price of labour to the labourers in person. I may mention one significant fact, that no Indian thinks of agriculture in Zanzibar, simply from not being able to hold slaves like his Arab neighbours. The following are the rates of, daily wages:—Muccadam (overseer), 4 annas (Bombay money); adult labourers, from 2 to 2½ annas.

6. Possibly slaves are hired from their masters, or, what is more probable, contracts for the work to be done are given to persons holding slaves; but I am told this practice is general among the European and American merchants in Zanzibar. When the case of a British protected subject hiring slaves from their master is brought to the notice of the Consul, he interferes to break the arrangement. If, however, it were held criminal to employ slaves either in indoor or outdoor work at Zanzibar, it would, under the existing state of things, be almost impossible for Banians or Englishmen to live on the island. But whatever may be the practice resorted to by Banians and other foreigners to obtain labour, it requires a strong prejudice to believe, even for a moment, that all the negroes employed by them are their slaves.

7. Such is the information I have obtained from the Banians with regard to their connection with slavery in Zanzibar, and this information has been confirmed by independent and most reliable authority. I have questioned the Banians collectively and individually, and they have all declared that they do not deal in or own slaves. After this declaration what more can we expect them to do? How can we, without taking any steps to prove them guilty, persistently accuse them of the crime of slavery? If I am not wrong, Her Majesty's Consul is competent to deal, and he does deal with it in the same way as a magistrate or judge deals with the crime within his cognizance. It is, then, clear that if any of the Banians break the law they do so through the want of adequate supervision on the part of the British authorities.

8. With regard to the connection said to exist between the Banians and the Slave Trade, on which much has lately been said, it is necessary to understand the circumstances under which the trade of Zanzibar is carried on. There are no Arabs who are known exclusively to be slave importers. Those who bring slaves to the coast from the interior also bring ivory, copal, hides, and other merchandize as occasion may offer. Arab merchants receive advances in goods and money, not only from the Banians but also from the five or six European and American houses in Zanzibar, which I am told do about one-half of the business. No stipulation as to slaves one way or another is made from beginning to end, money or goods being the things advanced, and ivory, hides, or money received in repayment. Cases are sometimes taken before Her Majesty's Consul arising out of these transactions, but in no recent case has it been discovered that any understanding with regard to slaves existed between the Arab merchant and his creditor.

Arabs know well that with such an understanding Banians could not recover their money in Court, and they would not be slow to take advantage of this knowledge to impose their own terms on their creditors in disputed cases.

9. In the majority of cases the advances are repaid in goods and sometimes in money. It is well known that the Arab merchants employ these advances as well in obtaining ivory and other merchandize as slaves. But when, after having received the necessary advance at Zanzibar, an Arab leaves for the interior he is no longer under the control of the lender, and, as in his eyes one investment is as legitimate as the other, it would be useless for the lender to stipulate his abstaining from obtaining slaves. No Arab would feel bound by such a condition, and if any did enter into it there would be no guarantee that he would faithfully observe it. Under these circumstances, the effect of holding British subjects, who advance goods and money to Arab merchants, guilty of participating in the Slave Trade would be to drive the legitimate trade of the East Coast of Africa exclusively into the hands of Americans, Germans, and others, over whom we have no control. We should lose the trade and gain nothing.

10. Among the goods supplied to Arab merchants are muskets and powder, which are undoubtedly used for capturing slaves in the interior, as well as in the defence of the merchant's persons and property. It must, however, be borne in mind that no one who has a rag to lose, much less a merchant with valuable goods such as are much coveted by savages, can venture into the interior of Africa without means of defence. Moreover, there is an unlimited demand for these articles among the negroes themselves, who often accept them in preference to other goods in exchange for ivory.

11. But the share of the Banians in the trade of muskets and powder is that of middlemen. The principals are the Europeans and American merchants at Zanzibar, who order from their respective countries the kind of articles required and sell them to the Banians, who retail them along with prints from Manchester, beads from France, Merikani and dyed cloth from America, &c. Yet little is said of these merchants in connection with the Slave Trade, while the Banians are constantly held up as criminal for their share in what is a legitimate branch of trade.

12. It is not my object to defend the Banians; I know that they do not regard slavery as a moral crime. Possibly there are few among them who evade the law. But I do think it hard for them to be persistently accused without inquiry of serious crimes in general, when they declare themselves to be innocent. They have no opportunity of defending themselves, even if they know when and by whom they are accused. I will cite a few instances to show how necessary it is thoroughly to investigate the whole subject.

13. Dr. Livingstone has published it to the world that the men with whom supplies were sent to him (in 1870 or 1871) from Zanzibar, were slaves of Banians, and that their masters were to receive all, and themselves not a cent of their wages. Now I have satisfied myself that in this matter the Doctor was entirely misinformed. In one of his published letters he says, "I had no idea before how bloodthirsty men can be when they can pour out the blood of fellowmen in safety, and all this carnage is going on in Manyema at the very time I wrote. It is the Banians, our protected Indian subjects, that indirectly do it all!" But on inquiry I find that from the regions west of the Tanganyika, whence the Doctor wrote, few, if any slaves came to the East Coast. In another letter Dr. Livingstone says, "It is not to be overlooked that most of other trade as well as slavery is carried on by Banians." As to "most other trade," I have already stated what share of the trade of Zanzibar is in the hands of European and American merchants. If letters do not reach the Doctor, it is the Banians who intercept and destroy them. But from what we have read of the interior of Africa, the wonder is that any letters reach him at all. Philanthropy is not incompatible with justice, and it is the duty of the British Government to order a searching inquiry into the whole subject, and punish severely those who may be found guilty, instead of allowing the whole Indian community at Zanzibar to be execrated and reviled by the world as the principal agents in the work of carnage and kidnapping of negro races.

14. His Highness the Rao of Cutch has requested the Government of Bombay to order inquiries to be made to ascertain which, if any, of his subjects at Zanzibar are really guilty of that share in the Slave Trade which Dr. Livingstone has imputed to them. He is naturally anxious that the name of his country should not be mixed up, as it has of late been, with this horrible crime. It is due to him that his request should be granted. It has been stated by one witness before the Committee of the House of Commons, that domestic slavery prevailed in Cutch; and a Bombay paper has informed the public that Cutch is a centre of the Slave Trade. I beg to state that both these statements are simply untrue.

15. I beg to offer the following suggestions for the purpose of detecting and punishing the crime of slavery and Slave Trade among the British-protected subjects among His Highness the Sultan's dominions :—

(1.) An inquiry into (a) suspected cases of holding slaves ; and (b), business transactions with Arab merchants.

(2.) A resumé of the Law on Slavery, with rules such as the result of the above inquiry might suggest, to be printed in English and Guzerati, and distributed at Zanzibar and on the coast.

(3.) Constant supervision.

(4.) A Proclamation to be published in Arabic and Guzerati on the 1st of January of every year, setting forth the inability of the British-protected subjects and all natives of India to buy or hold slaves.

(5.) The above duties to be exercised at Zanzibar and over 1,000 miles of coast will require an augmentation of the Consular Establishment.

Zanzibar, February 9, 1873.

No. 52.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Poona, May 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a Memorandum showing the present position and actual authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 52.

Memorandum on the Position and Authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Extent of Zanzibar
Dominions.

HIS Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar has possessions extending about 660 miles from Toongee, the frontier of the Portuguese territory beyond Cape Delgado on the south, to Warsheek in about 2° 30' north, which is the most advanced post actually held by his troops and under his flag to the north.

Eastward the ocean limits his possessions to the continent and islands adjacent ; westward his flag is said to fly in Uniyembi, 300 miles from the coast, but his actual dominion does not extend much beyond the forts and ports on the coast held by his officials, at most of which customs are levied in his name, and a few spots, like Tabora in Uniyembi, where a sort of Arab colony has established itself. Some of the tribes on the coast even opposite Zanzibar own a sort of allegiance to the Sultan, but regularly pay tribute to some petty Negro potentate in the interior who is better able to protect or annoy them ; and on no part of the coast can his authority be said to be more than skin-deep, extending very rarely beyond the shore and the points which can be reached from his vessels.

The southern and eastern limits of these possessions are fixed. To the north and west His Highness and his subjects, if they give any thought to such a question, would consider him justified in advancing his garrisons, as far as his means and the weakness of his neighbours might permit.

Thus within the last two years he has occupied Brava to the north, and asserted his authority over the province of Urori to the west. Brava, a populous and thriving Somali sea-port, was already nominally his, being within the northern limit of his coast line. But it was quite independent, and His Highness had no representative of his authority there. An outrage was committed by the townspeople on a dhow captured by Her Majesty's ship "Columbine," and the question arose from whom should redress be demanded ? Captain Tucker thought from the townspeople, but the Consul decided on demanding it from His Highness, who thereupon sent a force of about thirty Arabs. They occupied a stockade, and hoisted His Highness' flag, much, it is stated, to the benefit of peace and order.

The process in Urori was described to me as somewhat different. An Arab ivory trader having established himself there, wrote to the Sultan to ask His Highness to grant him permission to hoist His Highness' flag. This was granted, and a flag sent with some

ceremony and a suitable escort by the hand of an Arab of rank, who, on his arrival, quarrelled with and slew the ivory trader, and confiscated his property, duly hoisting His Highness' flag, and reporting to His Highness that his authority was now paramount in Urori.

The Sultan's position has been variously defined as that of a "sovereign prince," "a feudal chief," and a "royal magistrate;" but none of these terms give any accurate idea of his real status and authority. He is a sovereign, in our sense of the word, only to us, and by virtue of loose and varying expressions in some of our official writings. To his own subjects, speaking of him among themselves, he is never Imâm, a religious and elective title which he has never received; he is simply "Seyyid-na," "our Prince," and is addressed as "Yasidi," "my Lord," and neither form is confined to him. Most Arabs, except his immediate courtiers, are apt to speak of him with somewhat of emphasis as "Seyyid Burgash;" directly, he has been spoken of by a stranger as "Sultan."

At Zanzibar itself, and wherever his authority is fully established, the Sultan's rule is absolute, in form and mode of action, only when he is not dealing with any of the great Arab families or their dependents. In all that concerns them he is not Sovereign, but only *primus inter pares*, and would generally make over an offender who belonged to a great Arab clan to the head of that house, to be dealt with as his immediate superior might think right.

Authority of Sultan.

Over all except the members of these great Arab families, and those under foreign Consular protection, who include, it may be observed, nine-tenths of the trading population, his authority in Zanzibar is absolute enough. Justice is administered in his name and executed by his officers, and he alone can deal with capital offences. The best account I have seen of his authority in these respects is that given by Captain Burton (Vol. I of "Zanzibar," chapters 6 and 7).

It is not easy to convey to an European mind a correct idea of the very superficial character of the Sultan's authority away from Zanzibar and out of reach of his ships. Below Kilwa we found the country people on the coast itself much more afraid of the petty Chiefs of Negro tribes in their neighbourhood than of His Highness, and nowhere, out of the sea-port towns, relying on his power to protect them. Nor had they the slightest idea that the Sultan or his officers had anything to do with the land away from the port, provided the person wanting to cultivate the land did not build any fortified post.

At Lindy, a considerable place, the authority of the Arab Governor seemed of little avail for the protection of life or property beyond the walls of his fort. A Chief of the M'gaô Tribe was ravaging the country within a few hours' walk of the town, and his scouts were said to plunder and burn houses at night in the very suburbs. The Banians in the town told us they were packing up their goods and sending them on board dhows for fear of the insurgents, and the country people up the river were found by some of our party congregating on an island by hundreds, to escape nightly attack. The Governor had lately received a small reinforcement of Arabs from Zanzibar, and when we visited him had just returned lamed and ill from an unsuccessful attempt to attack the invaders.

The officers of the squadron, boat-cruising further south towards the mouths of the Rovuma and Cape Delgado, found the same state of things prevailing up to the Portuguese frontier. The country generally was in the hands of independent Native Chiefs, and the Sultan's authority extended little beyond his fortified posts and Custom-houses.

Even where his authority appears to be most established, it is something very different from what we should understand as sovereign power. In the islands and along the coasts Seyyid Said, the Sultan's father, came with considerable forces of ships and fresh hardy Northern Arabs, to supersede the degenerate Portuguese, and effete Swaheli chiefdoms of mixed Arab or Persian and Negro descent. The Portuguese soon utterly disappeared, and throughout our whole stay on these coasts we have met but one resident of the race of its former conquerors, in the person of a spirit-seller at Bagamoyo, and he was from Goa and had followed the fortunes of Sultan Majid.

But the families of the Swaheli Chiefs, though much degenerated, are still numerous, and some of them are wealthy and influential, and nowhere was even Seyyid Said able to dispense with their alliance. He did not obtain possession of Zanzibar itself till he had purchased the surrender of the sovereignty from the Swaheli Chief, by the promise of a large pension, and the continuance of certain forms of sovereignty. The pension was never regularly paid, but the forms of sovereignty were continued, and are, I believe, still maintained on ceremonial occasions, and in grants of land, &c. We

Influence of Swaheli families.

saw the present youthful representative of the whole family, who lives in considerable style, and who, though apparently destitute of any qualities which could make him of much political importance, is regarded as one of the magnates of the place.

On the continent the extent to which the powers of the old ruling Swaheli families have been absorbed by the Sultan of Zanzibar depends much on their proximity to head-quarters. For example, on the coast immediately opposite about Bagomoyo, though the Sultan got the sea customs, the Swaheli Chief continued to levy a kind of land custom, or transit duty, on all caravans from the interior, till they were stopped by Seyyid Said and compelled to accept a commutation paid through the Custom-house, which still levies an extra duty on that account.

But at Kilwa Kavinja, where the same custom prevailed, the Swaheli Chiefs were more powerful and further out of reach. The Sultan was never able to enforce the surrender of their separate exactions, and to this day their dues are levied by a very singular process. Caravans of Arabs and Indian subjects arriving from the interior are not meddled with beyond the levy of a sort of extra land custom duty. But every Negro caravan is met by delegates from the Swaheli families, at a day or two's march from Kilwa. Each trader is invited to select his Swaheli patron, and till every one is provided with such a coadjutor the progress of the caravan is stayed. As long as the trader remains at Kilwa he must, under heavy penalties, deal through his Swaheli patron, and buy and sell with no one without his patron's consent. I was told that the Sultan had endeavoured, but ineffectually, to abolish or modify this system, for which no excuse of its facilitating trade can any longer be alleged.

At Mombassa the Sultan has been even less successful in superseding the authority of the old ruling family. Few parts of the history of this coast are better popularly known than the revolutions of the powerful and flourishing city which the Portuguese found here—its conquest, reconquest, repeated sieges, wholesale massacres, and utter destruction. Its position of great natural strength, with a beautiful harbour, forming the outlet to a fine populous country, ensured its recovery from ruin, and fifty years ago the British Captain Owen surveying the coast, found its flourishing town and port ruled by descendants of the Arab Chief of the Muzrooi tribe, who, a century before, had expelled the Portuguese, and were then much in dread of the encroachment of Muscat filibusterers. Captain Owen accepted its protectorate, and allowed the British flag to be hoisted, on condition that the ruler bound himself to abolish the Slave Trade; but this step was not approved by the Home Government, and the protectorate was withdrawn. In a few years Seyyid Said's forces returned, aided with ammunition and guns furnished by the Bombay Government, and having detached some of the leading Swaheli families from their adherence to the representative of the old ruling family, he obtained possession of the fort and seaboard of the province. All the elders among the former Chiefs who were likely to prove troublesome were deported to Muscat and Bunder Abbass.

But, as the younger branches have grown up, and as the rigour of the Zanzibar Government has somewhat relaxed, the old ruling family has begun to reassert its claims. Some of its representatives had become so formidable about two years ago that they were only prevented from blockading Mombassa by a timely reinforcement of 200 or 300 Arabs being sent to the Governor. This did not, however, enable the Government effectually to put down the rebellion. One of the brothers who led the insurrection was pacified by being made Lieutenant-Governor of a district nominally as His Highness' delegate; but the other, Moobaruk Muzrooi, is still at large and undisturbed, with a following of 50 or 100 men, about 40 miles south from Mombassa, not apparently as an outlaw or a fugitive, but in unmolested possession of a tract of country with access to the sea-coast.

In the town His Highness is worthily represented by an intelligent Arab gentleman, son of one of the old Imâm's staunch followers. He nominally rules the whole province as Wali or Governor. In a position but little inferior in dignity to him is the Jemadar, a Beelooch, also a son of a trusty servant of Seyyid Said. To him, with characteristic jealousy of trusting too much to any one distant subordinate, is given the charge of the fort and its garrison. The town is divided into two portions. In one live the Arab families and their dependents and the Indian merchants, who monopolize the trade; in the other live the older Swaheli inhabitants and their followers. This latter division is ruled by the Arab Governor through the Chiefs of the Swaheli families, and to them, in ordinary cases, he makes over all complaints and disputes among their portion of the population.

We found the same system prevailing at Lamoo—the Arab Governor supreme in all important matters, but generally concerning himself only with the affairs of his

Arab followers and foreign merchants, committing all affairs connected with the old local population to the management of their ruling families in the town, and asserting but little authority at a few miles' distance from the town.

Further north, where the Gallas and Somali tribes come down to the coast, his authority is still less recognized beyond his Arab garrisons. Near Cape Bissell we were told of a Colony of Majertyn Somalis, who say they marched across from near Berbera opposite Aden, and established themselves on the Eastern Coast, south of the Juba River, about five years ago. They seem willing to be friendly with the English, of whom they have heard much at Aden, but do not recognize the Sultan's authority.

Magadoxa, which is nearly a degree south of the nominal northern limit of the Sultan's dominions, is said to be held by an officer, Ahmed Yousuff, son of a Sultan Yousuff, with whom friendly relations were established by an officer of the Indian navy some years ago. Ahmed Yousuff is a Somali Chief. His chief town is Gilaidi, one day's journey inland from Merka, where Seyyid Burgash has a garrison. He is well spoken of, and has shown a wish to open friendly relations with the British Consul at Zanzibar.

Brava paid tribute to him till about eighteen months ago; when, as already mentioned, it was occupied by a detachment of His Highness' troops.

At all these towns, Brava, Merka, and Magadoxa, such internal police as exists is administered by a kind of Council of Elders. The Bush Somalis, as they are called, the inhabitants of the environs, are, we were told, cleared out of the towns at sunset, and none but townspeople allowed to sleep within the walls.

Warsheek is nominally the northern limit of His Highness' territory; but his authority, we were assured, is represented only by a small detachment of Arabs, who live on a coral islet, and do not pretend to any authority over the tribes on the mainland.

Still more shadowy is the Sultan's authority in all matters connected with the land throughout his territory. None of it pays any land-tax to him, and he is supposed to be precluded, by the provisions of his Commercial Treaties with foreign nations, from imposing any tax on land or its produce. In the islands, and perhaps in a very few places on the main, a formal grant from His Highness would be a wise precaution, if not a necessary preliminary to any one who would expend much in cultivation, and anywhere the Arab officials would be sure to interfere with any one who settled near their posts without some authority from the Sultan, especially if he attempted to build. But generally the thing most needed is the permission of the local negro Chiefs and tribes. This they seem always glad to grant, if assured of the friendly and peaceful disposition of the intended settler. Englishmen are generally well received, for the natives seem to think that if he comes with no hostile intent his presence is certain to be a tower of strength to them. At Bagamoyo the petty local Chiefs always claim from the French Mission some annual acknowledgment of their rights. A dollar for a large plantation quite satisfies them; but though they frequently remind the foreigner of the claims of their superior—"a great Chief who lives six or seven days' journey in the interior"—nothing like a regular demand for land-tax or tribute is ever made on his account.

When the Universities Mission commenced a small Settlement in the Shamballa country, they found themselves, immediately on leaving the coast, outside the limits of the Sultan's authority. One long day's journey inland they dealt directly with the superior Chief of Fuga, a son, I believe, of the Chief visited sixteen years ago by Captain Burton. Though not so powerful as his father, he is still a great potentate, who was said to have 500 recognized sons. He readily gave the missionaries as much land as they asked for, on the sole condition that "they should build no fort or stockade where his authority might hereafter be defied."

One of the missions near Mombassa had some difficulty in making the local Chiefs accept a small sum, as earnest of the new-comer's right to settle. The Chiefs said, "We asked you to come here because you are our friend, and we wish you to be our neighbour. Take as much land as you want, and cultivate it, provided you do not meddle with other people's fields. How can we sell or take money for God's land?"

It would in all these cases have been dangerous to attempt to settle without the leave of the tribe; but the jealousy seems to relate to residence and neighbourhood, and to have no connection with any notion of regal or other rights in the land such as are so universal in India.

Seyyid Majid made an attempt, by the advice I believe of one of the Consuls, to impose a light tax on the land in the islands. But the other Consuls immediately protested on behalf of their respective protégés, and all the Arabs said, they had as much right to the land as the Seyyid, who was their Sultan, chosen by them, and not Sultan, or Imâm, or anything else in his own right, or by his own power; and the Sultan finding that he could enforce the levy in but very few cases, and that it gave rise to unpleasant discussions, dropped the project.

Clearly, where he has so little control over the land, any ideas derived from feudal Chiefship will give a very erroneous impression as to the Sultan's authority. Even as military Chief he has no power, and little influence to protect any one further than within reach of his ships, or of a party of his Arab soldiers, whose posts are nowhere more than a few miles from the seashore.

The Sultan's authority is further practically limited by the necessity for exercising it in conformity with the wants, wishes, usages, and prejudices of his own Arab race, and of some influential classes of his subjects—notably of the trading classes—from whom his revenue is mainly derived, and the most influential of whom are foreigners.

Such authority, of course, depends much on the personal character of the ruler, and of those who advise or control him; and also on the extent to which he may be able to keep in his pay those who will execute his orders with more regard to his wishes than to other influences.

Character of Seyyid
Burgash.

In all these respects the Seyyid Burgash has more authority than his predecessor Majid. He seems to be a man of remarkable good sense, and, for an Arab, generally frank and good-humoured, somewhat brusque and even rude in manner at times, and very obstinate, personally inclined to bigotry in religious matters. He has hitherto been extremely just in all acts of a judicial character, and Dr. Kirk believes that justice has never been administered in Zanzibar so promptly and impartially as it is by His Highness.

He seems usually ready to listen to advice, official or otherwise, but he is much less under the influence of advisers, ministers, and courtiers, than his predecessor. This is partly due to his firmer and more independent character, partly to the removal of the older and more energetic men who assisted his father to extend his African dominions—some have died, others are too old to take much part in public affairs. Of the younger men, the more enterprising have probably gone to seek their fortune on the frontiers, and the life of a rich Arab in Zanzibar is not calculated to train his children to habits which would give them much weight in public affairs.

The Sultan's father, Seyyid Said, having acquired supreme power in Oman by his astuteness and personal daring, extended his power in Arabia and Persia, and obtained his vast African dominion by a curious mixture of naval, military, and commercial enterprise. Many of his proceedings would be now considered as rank filibustering; some might be reckoned as fair conquest; but he everywhere traded himself and made his captains trade, and he commenced the system of clove and other cultivation, which latterly enriched all the Arabs of Zanzibar. The few visitors to this coast, from 1811 to 1834, seem generally to have found the Arab Governor of the places they called at in his Custom-house, looking after his trade and Customs collections. Of late years this duty has been delegated to Hindoo farmers, and the Governor keeps to his fort. But trade under the old Seyyid was only the occupation of intervals of peace. He and all his old followers were "men of war from their youth," trained in one of the hardest of schools among the fierce tribes who inhabit the deserts and wild mountains of Arabia and Mekran.

Arab Chiefs in
Zanzibar.

Very different is the life of their descendants in Zanzibar and on the coast.

Their time is for the most part passed at their "shambas," estates in the country, where they live a life of indolent ease, surrounded by slaves, borrowing money with facility from Indian traders if their estates are flourishing, doing without it if the estate is in difficulties. At the worst, the poorest estate in this rich island will always yield enough food and shelter for them and their slaves, however numerous, and it is one of the peculiarities of the Arab character that, with great capacity for luxurious enjoyment, the Arab seems never to lose his power of living content and respected on the most frugal supply of the bare necessities of life.

Though many of them have large handsome houses in Zanzibar, they seldom come into town except on a visit, or on occasions of ceremony, to attend a summons from His Highness, or the like. They never lose the dignified bearing or the haughty courtesy of their Arab ancestry; but constant association with slaves gives them a contempt for every form of personal exertion. Men so reared are very different from the old stock who conquered the country, and are not likely to exercise more than a sympathetic influence on a ruler of real energy.

Mercenary troops.

Seyyid Burgash has maintained the Arab and Belooch mercenaries on which his father and brother mainly depended, and he has added to them a body of about 120 Persians, nominally artillerymen, a kind of body-guard, but who seem by no means implicitly to be relied on.

Colonel Pelly, who has had excellent opportunities for forming a sound judgment, is of opinion that the personal authority of the Sultan is now much greater than in his brother's time ten years ago, and this opinion is quite borne out by Dr. Kirk's observation.

The post of Minister is ostensibly held by Nasseer bin Saeed, a young man of the Beit Wakil family; but in all, save matters of mere routine and ceremony, His Highness is his own prime minister and transacts all business in person. He sits in open Durbar almost every day, and is accessible at such times to the meanest of his subjects, who, in any case of real oppression, are said seldom to appeal to him in vain. Advisers.

With a few exceptions, most of his brother's ministers have retained office under him, but few have any real weight, nor is he believed to be much influenced by his relations, though his unmarried sister, the Beebee Kholi, who has always befriended him in all his reverses, and who is said to be a woman of some capacity, is supposed to have much influence over him in ordinary affairs.

Seyyid Burgash's mother is an Abyssinian. He is unmarried. He had a wife who was divorced, and he has only one acknowledged child, a daughter by a Georgian concubine. He looks about forty.

The only one of his courtiers who seems to have much real weight with His Highness in important matters is Sheik Hamood el Farahi, his spiritual director. It was as his disciple, and as the advocate of the Mutawas or fanatics of the Ibadhiyah sect, of whom Sheik Hamood is one of the chief teachers, that Burgash proposed to contest the throne with his brother Majid soon after the latter's accession. When Burgash succeeded peaceably at his brother's death, he gave every indication of acting as a zealous religious reformer of ultra Mutawa views: the propriety of interdicting tobacco and similar sinful indulgences was seriously discussed, and it was generally supposed that religious fanaticism, according to the tenets of that sect, would be his ruling principle. But he soon after threw off all pretensions of the kind, and for some time was liberal even to laxity in his religious observances. The year before last he performed the Haj, and visited Mecca; since his return it is said that he has fallen much more than formerly under the influence of Sheik Hamood, who acts as his director in his daily prayers.

The common people, consisting of negroes of every shade and tribe known on the East Coast of Africa, from Egypt to the Cape Colony, Arabs, and Arab-creoles and half-castes, of every variety of mixed descent, count for little here; they have, doubtless, their national feelings and prejudices, and feel keenly, if we could only understand them, on many subjects to which we think them utterly indifferent; but if they have opinions on any political question they rarely express them, and their rulers would care little or nothing for them if they did. The present is, for all freemen and for most slaves, a mild rule, and I have never heard of any despotism so severe as to rouse the people to revolt in East Africa. The people, therefore, can hardly be taken into account as a political force in Zanzibar. It is the more necessary to notice this because it is in complete opposition to the habits and usages of Oman, and indeed of all Arabia, where sovereign power seems to be always more or less dependent on popular preference. The common people.

It is far otherwise, however, with the trading classes, who influence more or less every other section of society, and, as a body, have probably more power at Zanzibar in the aggregate than any other portion of the community. It is not, however, a power which is easily moved to any combined action. Trading classes.

The most numerous, and, probably on the whole the most influential, are the Indian traders, loosely and generically known as "Banians." Their position is so peculiar, and so important to a correct understanding of East African politics, that I have described them at some length in a separate Memorandum. Banians.

They are generally under British Consular protection; some have neglected to claim it, and a few have in some form or other renounced it, in the vain hope of thereby being at liberty to hold slaves. But since they have discovered that they will still remain liable to penalties for slave-holding or slave-dealing, such renunciations will be few; and I doubt if there be any of this class who would not claim and obtain English protection if subjected to lawless violence at the hand of the Sultan, or any other foreign Power.

The trading subjects of other foreign Powers are mostly Europeans or Americans. The flag in these seas affords a most fallacious index to the nationality of the owners of either cargo or ship, or the habitation or destination of owners, shippers, or consignees. It is determined almost as often by the Admiralty orders as to search, as by anything connected with ownership of vessel or cargo. The red Arab flag is naturally very common, as is the British ensign, hoisted by most Indian owners. The German flag, which ought to be next most frequent, is rarely hoisted by native vessels, which, when they do not hoist the Arab or English flag, generally sail under French or, in a few cases, Turkish colours. National flags.

I could, however, hear of hardly any Turkish trade, and the real French trade or ownership bears no proportion to the number of vessels covered by the flag.

I could hear of no explanation of this beyond the fact that a dhow visiting Zanzibar or either of the French settlements can, through French subjects or Banians domiciled in the colony, easily obtain a French registry; and that the French flag is found to be very convenient, as exempting the bearer from detention by our cruisers though the vessel may be full of slaves; the same is, in some degree, the case with the Turkish flag.

Connection of
trading classes
with Slave Trade.

The Slave Trade generally is in the hands of Arabs, or men of mixed Arab and African descent. Beyond furnishing the capital for it, I do not think the Indian or other foreign traders are often directly implicated in it, and as regards the European merchants and the more respectable Indian houses I doubt whether any case of wilful and direct participation in slaving ventures could be established against any of them; though probably few could escape implication for indirect aiding and abetting, often unconsciously, if all the ramifications of their commercial connections were laid open.

Feeling of the
trading classes re-
garding Slave
Trade.

Their general feeling regarding Slave Trade is, I have little doubt, as expressed by one of the best and most respectable foreign merchants to an English officer, one of "entire hostility to our efforts for repressing it—not that they approve of it in the abstract, but that they believe it to be a necessary and ineradicable evil inherent in the existing state of native society and Government, and not to be got rid of whilst that state exists. They wish it let alone, not from wishing to participate in it or its profits but because when the Slave Trade is flourishing other trade flourishes; when the Slave Trade is depressed or persecuted other trade is dull."

Latterly many of the more intelligent have become convinced that England and civilized Christendom generally is in earnest in this matter, and that the Slave Trade is doomed. They would gladly, therefore, see the question settled by the entire abolition of the Slave Trade, and if the Sultan had consented to our proposals would have given him hearty support. But as His Highness believed that the feeling of his Arab and other *entourage* was too strongly in favour of Slave Trade for him to appear as assenting to our suggestions, they would not press him further unless we persevere in our agitation of the question. If we do, they would be glad if His Highness gave in, and so settled the question; but it is the termination of the discussion which they desire, because while it lasts it paralyzes trade, rather than the stoppage of an inhuman and immoral traffic of which, on high moral grounds, they disapprove.

There are of course notable exceptions. I received hearty co-operation from the leading European merchant at Zanzibar; and from other members of the European community, such as Captain Fraser. I feel sure there are many of the Indian as well as the European traders who heartily and entirely sympathized with the objects of the Mission. But I speak of the general feeling as justifying my belief that the Sultan felt that neither from the mercantile nor from any other part of the community could he look for any active support against the opposition of his Arab relatives and supporters.

Commercial
Treaties.

The English, Germans, French, and Americans all trade under Commercial Treaties, some of them made long ago, and most of them differing somewhat in their provisions from existing practice, but all containing the most-favoured nation clause, thus enabling any one of the four Powers to claim all the privileges accorded to the others.

See Treaty of 1859
with the Hanseatic
Republics.

By these Treaties the Sultan is precluded from imposing more than a 5 per cent. duty on imports "as a full equivalent for all import and export duties, tonnage dues, licenses to trade, pilotage, anchorage, or any other charges whatever." Monopolies are forbidden, except within a certain space of coast, and these only of two articles, ivory and copal.

The wide immunities thus accorded practically to all European, American, and Indian foreigners have been construed, by what appears to me to be a strained interpretation, to preclude His Highness from levying land or other tax on any landed property held by a protégé of any of the Treaty Powers.

Rules of dynastic
succession.

It is necessary briefly to notice the dynastic rules of succession in the Sultan's family. These have been most fully investigated by Sir William Coghlan,* aided by the Rev. Mr. Badger, who is by his great learning in this particular branch of Arabian history probably the highest living authority on the subject. They have shown that "among the Arabs of Omân there is no recognized law determining the succession to the Imamship," (the word being used not as a mark of authority, but merely of fitness for the office of Imam). "Primogeniture gives no claim to succession. The selection was generally confined to the same family or dynasty, but even that restriction appears to have been the result of the influence which its members have acquired over the people, and the

* Vide paragraphs 6 and 11, and Appendix B, of General Coghlan's Report of the 4th Feb., 1860, printed at page 132 of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons. 1871.

candidate who was strongest in that respect usually obtained the supremacy; in no one instance do we find that a successor has been able to maintain his position without the suffrage of the chiefs of the principal tribes, and, in every case recorded, such a concurrence is noticed as confirming the newly-appointed Sovereign in his authority"—or, as Colonel Rigby's very competent informant explained it—"might, coupled with election by the tribes, is the only right."

Practically, as Seyyid Burgash explained it to Dr. Kirk, "the only right is that of the longest sword." When Dr. Kirk argued with him that some more certain rule of succession should be devised, to obviate the many inconveniences and uncertainties of contested succession, Seyyid Burgash warmly asserted that the existing custom was the palladium of Arab supremacy.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Arab notions regarding election by general acclamation, of the whole tribe or nation, have much in common with an English idea of popular election. Every Arab has more or less of the characteristic noted in the prophetic declaration regarding Ishmael, when it was said that "his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him." The notion is less of universal hostility than of entire independence, such as is embodied in the homely old northern proverb, "Let ilka herring hang by his ain head;" and when a great body of men, actuated by this above all other feelings, concur in desiring any one man to be their ruler, the feeling to the more imaginative and religious is, that *vox populi* is really *vox Dei*, that the elected is the Fated One, the One destined to rule, and as long as his acts commend themselves to the general sense of those who elected him, they recognize, in all he does, the manifest finger of God.

It is obvious to remark that whatever may be the advantages of such a mode of selecting a successor in Omân, where every Arab bearing arms has some voice in the selection, and may be, at least in his own estimation, himself a potential candidate, the system has no single recommendation for a state of affairs such as exists at Zanzibar, where the election rests not with the people nor with the aristocracy as a body, but with a section of a single class of foreigners. The selection in fact is, in no sense, as in Omân, the choice of the people, but of a very small portion of a foreign oligarchy.

In Omân, whatever the inconveniences and perils of the process, the result must generally be the selection of a man of great natural ability and force of character; in Africa the nominees of a small and degenerate clique must soon cease to be distinguished by such rude power as alone could make them popular favourites in Omân.

It is perhaps to this habit of acknowledging no right of succession but that of popular selection, on account of personal qualities, that we must attribute the difficulty of conveying to an Arab mind any notion of the respect due to dynastic obligations. When Seyyid Burgash unhesitatingly repudiates a State obligation incurred by his predecessor for public purposes, as in his proposal to wipe out the debt notoriously due to the Customs farmer, Jairam Sewjee, or when he denies any obligation to pay the Muscat subsidy, the condition on which, in our European estimation, he holds his realm, we are apt to hear much of "Arab faithlessness." But the fact is, the obligation never presents itself to the Arab mind in the same light as an obligation personally undertaken.

It is of course necessary that on points like this the Sultan and his people should be made clearly to understand our Western view, and to learn that it must prevail, and rule all questions arising between them and us. But it is not the less important to bear in mind that what appears to us as inconsistent with good faith is really due to absence of conviction that any moral obligation has been incurred.

There is a total absence at Zanzibar of that element consisting of natives of the country trained in Christendom, and thoroughly understanding the languages, habits, and modes of thought of Western Europe, which has done so much to bring Turkey and Egypt within the circle of Western society, and to render possible political union with the rest of Europe. There is none of the desire to understand us, or to copy from us, which we see in the Japanese and other nations. We are simply the nearest, the most powerful, and generally the least troublesome of infidels.

We think it extraordinary that so little attention should be paid to the wishes of Western nations in this matter of the Slave Trade; but to Arabs of Zanzibar the demands of England must appear in much the same light as an argument, against hunting or shooting, on the grounds of inhumanity, would to an average Englishman. They may admit some small modicum of reason in the argument; but, as a practical question, the thing is not to be thought of, except on the ground of the absolute will of the stronger power, and it is, I believe, only in this light, as an inevitable necessity, that it can ever be presented to the Sultan of Zanzibar or his Arab subjects, with any chance of securing their acquiescence.

I have by no means satisfied myself as to the real reasons for the Sultan's apparent uncertainty of purpose regarding the Slave Trade, and final refusal to accede to the wishes and demands of Her Majesty's Government; but whatever element of religious fanaticism or foreign influence may have strengthened his final resolution, I think he felt himself unequal to a task, which would certainly alienate from him the sympathies of all his Chiefs, and possibly lead to attempts on his life. I believe he is sensible enough to see, as all the best and most intelligent of the trading classes acknowledge, that there can be no quiet or commercial ease till this Slave Trade question is out of the way. He is sincerely anxious that the English or any other Power would settle it for him and have done with it, but he is not inclined to risk anything himself in aiding us. He stands well now with all his people, and gains credit for his firmness; and if he avoids any collision with the English, or active resistance to whatever they may do, he believes he will not, in the long run, be the loser. Such, as far as I can judge, is the way he views the position.

First suggestion.
— Let the Slave Trade alone to cure itself.

Specious arguments have been urged for withdrawing from all attempts to stop Slave Trade, and "leaving it alone to cure itself;" and our cruizers have been charged with enhancing the sufferings of the slave by increasing the difficulties of the passage. I am satisfied that there is not a shadow of foundation for this argument. I never heard a single fact or argument which could justify the faintest hope that if slavery or Slave Trade were let alone they would cure themselves in any number of ages. There is ample evidence to prove that the sufferings of the slave from overcrowding, the want of air, food, and water, are quite as great when there is no fear of capture. The same causes, greed for gain and callousness to human suffering, which render it necessary to impose legislative restrictions on emigrant ships, even when the emigrants are free and intelligent Europeans, impel the slave-trader to overcrowd and starve his victims, even when there is no fear of capture; and we saw one instance, and heard of many more, where the suffering and loss of life during the short and legal passage from Kilwa to Zanzibar might compare in horror with anything which has ever been written of the most desperate slave-running.

Again, a vast amount of nonsense has been talked about the impossibility of stopping Slave Trade, because slavery is an ancient institution, interwoven with all the usages of Arab society, and the Arabic domestic slave is always well treated. It would be just as reasonable to permit domestic servants in England to be recruited by the murder of parents and the kidnapping of children, because domestic servitude is a time-honoured state of life, and the servants often fare as well as the masters and mistresses in England.

Slavery in Arabia or India was a state of life as essentially different from slavery in Zanzibar as from English apprenticeship. The mode of acquiring and treating the slave was entirely different, and still more different was the general social feeling regarding the sale of a slave as an ordinary article of trade. An Arab Sheikh of the olden time might, under great pressure, sell his slave, as a lady might sell her jewels, or a nobleman part with his ancestral estate; but till corrupted by residence in a slave-trading community like Zanzibar, he would unhesitatingly condemn the modern East African system of slave-hunting and slave-trading.

It seems to be forgotten that the East African Slave Trade in its present shape is the growth of the last half-century. A few slaves probably always went; but in their present numbers, and with the present horrors of original capture and conveyance, Slave Trade has become possible only since piracy was suppressed; not only because it is chiefly the old pirate tribes among the Arabs who have, of late years, turned their energies to slave-trading, but because such valuable and portable property as a cargo of slaves would have presented unusual temptations to any pirates, so that it is only since the seas have been cleared of pirates that slave-trading on a great scale and as a branch of ordinary commerce has become possible.

Again, it has been urged that our attempts to suppress Slave Trade "diminish the prestige of the ruler, which it should be our object to maintain." This is an excellent reason for carrying him with us, if he is inclined to co-operate; but if he refuses his aid, we could not do worse for him than by leaving him to continue a practice which saps every source of national prosperity, and condemns him and his people to remain in the ranks of barbarous and uncivilized States.

Second suggestion.
— Plans for gradual limitation.

Somewhat more of an argument might be made out of some gradual limitation and progressive restriction of the trade. Something of the kind was more than once alluded to by His Highness as a thing he might think about if it were proposed; but I never could get any definite statement of what might be thought possible or reasonable, and none of the plans I have ever heard suggested would bear discussion.

The effect of the limited permission accorded by the Treaty of 1845 is an instance in point. Its object was to restrict, but its operation has been greatly to facilitate the transit of slaves in the directions which the Treaty aimed at preventing. I can imagine no limitation, either of numbers or place, which must not have the same effect, irrespective of the obvious inconsistency of protecting and allowing during one part of the year or at one place, what elsewhere and at other seasons, we disallow.

Nor do any of the reasons usually assigned for permitting limited import stand the test of inquiry. It is not true that there is any existing deficiency of slave or other labour in Zanzibar; what is now there is more than enough for all the wants of the island, and no recruiting, by bringing in fresh slaves, is necessary to keep up their numbers.

There is not a shadow of proof of the asserted infertility of the African races in Zanzibar; they clearly reproduce themselves there with the same extraordinary fecundity observable elsewhere; and there is no obstacle to a natural multiplication of the slave population save those artificially created by overabundance of slaves, whereby the island has become a huge slave-barracoon.

Even were it otherwise, it might fairly be asked, on behalf of the races in the interior, whence the slaves are driven, what right have we, however indirectly, to sanction and permit, for however brief a period, the murders and kidnappings which are said to be necessary to keep up the cultivation of an island where it is pretended the race cannot naturally exist? And if the constant wasting away of the enslaved races is, as I am satisfied it is, an artificial consumption of human life, due only to the crimes and social disorganization consequent on slavery so recklessly recruited, it is difficult to exaggerate the weight of the national responsibility for actively supporting or sanctioning by Treaty such unnatural and wholesale destruction.

Lastly, every temporary expedient for prolonging the existing mode of slave supply defers the only effectual and natural remedy in an increased supply of free labour. I am convinced that the doubts and difficulties which have been stated as to the possibility of such a supply are purely imaginary; nor can there be any real difficulty in organizing and regulating and watching its transport, so as to guard against its becoming a Slave Trade in a new form. The only one necessary condition is that the Slave Trade should be finally and effectually stopped before the legalized transport of free labour is attempted; and it must be borne in mind that as much energy and vigilance are needed for many years afterwards to prevent the revival of a Slave Trade as effectually to stop it in the first instance.

No. 53.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Poona, May 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a Memorandum in which I have expressed my views as to the best means of disposing of and maintaining slaves liberated by Her Majesty's cruisers, and have made some observations on the various missionary establishments now in existence on the East Coast of Africa.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Memorandum on Disposal of Liberated Slaves.

THE objects to be aimed at are obviously—

- (1.) The security and freedom of the liberated slaves.
- (2.) The maintenance of the able-bodied by their own labour without imposing any permanent burden on the public exchequer.
- (3.) The improvement in civilization, and education of those not too old to learn.
- (4.) Proximity to their own country, or, at least, such similarity of climate as shall render it suitable in a sanitary sense.
- (5.) That the liberated slaves should be in a position to aid the formation of free, self-sustaining communities.

Objects to be aimed at with regard to liberated slaves.

(6.) That these objects should be secured at no inordinate expense by the English Treasury.

All these objects indicate some place not very remote from the place of capture and condemnation, which, as regards condemnation, will probably be Aden or Zanzibar.

Aden.

At Aden living is expensive; it is, comparatively, far from the native country of most slaves; there is little opening for agricultural or unskilled labour of a slave who can only speak his own language, and no organized plan for training him to any other means of earning a livelihood.

For all these reasons it does not seem a very suitable place to select for collecting liberated slaves with a view to their permanent residence. There is an excellent orphanage attached to the Roman Catholic Chapel, and superintended by a Prioress and two other Irish ladies, Sisters of the Order of the "Good Shepherd," whose parent house is at Angers. They have taken great care of about a dozen girls, mostly assigned to them from slave-dhows condemned in the Aden Vice-Admiralty Court, and are willing and anxious to take many more. In the event of any slaves being hereafter liberated at Aden, as many children might be assigned to this institution as it is able and willing to receive; a few will always be well disposed of in private service at Aden. With these exceptions, slaves liberated at Aden should always, I think, be forwarded to Zanzibar by the first good opportunity, which will offer at least once a month, by the contract mail-steamers, should no man-of-war be going. This will, probably, considerably reduce the charges incurred at Aden, which of late years have averaged more than 3,000*l.* per annum.

The Political Agent at Aden would of course, as at present, defray any temporary expenses of housing, clothing, or feeding the liberated slaves, or of maintaining the sick and infirm.*

Zanzibar.

Zanzibar itself, either on the islands or the coast opposite, would seem in all respects the most natural and appropriate destination for the great bulk of the re-captured slaves; but various objections have been started to it, some on very high authority.† I have carefully inquired into these, and will now briefly state the results.

Objections answered.

(1.) It has been said‡ that it would be impracticable to uphold an institution containing liberated negroes, in the midst of a population of slaves of the same race, brought in most instances from the same localities.

But no difficulty of the kind is found to exist in practice in Zanzibar by either of the two missionary institutions, or Captain Frazer, who has had, for years, several hundreds of liberated slaves working in a free community, and in perfect harmony with all around them, as described in my separate report on his estate.§

Nor do I think this objection would ever have been started by any one who had much personal experience of Zanzibar, or knew how considerable a proportion of the negro population consists of free men who have themselves been slaves, or how infinite are the local gradations between absolute freedom and absolute slavery.

I have met no one in Zanzibar who considered that there was any validity in this objection or in the second objection stated in the same paper, that (2) "difficulty would be raised in the way of all efforts to evangelize those whose rescue by a Christian nation involves the obligation to endeavour to impart to them the knowledge of Christianity."

The missionaries now at Zanzibar find no such difficulty. No thoughtful Mohammedan can have any desire for the spread of Christianity, and the Christian religion is regarded by many zealous Mohammedans at Zanzibar or elsewhere with dislike—sometimes, but more rarely in the educated, not unmingled with contempt. But I know few Moslem countries where these feelings are so little active, or so seldom manifested by any outward sign, as in Zanzibar; and the obstacle thus presented to the evangelization of the liberated slaves, would, I am convinced, be of the slightest description.

(3.) It has been feared that the establishment of a *dépôt* of free labour at Zanzibar would lead to a Slave Trade in the interior, similar to that created by the system of *libres engagés*, and that the liberated slaves would be worked beyond the reach of British protection.

As far as I understand this objection, I do not think it valid. We permitted the system of *libres engagés* to be made a monstrous sham, and to develop into a vast Slave Trade in disguise; but this was by no means an inherent vice in the original conception. It was due to want of care and want of arrangement in the first attempt to carry it out, want of honesty in the agents employed, want of supervision and control on

* Appendix A.

† *Vide* Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1871, pp. 106 to 111.

‡ Page 111.

§ No. 18, of the 12th February.

all hands. But there could have been no difficulty in supplying all these defects, and in making the system at least as free from objection as the system of supplying coolie labour from India. The latter system we know is by no means perfect or free from possibility of abuse; but by careful supervision it has been now worked for many years without giving rise to any serious abuse or degenerating into a Slave Trade; and I am convinced that some such system of regulating the migration of labour will, in a few years, be found to be not inapplicable to East Africa.

Nothing, however, of the kind can now grow out of the establishment of a *dépôt* of free labour at or in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, by the settlement there of any number of liberated slaves. The more free labour there is, the less will be the demand for slaves; and nothing can do more to check the Slave Trade in the interior than the growth of a large supply of free labour at Zanzibar and on the coasts adjacent.

But it is said the liberated slaves will be beyond the reach of our protection. I cannot see how this can be, if anything like proper care is taken to make our protection a reality; nor do I find that any one on the spot shares the apprehension. Accurate registration and constant vigilance are matters which can be ensured by a very moderate establishment. Such an establishment has never yet been provided, but, with it, Dr. Kirk, and those best qualified to judge, entertain no sort of doubt that our protection can be made very real and effectual.

It is a mistake to suppose that there is more difficulty in tracing persons in Zanzibar than elsewhere. Indeed, in the case of negroes, there seem to be peculiar facilities, owing to the innumerable and varied skin-markings by tattooing, in which all indulge as ornaments, and the minute attention which all the slave-dealers and brokers pay to all the marks and peculiarities of every slave who passes through their hands. I am assured that any one of these brokers will recollect and describe accurately the marks of any slave he has sold years before. It is a memory of the same kind, but employed on fewer and more marked subjects than the memory of a cattle jobber or driver; and though now employed to such evil purpose, may be applied to purposes of police and useful identification.

A very serious objection to Zanzibar has been stated on such high authority, and so often repeated, in so many forms, that I made it the subject of special inquiry. It has been asserted that "at Zanzibar the African races do not reproduce themselves at all," and various ingenious theories have been propounded to account for the supposed infertility of the negro race on that island. I am happy to be able to assure your Lordship that, after careful inquiry from a variety of sources, I found the basis of fact utterly wanting to support the objection. The negro and all other races, when left in their natural state, seem quite as fertile in Zanzibar and the adjacent islands as anywhere else; and the natural increase of population, when unchecked by epidemics or artificial means, is consequently much in excess of the rates to which we are accustomed in Europe.

Every fact I tested led to the same inference. But nothing seemed to me more conclusive than the experience of Captain Fraser at Kokotoni, as related by him and Dr. Christie. When he received the large body of several hundred slaves from the late Sultan, he was struck by the small number of children they brought with them. In very few cases was there even a pretence of any marriage-tie; concubinage almost *ad libitum* was the rule; and, in the absence of any interest in, or certainty of being able to retain, children, they were seldom born, and yet less frequently reared; disease, too, of every kind fatal to the growth of a healthy population, was frightfully frequent. Such a body of slaves, it was evident, could only be kept up by fresh importations of freshly-captured slaves from the interior.

But as the savage horde was reduced to order and discipline; as they found themselves under the authority of a higher and kindlier intelligence than the slave-dealer; as they became assured of their freedom, and of their right to form and enjoy family ties, and to rear their offspring without fear of separation—such old simple forms of incipient civilization as they had known before they were enslaved, revived; they married with their old rejoicing and ceremonies, and took a pride in their families, revived old tribal associations and allegiances, and gradually formed a community, not civilized according to our ideas, but far more highly organized than the bestial crowd as at first turned over from the slave-market; they were happier, and had no longer any wish to run away, and they were naturally prolific, so that when we saw them eight or nine years after the process began, there were swarms of children of all ages under that period, and it was clear that the community might not only keep up its numbers, but would increase and multiply without the agency of the slave-hunter in the interior, importing fresh victims to supply the places of those who died or were worked out.

A great variety of independent testimony of various kinds confirmed this evidence as to the Island of Zanzibar itself; and other evidence, such as that of Mr. Sunley, at Johanna, went to confirm it, by proving that it is the *status* of slavery, and not the locality, which impairs the natural fertility of the negro race.

I know of no objections to Zanzibar, as a centre for the settlement of liberated slaves, other than those I have noticed, and there are many reasons which render it or its neighbourhood peculiarly eligible, *e. g.*, its proximity to the Court of Adjudication, the ease of supervision by the Consul, and the certainty of always finding employment for any kind of labour, and ready transit to all parts of the coast.

At Zanzibar itself there already exist several establishments which could absorb a considerable number of liberated slaves. I have described at length Captain Fraser's estate at Kokotoni, where, probably, many hundreds of adults could find employment at short notice. There are also two Missions—the Universities Mission, and that of the Roman Catholics—which would gladly take charge of any numbers of children, and of which I shall have more to say hereafter.

I have also informed Dr. Kirk, in the letter already referred to, that I see no reason why some freed slaves should not be tentatively assigned, under conditions therein described, to respectable persons in Zanzibar. I think we are bound to test what may be the effect of trusting, in this matter, to natural influences as we find them, with the addition of the freedom which we secure to the quondam slave; for it is only by the light of such experience that we can expect to see our way to a healthy natural migration of free labour. But I would carefully watch the experiment, and carry it no further than may be necessary to see how far we can dispense with artificial safeguards to secure the well-being of a liberated slave.

But, with the exception of persons assigned to missions, none of the liberated slaves thus disposed of at Zanzibar will be in a position to do much towards the attainment of any but the two first of the six objects specified as those to be aimed at.

For the attainment of the other four objects, something more is required, and it seems to me that all Government can desire in this respect is ready at hand, with the aid of a very small supplement such as Government can easily furnish.

What is desirable is—

1st. As to locality.

(a.) Positions for the liberated Slave Colonies on or near the coast, so situated as effectually to aid in checking the transit of slaves in any numbers, either to the coast or parallel to the coast, on the way to a convenient port for embarkation.

Probably, for the present, the following places would be selected, if perfect freedom of choice were possible :—

(1.) Near Port Durnford, or some point as far north as possible in the Zanzibar dominions.

(2.) Near Mombassa.

(3.) Near the Pangani River (say at Magila).

(4.) Near Kingani (say at Bagamoyo).

(5.) Near the Lufiji delta (say at Dar-es-Salaam).

(6.) Near Kilwa.

(7.) Near Lindy or the Rovuma.

(8.) As near as possible to the Portuguese frontier.

(b.) Some positions inland, such as were originally contemplated by Dr. Livingstone and Bishop Mackenzie, with a view to act on the Slave Trade, at a point as near as possible to the slave-hunting grounds.

Leaving, for the present, the consideration of any such Colony in the interior, it will be found that, of the eight positions on the coast specified as eminently desirable for such Colonies, Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, are now occupied by mission stations, or the occupation of them is seriously contemplated, as will be seen when we come to consider what each mission separately promises to undertake.

There should be, 2ndly, European protection and superintendence.

3rdly. Industrial training for all, and education varying according to the capacity of the pupils.

4thly. Such freedom of action for individuals, and for the whole body of adults, as may ensure its becoming the germ of a free, self-sustaining community.

All these last three requisites are provided by some of the missions, and might be provided by all.

Regarding these institutions, I would beg to refer for details to the inclosures, and will merely now note briefly the chief characteristics of each, and the points in which I think their present arrangement might be usefully adopted as a model, added to, or altered and improved.

(1.) The Universities Mission was originally organized by Bishop Mackenzie in 1860 as a mission to the tribes of Shire and Lake Nyassa. Its head-quarters were established by his successor Bishop Tozer, in 1864 at Zanzibar, where they have now commodious mission-houses, schools, two small plots of ground for cultivation, and a printing press. Universities Mission.

On the main-land they have, at Magila, a small house and plot of land, in charge of a native catechist, a long day's journey inland from Morongo, a small port north of the Pangani River. The station is in the district called Mtangata in the Usambara country, in the territory of a native chief who considers himself independent of Zanzibar. It is capable of indefinite extension, and is extremely well placed for communication with the interior.

The missionaries have laboured at Zanzibar to train selected lads for school teaching and for pastoral work, giving, for this purpose, a good deal of attention to both English and the native languages.

In both respects they have been successful; a fair proportion of the pupils have a useful knowledge of English, and all have learned to read and write their own language, or at least Swahili, the general language of the coast, in English character, in a manner which has hardly been attempted by other missions, and which leaves little to be desired.

This is mainly due to the labours of Dr. Steere, which are more fully described in the inclosed memorandum.* He has furnished any one who can read English with the means of thoroughly mastering Swahili, the most generally useful of East African languages, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of three others commonly spoken by slaves.

Very excellent work, in these languages and in English, is turned out at the Mission-press, the whole being composed, set up, and printed off by negro lads and young men.

It is difficult to over-estimate the value of Dr. Steere's labours in these two branches of mission work; and nothing more seems wanting in either, than to continue and extend what has been so well begun.

In the benefits of both, as most important auxiliaries in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and in the general civilization of East Africa, the Government partly participates. It is to this Mission also that we must, for the present, mainly look for a supply of well-educated interpreters, able to read and write both English and Swahili.

Judged as a whole, for the secular purposes we are now more immediately considering, the main defect of the Mission seems to me to be the want of more industrial teaching in mechanical arts or agriculture; many even of the best-selected lads have absolutely no capacity for intellectual acquirement by means of reading or writing, and I have heard of what were called "lamentable failures," so called simply because a boy, who was quite willing to work in the fields for his living, but had no capacity for any but bodily exercises, ran away from his lessons.

If I might presume to advise the Bishop and the missionaries, I would introduce a far larger industrial element into their schools. Every one should learn a trade or mechanical art of some kind, or sufficient of agriculture to support himself. The teaching might be such as a good native artizan, or mechanic or cultivator, could impart—to which might be added tentatively, and with caution, instruction in European methods and the use of European tools, which are not invariably adapted to African habits and necessities. Every boy should, I think, be taught to make himself useful in building a hut, in cultivating, in managing a boat or fishing-canoe, washing, making, and mending his own clothes and shoes, and his nets and fishing-tackle, &c., after the native fashion, with European improvements only when clearly seen to be better than the native ways.

Elementary instruction sufficient to read and write in their own language might probably be imparted to all; but only the apter pupils should be required to learn English.

There is room for something being done in this way on the ground which Bishop Tozer has already acquired, but more space is needed and might be acquired on the island or on the mainland, if the plans for extension which the Mission has in view can be carried out.

On the island it might be found in a small shamba or plantation, such as the Consul would have to provide for the temporary reception of any batch of liberated slaves which might be brought in, pending adjudication or awaiting distribution. The Consul, instead of himself undertaking the maintenance of such a plantation, might make it over to be managed by the Mission, if the latter were able to undertake it, and the arrangement might be made an economical one for both parties.

* See p. 129.

Nothing could be better placed, for all the purposes which Government has in view, than the missionary outpost at Magila, on the borders of the Usambara country. But unless Mr. Allington, the missionary who selected the station, should return, the mission must be strengthened, and some time must elapse before it would be safe to send thither liberated slaves.

The same may be said of Dar-es-Salaam, about midway between the delta of the Lufji and the delta of the Kingani, near Bagamoyo—to the occupation of which, as a station on the mainland, the attention of the Universities Mission has been for some time directed.

In its present state, this Mission could take charge of a considerable number of children at Zanzibar, if they were gradually added to the present charge; and I understand from Dr. Steere that almost any number which is likely to offer could be taken in charge, if some notice were given to prepare for their reception.

French Mission.

(2.) The French Mission has been established for several years at Zanzibar, where they have extensive mission premises in the town, and a small plantation two or three miles off. In the town, besides the accommodation required for the Brethren and their pupils, the chapel, &c., they have a forge and smith's workshop, where a great deal of engine work is turned out by the pupils. Besides attending school, where they get a good elementary education in French, they have learned to form a military band, and some of them prove very apt musical scholars.

The Brethren used to have a hospital, where they gave gratuitous attendance and medicine. The institution was a great blessing to the town and to the shipping in harbour; but since the French Government have been compelled to withdraw the services of the surgeon who was formerly allowed to the institution, the Brethren have been obliged to close their hospital to all but special cases of Europeans, who are still received and tended by the Brethren as far as their means and skill allow.

But their principal station is at the establishment of Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, near the mouth of the Kingani, on the mainland opposite Zanzibar, to the detailed account of which, as given in inclosures, I would request special attention.*

Here have been established, for about four and a half years, four Sisters of Charity from a convent at Réunion, and five Brethren under two Fathers of the order of St. Esprit et du St. Cœur de Marie, the head-quarters of which are at No. 30, Rue Lhomond, in Paris. They train about 15 adult liberated Africans, and about 150 boys and 100 girls, for the most part liberated slaves captured by British cruisers. They have about eighty acres of land reclaimed from the African forest, and in cultivation, and had built wholesome and sufficient buildings, including a chapel and a library, separate huts for sick and visitors, &c., when the hurricane of last year destroyed the whole, with the exception of one hut; and though, providentially, no life was lost, the whole place was for the time utterly ruined. The Brethren are now, as far as their means will permit, rebuilding everything in a more permanent style.

I can suggest no change in the general arrangements of the institution, with any view to increase its efficiency as an industrial and civilizing agency, and in that point of view I would recommend it as a model to be followed in any attempt to civilize or evangelize Africa. All that can be desired in its secular arrangements—and of them alone I am now speaking—is an extension of the means which have been so well applied by Père Horner and his reverend colleagues. There is little room for expansion where they now are, but a branch establishment may be formed at a little distance in the interior, which would materially aid all the objects of the parent institution.

Possibly the Fathers may be able to obtain for themselves all they require for the formation of such a branch establishment, or for any additions they may require to the land they now hold near Bagamoyo. But should they require and wish for assistance, I think it should be afforded to them by the British Consul in the same way as I have proposed for the Universities Mission, without reference to the nationality of an institution so judiciously promoting the objects which the British Government has in view for the freedom and civilization of East Africa.

I gathered from the reverend Fathers that there was practically no limit to the number of children they could accommodate, if they were added gradually so as to admit of their labour aiding in the expense of their maintenance, or if payments were made for such as could earn nothing for their own support.

Church Missionary Society's Mission.

(3.) The Church Missionary Society has, for many years past, had a mission at Mombassa, with a branch establishment at Kissoludini close to Rabbai, about six miles from the head of a branch of the great estuary, the mouth of which forms the port of Mombassa.

When we visited these places Mr. Rebmann was the only European missionary present. He probably ranks among the oldest and most learned missionaries now in Africa, and has laboured longer on the East Coast than any one now living there. He has specially devoted himself to the study of the native languages, and, besides some translations of the Scriptures, has completed three dictionaries of the Nyassa, the Kanika, and the Swahili tongues, two of which are absolutely ready for the printer, whilst the third only requires transcription. His health has of late years quite failed him, and I much fear that, unless relieved, he may die at his post, and many of the invaluable collections, the results of so many years of literary toil, may be lost, as he is unwilling to part with them. He has been unable of late years to take much active part in more direct missionary work, and we found but eight converts at Kissoludini, and five of them belonged to two families which had joined from the African Orphanage at Nassick, near Bombay. Mr. Rebmann has insuperable scruples regarding the admission of anything like an industrial or worldly element into the teaching or action of the Mission, and his influence has consequently been limited to the example of a holy life of ascetic self-denial, and indifference to all worldly enjoyments and employments, which have had the usual effect of exciting the admiration, without securing the imitation, of the people around him.

I gathered, however, from the conversations I had with Mr. George David, a very intelligent catechist whom we found in charge at Kissoludini, that he had no doubt of the success of any extension of the Mission which should give to it more of an industrial element, similar to that in which he was himself trained at Nassick. The people around are willing enough to come and listen, and approve of the truths they hear. But if, when they ask what they shall do, the missionary declines to follow St. Paul's or St. John the Baptist's example, and simply exhorts them to believe, they are too often inclined to defer compliance to some more convenient season, and to conclude that Christianity is compatible with no worldly status but that of the ascetic, or the salaried teacher of a foreign dogma.

Mr. George David had no doubt that, if set to agriculture or other industrial occupations, numbers of the people round would flock to the Mission. It would be difficult to find a better situation for it, in every point of view; and I feel assured that, if placed under a Superintendent, who, like Mr. Price at Nassick, added to judicious missionary zeal great powers of organization, results might be secured far surpassing what I have witnessed at Nassick, for there is a total absence of the old fossilized superstitious caste-prejudices and social difficulties which form so powerful an obstacle to the labours of the missionary in India.

The buildings erected by Mr. Rebmann at Kissoludini are well-planned and substantial as far as they are completed, and the establishment is in every way capable of indefinite expansion.

(4.) Much of what has been stated of Kissoludini is, to some extent, true of Ribe, the station of the United Methodist Free Churches, where Messrs. New and Wakefield have been labouring for the last ten or eleven years. Both gentlemen are distinguished for the great additions they have made to geographical knowledge during extended missionary tours to the snowy mountain, Kilimanjaro, and into the Galla country. We saw, at their ordinary Sunday school assemblies and services, between 40 and 50 converts and inquirers, many of them Gallas, members of broken tribes harassed by Masai and Somali inroads. They had sought refuge with the missionaries, whose acquaintance they had made during their tours, and they testified to a wide-spread impression that peace and good-will, so rare in their own country, were characteristics of the Christian settlement.

Methodist Mission.

Here, as at the neighbouring mission, the most conspicuous defect seemed to me the want of a larger admixture of the industrial element, of more direct teaching how to live in this world, as well as how to prepare for that which is to come.

I gathered that the experience of Mr. and Mrs. Wakefield, the only Europeans whom we found at Ribe, was in accordance with my own observation, and that they were quite willing to carry out any plan which might be approved by the Directors of their Society at home for organizing their converts into a civilized industrial community.

I have ventured to communicate to these gentlemen, the impressions made on me during my brief visit, and the suggestions which some experience of life in the tropics enabled me to offer. Meantime, till the number of European missionaries is increased, only a very few liberated slaves can be made over to their care; but the position is quite one of the best which could be selected for a free settlement, in the neighbourhood of an important seaport, and of established lines of communication along the coasts as well as into their interior.

I would suggest that the Consul be empowered to aid in acquiring any plots of

land in the neighbourhood of either mission, which may be required to receive any liberated slaves. I do not anticipate the slightest difficulty and very little expense in doing this, but it is a work in which the Consul should, I think, take a part; and the medical officer attached to the Consulate might usefully accompany his chief, and be consulted regarding many of the arrangements.

I saw at these stations, as elsewhere in East Africa, much which leaves on my mind the impression that the insalubrity which is now ascribed to the climate, is often due to a neglect of sanitary rules, which would cause similar results on any part of the coasts of India; and I, everywhere in Eastern Africa, found Europeans living in positions and under circumstances which any medical officer of ordinary experience in Indian cantonments would pronounce to be incompatible with healthy existence.

The Consulate should not again be left, as it has been for many months past, without any medical officer of any kind professionally attached to it. Not only should the post of the European medical assistant be kept filled up, but some small hospital establishment and dispensary should be allowed on the scale usually sanctioned for a small civil station in India, with accommodation such as would be required for the poor sick Europeans, of whom a few, from ships in harbour, are always needing shelter and aid; there should also be such sheds as may be wanted when, as frequently happens, a large number of slaves are landed, suffering from small-pox or other severe disease.

Much has been said at Zanzibar and elsewhere regarding the small number of actual converts, especially at the Church Missionary station. But it seems to me that, apart from their literary labours, if judged only by the character they have established among the people around them, Mr. Rebmann and his fellow missionaries have not lived or laboured in vain. They seemed to me to be regarded as beneficent superior beings, whose presence the simple tribes round were glad to secure, and whose precepts and example they would gladly follow. Everywhere the leading men of the petty tribes welcomed us, after their fashion, and more than once asked why we did not stay, with no apparent notion beyond the belief that we belonged to the same race, and had the same objects, as the missionaries. One of them, however, a very intelligent petty chief at Rabbai near Kissoludini, gave, as his reason for wishing us to stop, that "more missionaries would be a protection against the two greatest evils they feared—the inroads of the fierce cattle-lifting Masai, and the efforts of the coast people to make slaves of the Wanika, who had hitherto maintained comparative immunity from the inroads of slave-hunters."

I may remark, once and for all, that Christian missions present to the civil administration in East Africa none of the political difficulties with which we are familiar in India. Educated Mahomedans do not sympathize with the missionary; but, except slave-dealers, they will not oppose him, and the bulk of the African Moslem, who are very illiterate, are by no means averse to listen to him. By the negro, free or slave, he is everywhere regarded as a friend. The African is surprised to be told that the Great Spirit is not in a state of epicurean indifference to mundane affairs and quite incredulous as to the non-existence of the apparatus of witchcraft, and good and evil spirits by which he believes the world to be governed. As a rule, he is a materialist and positivist of the most practical character; but he has not the slightest objection of any kind, moral or material, political or social, to the missionary, whom he regards as a very amiable and inexplicable, but in many ways most useful, enthusiast, whom he is glad to welcome as doing him good in many ways, and greatly adding to the comfort and importance of the tribes in the midst of which a mission station is established.

It will be seen that, of the eight places specified above as desirable positions for establishments of liberated slaves, four only are occupied—

Mombassa (Church Missionary Society and Methodist Free Churches);

Near Pangani River, Magila (Universities Mission);

Near Kingani River, Bagamoyo (French Mission);

Dar-es-Salaam, proposed to be occupied by the Universities Mission.

Whilst four remain to be provided for, viz. :—

(1.) Near Port Durnford, or some other point as far north as possible between Lamoo and Warsheek.

To this part of the coast slave-dhows running north are generally obliged to resort for water. There is also a considerable local demand for southern slaves among the Somalis, where they fetch a higher price than at Muscat, and from 2,000 to 4,000 are said to be taken annually. High-priced Galla and Abyssinian slaves are also often exported. Nothing is likely so effectually to check this traffic as a free settlement, under resident European superintendence—the further north the better. Port Durnford is an excellent harbour, easily accessible, and is said to be a peculiarly healthy place; but the

best spot can only be decided on after a careful examination of the coast by the person who is to have charge of the settlement. This remark is generally applicable to the other three places named.

(2.) A settlement near Kilwa, which would act on one of the principal slave routes, and on the great port of slave export trade of Zanzibar. I have no doubt a comparatively healthy spot might be found on the sea-shore in the neighbourhood, from which a position might subsequently be taken up further inland.

The same may be said of the other two spots named, viz. :—

(3.) Near Lindy, or some other of the ports north of the Rovuma ; and

(4.) South of the Rovuma, as near as possible to the Portuguese frontier.

The object of all these settlements should be to form a basis, whence it may be possible to carry out Dr. Livingstone's original idea of acting on the Slave Trade from the interior. I found that all the persons best acquainted with the coast and the Slave Trade were convinced that it is only from the interior that any extensive and permanent effect can be produced on the slave-hunting ground.

No one seemed to doubt the essential soundness and feasibility of Dr. Livingstone's plans ; but all agreed that a good and permanent base on the sea-coast was an essential preliminary, and this it need not take long to establish.

The Universities Mission has never, I believe, given up the hope of resuming this part of Bishop Mackenzie's plan, and one or other of the four places I have named is very likely to be taken up by them. For the others, I would trust to the efforts of private individuals or missionary societies ; for I believe a very considerable extension of missionary enterprise on this coast may be confidently looked for.

The same may be expected of commercial enterprise ; and in the event of any respectable European setting up on the coast a plantation like that of Captain Fraser or Mr. Sunley, I would authorize the Consul to deal with him as with a mission, always remembering the less permanent character of his establishment. Sometimes it might be desirable to have a separate Government shamba or plantation, but I would avoid this if possible, so that the status of the liberated slave might, as nearly as possible, resemble that of an ordinary freed man, with the additional protection which he derived from being registered as under British protection.

I have suggested no separate establishments to be formed by Government, from a sense that Government could not do the work so well or so cheaply as the missionary societies or private individuals. But Government should contribute effective pecuniary aid ; and I would beg attention to what is said by Père Horner, in Appendix C, as indicating what may be considered the reasonable expectations of one of the best-informed and best-organized of the existing institutions.

I would authorize the Consul to contribute whatever he may consider a reasonable amount, in every case in which the Consul may avail himself of the agency of a missionary society, or of any private establishment, to take charge of children, or of adults who are not in a condition at once to earn their own livelihood.

Under no circumstances should anything be allowed to be paid into any British Treasury for the services of a liberated African, either on the ground of paying for his outfit or on any other pretence whatever. I have no doubt that it was a misunderstanding of the reason for some repayment of expenses of clothing and keep which gave rise to the misrepresentations regarding the disposal of liberated slaves at Seychelles and elsewhere. When a liberated slave is "assigned" to a planter, who pays so many pounds for his keep and clothing before he was assigned, it is difficult for either the slave or the bystander to understand that the liberated slave's services have not been sold as really and effectually as if the money had been paid to the slave-owner before the man was freed.

I would require constant supervision, and an annual report by the Consul, in all cases where large bodies of liberated slaves are collected together, so that Government may be able to judge how far the expectations with which the freed men were disposed of have been fulfilled.

For this, among other objects connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade, every facility should be afforded to the Consul and his assistants to visit all parts of the coast.

Rules regarding registration, &c., of liberated slaves, their terms of service, certificates of freedom, &c., should be laid down and carefully observed.

I think it probable that the measures I have suggested will provide for many more liberated slaves than are ever likely to require to be disposed of ; and it is, therefore, unnecessary at present to discuss at length the proposals which have been made for other more distant places as depôts for the purpose, *e.g.*, at Seychelles. The Commissioner,

Mr. Franklyn, is most anxious to receive any liberated slaves. The Governor of Mauritius, Sir Arthur Gordon, considers that from 200 to 400 adults can be annually disposed of at Seychelles. At Natal, apparently, the demand for them is unlimited; and at some of the colonies in the West India Islands Sir Philip Wodehouse has been good enough to ascertain that the planters would be glad to pay all the cost of the voyage if liberated slaves can be sent to them.

Johanna seems to me to afford an opening for disposing of any possible surplus, which is every way preferable to any more distant place. It can be visited without taking ships off the station; it is an excellent place for the refreshment of crews; and, with the exception of one defect, seems as well fitted as any place can be to fulfil all the requirements of the case.

The objections which have been stated to Johanna have been almost entirely removed by the agreement entered into by the King as reported in my despatch of the 12th March. Under that engagement all immigrants to Johanna are declared free. There is already in Johanna a considerable proportion of free labour, and it is to be hoped the island will no longer be entirely destitute of Consular supervision. The character of the Johanna men does not stand high among the people of this region in regard to scrupulous truthfulness or honesty, but there can be no doubt they are more intelligent, and in many respects more civilized, than their neighbours.

Lastly, in Mr. Sunley's presence and example we have the best security for the good treatment of any liberated slaves who may be sent to the island whilst he resides there; and the effect of the excellent example he has set, and which the King and his people are now following, will not be limited to the duration of his personal presence on the island.

I consider, therefore, that Johanna is, on the whole, as good a place as could be selected for placing those liberated slaves who cannot be disposed of at Zanzibar or on the mainland.

The one desideratum I have alluded to is some provision for the education of the young; but this, I have no doubt, will in time be provided by some missionary societies, as the island would in many respects prove an excellent centre for missionary operations.

Most of those who have discussed the provision to be made for liberated slaves, especially when writing from a distance, have expressed anxiety regarding their protection, unless they are placed on British territory. I would, for many reasons, myself be glad to see the establishment of a British Settlement, under the British flag, as by far the best and most perfect arrangement which could be made with a view to the effectual and permanent improvement and civilization of Eastern Africa. But I cannot say that I think it by any means absolutely necessary to the security of the liberated slave against re-enslavement. Every liberated slave duly registered will be under the protection of the British flag; and I have no reason to think that protection would be insufficient, if our officers on the spot are supported in doing their duty, as they have always done it in time past.

I may mention, as an instance in point, the case of the slaves belonging to British Indian subjects set free by General Rigby. It has been said that the registration and subsequent supervision of these men was not very perfectly carried out at the time, nor very carefully attended to subsequently. I was unable to ascertain that there was any foundation for either statement, but I am satisfied that, even if true to the fullest extent stated, there is no reason to suppose that the measure was either incomplete or ineffectual. Many years have passed since it was carried out; but it is still frequently alluded to by men of all classes at Zanzibar as a great and striking instance of the power, as well as the disinterested motives, of the British Government; and I never at Zanzibar heard a doubt expressed as to its having secured completely and permanently the effect intended.

A very intelligent member of the body of Indians affected by it, when urging on me the necessity for a complete and final settlement of the Slave Trade question, observed that no one, except the actual slave-traders, was likely to suffer, provided the measures adopted were final and decisive. "Did not we Indians," he said, "think that we were all ruined when Rigby Sahib liberated our slaves? Yet no one was the worse for it, no one lost a servant worth keeping, and no one now wishes to bring back the old state of things. None but Arab pirates from the Gulf, who will rob even the Sultan himself, dare to touch a man freed by the Consul; and since it was done we have all prospered in trade as we never did before."

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

April 13, 1873.

APPENDIX (A).

Memorandum by Major Enan Smith on the Orphanage at Aden.

The Lady Prioress of the Convent of the Good Shepherd states that in 1868-69 the convent first began to receive released slaves from Government, and that it is "principally for them that the nuns of the 'Good Shepherd' now remain in Aden." The convent could not now give accommodation to more than fifty children, including those at present under its charge—eleven in number; should Government wish to place a larger number under their charge a school would have to be built for them. The average cost of each child per annum is stated to be 7*l.*, but the nuns would gladly receive all children for 5*l.* per head per annum, trusting to the child to earn the rest.

The instruction given to the children is in reading, writing, and religion, and also sewing and household work generally. The children remain with the nuns until married or placed in service, but "those who wish to remain are never forced to leave." Their age, when received, varies from six to eleven, and though morose and apathetic at first, they soon improve under the influence of kind treatment, and prove themselves, with few exceptions, tractable and intelligent.

The Préfet Apostolique of the Roman Catholic Mission at Aden also expresses his desire to "form an establishment at Aden, composed entirely of liberated slaves, who would be brought up to different trades, such as masons, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, bookbinders," &c. For the moment he says that "accommodation could only be afforded for thirty, but after a short time a much larger number might be taken, as a school is already built, and will be vacant after some months." The Reverend Father adds that the terms on which the boys would be received are similar to those which the nuns consider necessary for the girls, *i.e.*, 5*l.* per annum.

These two establishments afford an excellent asylum for liberated slave children at a very moderate rate; and they might very conveniently be made use of for slaves taken by our cruizers within the neighbourhood of Aden. The rate demanded for the children seems small, and they are certain to receive kind and liberal treatment at the hands of the Brethren and Sisters.

In the case of slaves remaining at either establishment until grown up and able to earn their own livelihood, the Government rate should be reduced in proportion as the slave was able to work for himself.

It may be added that, on the inspection of the slave children by Sir Bartle Frere on his way to Zanzibar in January 1873, all appeared healthy, happy, and contented; the advantages offered by the care of the Sisters and Brethren, the salubrity of Aden itself, and the absolute security assured to the liberated slave, together with the facility of supervision which might be exercised, if necessary, by the Government authorities, are strong arguments for the establishment of a small settlement of liberated slaves at Aden.

(Signed) C. B. EUAN SMITH, Major,
Private Secretary.

APPENDIX (B).

Zanzibar Universities' Mission.

While at Zanzibar I put some queries to Dr. Steere, and he was kind enough, in reply, to give me the following information.—H. B. E. F.

Questions submitted to Dr. Steere.

1. Numbers of negroes attached to Mission?
2. Adults? Children? Male? Female?
3. Numbers received from the British Government?
4. Ordinary employment of all classes?

Answers to Queries.

1. The Universities Mission has had under its care, since its arrival in Zanzibar, 78 boys and 32 girls, in all 110 children; of these, all, except five boys, were released slaves. Fourteen of the boys were taken out of slave-dhows by Seyyid Majid, and put by him under the care of the Mission; two boys and one girl were procured by Europeans (not

British subjects) residing in Zanzibar, and given over by them to the Mission; the rest were all taken by English men-of-war. Nineteen children have died; three of the girls are married; two of the boys are sub-deacons—one is at the Magila mission station, the other is preparing to go there; one old scholar is chief assistant in the printing office, another is employed about the mission premises, one is engaged as servant to Bishop Tozer, four are in service in the town of Zanzibar, three are engaged as pupil teachers in the school, four have in various ways turned out badly. Forty-two boys and twenty-two girls are now in the schools.

2. The cost of maintenance has been calculated at 6*l.* a year, which has hitherto been amply sufficient; prices are, however, continually rising, and living is perceptibly more expensive than it was a few years ago.

3. The slaves under the charge of the Mission have been taught the ordinary subjects of primary education, including the English language. They are lodged in the mission-houses, and their conduct has generally been very good. The boys are now printing some elementary school-books in Swahili, as it is desirable that all should learn and be able to teach in that language, while only those who show some special aptitude need be taught English or any other language.

4. One piece of ground was till lately occupied by the two sub-deacons, who made some profit out of it—I cannot say to what extent. Various attempts have been made on a small scale, but the land near the school-house is exceedingly infertile, and that at Mbweni, which is very good, is not conveniently situated in regard to the boys' school. Bishop Tozer purchased it with a view to planting out upon it adult released slaves, but none were ever actually received. It must be observed that the object of our schools was to train missionaries, and only indirectly for the benefit of released slaves.

5. Land can only be purchased in Zanzibar from time to time as opportunity offers. There is no great stretch of fertile land which is not already occupied, and many of the native owners are exceedingly unwilling to sell to European purchasers. I do not think that any colony of released slaves could be planted in the Island of Zanzibar itself with a reasonable prospect of success.

6. The mission boys do the work of the house, keep the land in order, so far as their other occupations allow, and work the printing press. They have several times been employed in carpentering work under a European teacher, but never with much success, owing partly to failures in health and other defects in the teachers, and partly to the fact that European tools and methods are not very well adapted to native habits and wants. The fact is that, except for supplying the wants of European residents, European or Europeanizing mechanics are not wanted at all. Our Mission has always aimed at keeping natives still in native dress and habits.

7. The Universities Mission is at present represented by myself, and I have more to do than I can properly attend to. To speak frankly, I think our proper work is among the heathen in their own homes, and not among released slaves. If our friends at home wish it, and will send out two or three competent men, I think a settlement of released slaves might be formed somewhere on the mainland under authority, and on land granted by Seyyid Burgash; and I should suggest Dar-es-Salaam as a good situation. It would be necessary to maintain all persons landed there until their first crop was ready for use. At present I should be glad to take in ten or twenty girls more, but I had rather not have any increase in the number of our boys.

8. Our station at Magila is intended as a point of departure for preaching amongst the Shambala. It is a long day's journey inland, nearly opposite the middle of the Island of Pemba. Permission to settle there was given by the then King of the Shambala to the Rev. C. A. Allington. The Mission has no definite property, except the houses actually occupied by its members. There is land capable of use for pasturage and for growing corn, but nearly all of it is already occupied. The soil is, I believe, fertile, the natives friendly, and the climate at least as good as that of Zanzibar. The Government is very unsettled; a war of disputed succession has been going on for ten or twelve years among the Shambala, and is not yet ended, though just now there is a sort of truce arising from the exhaustion of the country generally. The access from the coast is as easy as on most usual roads, but not at all specially so; and any large settlement of released slaves would, I feel sure, be regarded by all parties with great suspicion. I ought to mention that I have never seen Magila, and therefore only speak from what I have heard from those who have visited it. I think that Dar-es-Salaam is the only spot near Zanzibar which offers any special advantages for a new Settlement, but I believe that there are many eligible places to the south of Kilwa. From the little I have seen of that coast, I should expect it to prove healthy, but rather barren. I have seen very little really fertile land in Eastern Africa, and I think its general fertility has been very much

exaggerated by Dr. Livingstone, and by others who have echoed his statements. I think any convenient harbour under British Government would very soon draw away the trade from Zanzibar, and become the emporium of Eastern Africa. I think that in most places released slaves would be able to get food for themselves after a season or two. I think that they would soon increase and improve under any regular Government; but I do not think that European methods could be rapidly introduced, unless under some system of modified slavery. I think negroes are most out of the reach of the slave-dealer when residing on the coast. It would be impossible to hold any district of the country as free soil at a distance in the interior without a strong European force. It must be remembered that there is a Slave Trade into the interior as well as to the coast.

(Signed) EDWARD STEERE.

Zanzibar, January 15, 1873.

Dr. Steere subsequently forwarded to me copies of some of his Reports to the Committee of the Mission in England.

The following extracts will be found to contain much useful information relative to the best mode of dealing with liberated slaves. One omission regarding the Mission work I wish to supply, by pointing out the benefit that has accrued not only to the Mission, but also to Government, by Dr. Steere's labours in the native languages of Africa. The results are, in my opinion, so important that I consider they would alone amply repay the trouble and expense incurred by the Mission. Dr. Steere has established an excellent printing-press at Kangani, having already published in London the following books:—

- "Steere's Swahili Tales." Bell and Daldy, 1870.
- "Handbook of the Swahili Language." Ditto.
- "Katekismo." (Swahili.) Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.
- "Scriptural Reading Lessons." (Swahili.) Ditto.
- "Psalms of David." (Swahili.) Ditto.
- "Collections for the Yao Language." Ditto.
- "Collections for the Shambala Language." Ditto.
- "Collections for the Nyamwesi Language." Ditto.

In addition to these works, Dr. Steere has in preparation and in printing at Kingani elementary books for instruction in arithmetic, reading, &c., chiefly in Swahili. These works cannot fail to be of great use to his fellow missionaries, and to all foreigners on the coast.

2. The only other point, in connection with the following extracts, on which I think it necessary to remark, is with regard to the salubrity of Zanzibar. I cannot but think that Dr. Steere takes too unfavourable a view of the effects of the climate: Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa appear to me to be unhealthy from the same causes, and apparently not in much greater degree, than the West Coast of India; and the precautions taken in the latter place for the preservation of health would probably be equally efficacious if strictly observed in Zanzibar and East Africa. Caution against unnecessary exposure either to the sun or malaria, care with regard to drinking-water and food, and other obvious sanitary precautions, would probably go as far to lower the rate of mortality in Africa as they have done during the memory of living men in India.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE

Extracts from a Memorandum on the Present State and Prospects of the Central African Mission.—By Dr. Steere, D.C.L., &c., &c.

As the Universities Mission seems to have arrived at a crisis in its history, it is desirable that a clear account of its present position should be laid before those interested in its work; such an account I have, therefore, endeavoured to draw up. We are actually at work in three distinct places:—

1. At Magila, among the heathen.
2. In Zanzibar itself we have a girls' school, a vernacular service with an exposition of the Gospel every Sunday afternoon, daily prayers in Swahili and in English, and a weekly evening service with sermon, and Holy Communion twice in the month for the European residents.
3. At Kingani, close to Zanzibar, we have our boys' school, and college for mission students. There are, of course, regular services in the chapel in English and in the vernacular. We have a printing-press at work, from which we have just issued, as the first of our school series, a Swahili spelling-book. An elementary arithmetic and a first reading-book are now in the press; we have also just begun to print Mr. Pennell's version

of St. Luke's Gospel. Some hymns, a first catechism, and the Litany in Swahili have been printed since my arrival in Zanzibar in March 1872. Some of the boys work a saw-pit, and help in carpentering; the rest are engaged in bringing the land into order and cultivation.

The special subjects on which our friends will look to us for information are, probably, the nature and prospect of our directly Mission work, the results and present state of our school work, the share we can take in the crusade against slavery, and the propriety of remaining at Zanzibar in spite of our many losses.

I have tried to deal with these several matters as briefly and clearly as possible, and have subjoined an account of the property belonging to the Mission, with a list of its working members. Upon the data thus furnished, our friends at home will, I hope, be able to form a tolerably good judgment as to the results of past work, and the best form in which to proceed for the future.

Mission-work on the Mainland.—A station has been established at a place called Magila, one long day's journey from the coast. It is now occupied by Samuel Speare, missionary student and sub-deacon, and Francis Mabruki, native sub-deacon.

This site was selected chiefly with a view to health and convenience. There is much talk in England about "healthy highlands," but, so far as we can learn, there are none such. The truth seems to be that the fresh cool air of any elevated region has for a time a very invigorating effect, and therefore every one, who stays only for a few days or weeks, feels that the situation must be a healthy one. Such an opinion, however, is not confirmed by longer experience. It will be found that the spots described as unhealthy are chiefly those where some European has made a prolonged stay, and those described as healthy are those which have been visited for a short time only. There are, however, manifest advantages in an elevated location in such a climate as this; and as our experience on the Morumbala showed that a mountain swept by winds, that had passed over a large swampy district, was not exempt from the usual marsh fevers, we looked out for high land as near the coast as possible, in order to avoid the miasma. The most promising in every way seemed to be the mountain district known as Usambara. The mountains there come nearer to the coast than in any other place within the scope of our mission, and they are so near as to be, in very clear weather, visible from the town of Zanzibar. Besides this, Dr. Krapf had always pointed to the Shambala country (Usambara) as peculiarly eligible as a mission field; and we had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of a singularly sensible and intelligent man, named Munyi Hatibu, who lives at Mworongo, the landing-place where the route into the Shambala country leaves the coast. All these considerations determined Bishop Tozer to attempt a first main-land station among these mountains. A vocabulary of the Shambala language was collected, and as soon as circumstances permitted, the Rev. C. A. Allington was sent up with two native boys as interpreters and attendants, to choose a site.

After long delays and much unsatisfactory negotiation, the King of the country sent him to Magila, as the best or only place within his dominions where he would at that time allow him to build or to make any settlement.

Mr. Allington was shortly after called back to England by a summons that could not be resisted, and then the charge of the Shambala mission was given to the Rev. L. Fraser. Mr. Fraser preached in the villages within his reach, and instructed the children who were willing to be taught. His holy life and conversation had a great effect upon the natives with whom he came in contact, and his lessons are well remembered. He was hoping soon to have had some natives prepared for baptism, when he was called away during the frightful prevalence of cholera in this part of Eastern Africa. He was to have been succeeded by the Rev. O. Handcock, after whose sudden and premature death Magila remained unoccupied (except that it was visited twice by Bishop Tozer) until October 1872, when the two sub-deacons were sent up with instructions to occupy the post, and carry on such work as they could, until a clergyman could be found to superintend it. Their last letters spoke of themselves as settling down, and making arrangements for commencing a school, and some kind of public catechising or preaching.

The mission has an iron house and two large thatched native huts; the sub-deacons proposed to set up another as a school and temporary church.

The prospects of this mission cannot be well understood without a short account of the country and its government.

The coast is occupied by the Swahili—a mixed race of Arabs and negroes. They hold only the villages or small towns on the sea, and the gardens and plantations adjoining. The Swahili are all Mahomedans, chiefly of the Shafi sect. Behind their plantations lies a strip of country covered with long grass, and very scantily supplied

with water. It is partly occupied by a negro tribe, the Wadigo, who have their chief settlements to the northward. Where the hills begin to show themselves distinctly lie the villages of the half Swahili people, called by the coast men Washenzi, *i.e.*, wild folk, and by the people of the mountains Waboonde, *i.e.*, valley people. They talk a dialect of Swahili much mixed with Shambala words and phrases. The mountains themselves are occupied by the Shambala; but there is at least one large valley running up among them, which is occupied by the Zegulas, who are their next neighbours to the southward.

Mr. Allington was very much disappointed at being sent back from Vuga, the chief town of the Shambala, to a place so near the coast as Magila. The reasons which swayed the native counsels seem to have been partly superstitious and partly political. The Shambala are a very shy and separate race. No foreigner was allowed to enter their chief town, and every means was ordinarily used to keep them at a distance; it happened besides, at this particular time, that no place in their own country would have been really a safe one.

In Dr. Krapf's time they were ruled by an old king, named Kimweri, who had a very extensive influence. On his death great confusion followed. The mountain people chose a grandson of his, who took the name Kimweri, and was in possession of Vuga at the time of Mr. Allington's visit. The lower country behind the mountains, that is, to the westward, was held by a son of old Kimweri's, named Semboja, and there was constant war between the two claimants. Before Mr. Allington left the country, young Kimweri died of small-pox, and was succeeded by a brother named Chenyegera. The war became more and more embittered, and Semboja, finding that the Shambalas would not receive him, encouraged all the neighbouring tribes to prey upon them. Chenyegera and his great men, finding themselves without money or arms, began selling their own people to the coast Arabs as slaves. Vuga was taken by Semboja and burnt, and a great part of the mountain country was depopulated and relapsed into forest land. At last the people rose upon their chiefs, and killed most of them, and so a peace of exhaustion has come at last. Semboja is in possession of most of the country, and is rebuilding Vuga. He is a Mahomedan, and has been supposed throughout to have had the silent support of the Zanzibar Arabs. Chenyegera is among the mountains, not very far from Magila. This last place itself has not been touched by the war, being geographically and politically in the Shambala country, but in language belonging to the valley people. These last have lately been at war with the Dagos, so that just now the coast Swahili are carrying on all the trade with Magila, the valley people being afraid to venture through the country of their enemies. There is now no actual fighting, and probably there will be no more for some time to come, as all parties are thoroughly worn out. The Shambala wars are said to have increased the population near Magila, many of the mountain people having come coastwards for safety.

The station at Magila may be viewed as the first station among the Shambala, or as a starting-point for missions among them, and an actual occupation of the Boonde or low country; any station nearer the coast would be surrounded by Mahomedans. Through the Shambala country lies the road to the Wateila, Wassara, Wachaga, and other tribes about Kilimanjaro, the great snowy mountain.

It may be worth consideration whether anything could be attempted among the Dagos. The next tribe to the northward are the Nyikas, where the Church Missionary Society has long been at work, and the United Free Methodists have also a station. In my own judgment, we should do better to attempt the tribes to the southward.

South of the Shambala lie the Zegulas, a very warlike and very barbarous tribe; next to them the Zaramos, through whose country lies the direct road to Ujiji and the great lakes. The chief tribe in this direction are the Myamwezi, though many smaller ones lie on the road to them. A Myamwezi vocabulary has been collected, in case it should be determined to make a bold plunge towards the central tribes. At present, however, a war of very uncertain result is going on between the native Myamwezi and the Arab and Swahili settlers in their country, and nothing could be reasonably attempted until that war has been concluded. Indeed the road to Ujiji is practically closed to any but special expeditions.

South of the Zaramos lie the Gindos or Gendwas, and below them the Portuguese coast begins. Among the Gindos, not far from Lindy, between Kila and the Rovuma, a body of Yaos have settled, and are giving the coast people much trouble by receiving runaway slaves, and occasionally plundering the coast traders. Behind the Gindos, between them and the Lake Nyassa, lie the Yaos, and beyond it the Nyassas and the Bisas. I mention only the most important tribes, and that by their usual names. The Yaos are the Achawa of our earliest reports, and the Mang'aiya were Nyassas.

It is in this direction that our work ought most naturally to develop itself, and

Bishop Tozer has always contemplated a journey to the Lake Nyassa. The great hindrance has been the devastation of the country by the Maviti, probably the Mazitu of Dr. Livingstone's earlier books. They have swept the country up to Kilwa, plundering and murdering everywhere. Their chief seats are said now to be on the Rovuma, they having suffered severe losses in their attacks upon some of the most powerful Yao chieftains. A great stretch of country on the road to the Nyassa is now a wilderness.

As a starting-point on the road to the lakes, the caravans usually cross to Bagamoyo for Ujiji, and go down to Kilwa for the Nyassa. Bagamoyo is occupied by an extensive settlement under the care of a French Roman Catholic mission, which has also houses in Zanzibar itself. At a short distance to the south lies Dar-es-Salam, which the Sultan of Zanzibar's predecessor intended to make the starting-point for all caravans going into or coming from any part of the interior. From Dar-es-Salam to Kilwa the coast is little known, and is reputed to be very unhealthy. South of Kilwa there are many good harbours; the coast is often hilly, and there are many convenient landing-places. I have always myself thought of Lindy as one that might well be chosen. The further south one goes, the shorter the land journey to the Lake Nyassa becomes. In contemplation of mission work in this direction, we have collected a vocabulary of the Yao language, and hope some day to be allowed to use the very complete dictionary of the Nyassa language compiled by the Rev. John Rebmann of Kissoludini, near Mombassa, which now only exists in a jealously-guarded MS.

I do not see any reason why stations should not at once be planted among the Zegulas, the Zaramos, and the Gindos near the coast, or among the Yaos and Nyassas near Lake Nyassa, or among some of the tribes on the road to Ujiji. I feel sure that missionaries would be safe anywhere, and all the more so if they were known to carry no arms whatever: negroes are very seldom violent unless they are frightened, and, besides, there is nothing so tempting to a native thief as European fire-arms. It was a well-grounded boast of Dr. Krapf that he went with only an umbrella where others dare not venture fully armed. I believe myself that arms are a cause of insecurity, and can never be of any use to a missionary. The idea of founding a settlement by force ought not to be entertained for a moment. One may fight one's way through a country, but one can never hold it by violence; besides that, the secular business of a fighting chief would soon swallow up his missionary character. A king must tolerate many things which a bishop is bound to denounce.

The Slave Trade and Released Slaves.—The complete suppression of the Slave Trade and slavery can only come about by the Christianization of the Africans themselves. The coast Slave Trade is by no means the only one existing; slavery is found everywhere; and its mild character in the interior arises only from the same cause which makes Arab slavery lighter than slavery to Europeans, and that is, the smaller difference, morally and socially, between the slave and his master.

Slavery may be attacked politically or religiously—politically we may attack it by Treaties with native Powers, enforced by armed intervention; religiously it can only be attacked by self-sacrifice, and by acting upon the minds of those who uphold it. The two methods require very different men to carry them forward, and cannot both be attempted by the same persons with any reasonable chance of success.

The way in which slavery was actually destroyed in Christendom was by elevating the slave while still a slave. Christian slaves were such extraordinary good slaves that the masters and mistresses began to see a divine power working in them. It is to such a result that St. Paul points continually, and such results did actually follow; meanwhile, Christian masters became ashamed to use the powers which they by law possessed. A suppression of slavery brought about in this way must be final.

Leaving, therefore, to our political leaders the task of external repression, it belongs to us missionaries to aim at the internal work. As things actually are in Eastern Africa, our first thought will naturally be given to the released slaves, set free by English cruisers. It seems politicians consider that their work is done when the gift of political freedom is complete; we know that very much more is needed.

It is sometimes assumed that to put released slaves under the superintendence of Englishmen or Scotchmen is all that is needed. I wish it were so; but a little experience shows that, just as a European can be much better than a negro, so he can be much worse, and that when possessed of absolute power, and free from the control of home opinion, he probably will use the negro only to serve his own selfish ends, and cast him off as soon as he has served them. Neither by example, nor in any other way, are such Europeans as ordinarily settle in remote places likely to do any great amount of good to the negro.

Politically, the protection of the English name may save a released man in Eastern

Africa from being forcibly reinslaved; but, in order to do him much good, he must have a means of livelihood opened to him, and must be brought at least within hearing of Christian teaching.

So much has been said already on this subject, that one need only point out as the duty of this Mission to be ready to give all such help as the men and money at its command may allow to any and every scheme for the benefit of the slaves and released slaves within the district in which it works. It must not be forgotten, however, that missions in the interior are, after all, the chief means by which the regeneration of the negro must be accomplished.

We have taken in as many boys and girls as our funds allowed, and Bishop Tozer bought some land, with a view to planting out on it grown-up persons; whether more is to be done in this direction must depend upon our subscribers at home. I think myself that in our poverty the feeding and lodging of any except very promising children, who are likely to become missionaries or teachers, are not proper charges on the Mission funds.

Mission Schools and College.—The schools at Zanzibar were formed by Bishop Tozer for the purpose of educating missionaries and teachers, and their future wives, for work among the inland tribes. The scholars are now beginning to attain an age at which they may be actively employed. Three of the boys have been set apart as sub-deacons; of these, one was lost by the cholera, the other two are both married—one, John Swedi, is at present acting as a sort of assistant-chaplain at the school at Kingani; the other, Francis Mabruki, is working at the Shambala Mission station at Magila.

It was always hoped and intended that these schools should be filled by the children of converts, or by promising young people from the Mission stations among the inland tribes. The only scholars we have yet had answering this description were three Nyika lads from the Rev. John Robinson's station near Mombassa. They stayed with us about two years, and then returned to their friends. For the rest we have been obliged to depend upon the captures made by English cruisers and seizures made by the Sultan of Zanzibar. There is, of course, always a question how far children so chosen may turn out to have any fitness for missionary work.

(For details of the present strength of the schools, see a separate Note at the end of these extracts, furnished by Dr. Steere at my request.—H. B. E. F.)

The future of the schools must depend upon the sources from which they are to be supplied with scholars. If we have the choice of promising boys and girls from our Mission stations, we may hope to be able to lead them on to a much higher style of training than has been as yet possible. If, on the other hand, they are to be filled from the slave-dhows, it will be necessary to introduce a much larger industrial element. In any case, we hope to give all alike, first, a plain education in Swahili, for which the necessary books are in course of preparation, and then to give the best scholars a thorough grounding in English. We are anxious to increase the number of girls, as otherwise our lads, especially the duller ones, who will have to get their living by daily work, will be sorely tempted to turn Mahomedan as the only means of obtaining wives.

After the work, which one regards as merely school work, is completed, there will remain something of college work, intended exclusively for our future missionaries. It was with a view to this that the house at Kingani was begun, and the proceeds of the Wells, Tozer Fund, and the grant made by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, were applied towards the cost of its buildings. It was intended here to join with the native students others from England, who might thus be enabled to make themselves acquainted with the language and manners of the East Africans while still pursuing their general studies. Two students have already joined us, and, under Mr. Pennell's care, were making good progress. It has become necessary for a time to employ them elsewhere, but their studies are not wholly interrupted, while the great object of becoming familiar with the details of mission work in East Africa is only being the more completely carried out. This college work is one of very great importance, and it ought not to be difficult to secure efficient help in it, as any clergyman who could leave England for a few years could undertake it, all the scholars being either English or English-speaking natives. We have had an earnest hope that some of the young incumbents of small rural parishes, who feel that they are in danger of getting rusty for want of real work, might be willing to leave their charges for a time in the hands of well-chosen curates and come to our assistance, and that the heads of the Church would encourage them in so laudable an undertaking. The Bishops have power to grant licences for absence on such works as these, and it is surely better that an active young man should be so employed than that he should be held strictly to such pastoral work only as a cure of two or one hundred, or even fewer, souls may supply him, under the penalty of giving up all hope of a home for his more advanced age.

To be obliged to give up all prospects elsewhere in order to help in such a Mission as ours is a greater sacrifice than it is quite reasonable to expect any great number of English clergymen to make, although as Christ's soldiers they ought not to be unwilling to adventure it. Even those trained in missionary colleges are likely to prefer healthier and better known spheres. It becomes, therefore, a very necessary thing to give men an opportunity of testing their health and their fitness for the work without robbing them of valuable time. This our mission pupil scheme specially provides for, by occupying, in mingled study and work at Zanzibar, the years between sixteen and twenty, which a young man with a mission vocation finds it so difficult in England to employ to any advantage. While the missionaries of the future are thus growing up, we must have temporary help from special English sources. There are hundreds who could give it us without any real danger to themselves.

Zanzibar and its unhealthiness.—There is no act to which the credit of Bishop Tozer and his advisers is more distinctly pledged than to the choice of Zanzibar as the point of departure of the Central African Mission. He was severely censured for this choice, in words, by Dr. Livingstone, but was absolved by that great traveller, in deeds, when he himself chose Zanzibar as his starting-point whence to re-visit the River Shire and the Lake Nyassa. The matter is not one on which missionaries have any real choice. The centre of any considerable missionary operations must be the centre fixed beforehand by the many circumstances which together have determined the position of the chief city; missionaries must travel along the usual road, and their lines of communication can only be those created by commercial intercourse.

The great objections made to Zanzibar is the unhealthiness, shown by so many deaths among the members of the Mission. This is a very startling consideration, and one naturally asks oneself, How can so unhealthy a place be so great a centre of commerce, and how can it be that European merchants consent to live there as they undoubtedly do? The answer is a remarkable one; it is that the great mortality is confined to the members of the Mission. There have been a much larger number of other Europeans residing in the town, and the Mission has lost five members, while they have lost only two or three. Ill health is common, but death is very rare. One Frenchman, who had been settled here more than twenty years, died lately; but, except this, the deaths have all been among British subjects. In fact, no German, American, or French merchant has died within memory, and yet the merchants are more exposed to the sun than we are, and are less temperate livers. The only obvious difference between the Mission and the mercantile houses is, that the merchants seldom remain more than three years in Zanzibar without a change; only one of those missionaries, however, who have died, had lived in Zanzibar nearly as much as three years. It seems to follow that there must have been special causes at work, and it remains to discover and to prevent them.

(Dr. Steere then enters into details, showing that, of the missionaries who had died, one was suffering from a fatal disease of long standing; one died from cholera, which was everywhere fatal; two from over-fatigue and exposure during a journey into the interior of the mainland; and two from dysentery: other ailments always having given way to change of climate.—H. B. E. F.)

It seems then to follow, not that Zanzibar should be abandoned as hopelessly unhealthy, but that very special care should be taken to avoid any known danger to health, and that frequent leave of absence should be given. It is possible that the proposed line of mail-steamers between Natal and Zanzibar may furnish the means of securing a change of climate without entirely quitting the missionary field; and Bishop Wilkinson, before leaving England, actually discussed with me the possibility of an occasional exchange of labourers between the two Missions. It must, however, be remembered that the permanence of any regular communication between Zanzibar and the Cape is very uncertain.

The existence of any really healthy site on the mainland of Africa is exceedingly doubtful. Healthy highlands in the interior are often spoken of, as though their position were well known; but this is only because the geography of this part of Africa is very little understood. The centre of the continent is, as we now know, nothing but a large swamp. From the coast the land rises very gently to the watershed, and then drops very gradually to the great swampy central basin. Groups and ridges of mountains are scattered about, without any distinct connection with the general rise of the land. There is nothing analogous to the terraces described as existing in Natal, nor is there any particular district of which it can be said that it is high and healthy. These facts were the ground upon which Bishop Tozer based his great plan for training native missionaries.

There is no use in dissembling the fact that Eastern Africa is exceedingly unhealthy, and that not on the coast only, but in every part. It is only now and then that a man

can be found with a constitution so well adapted to the climate that he can live safely in it for more than a few years at a time. Even in the case of those who are not attacked by any distinct disease, languor and incapacity for mental exertion are sure after a while to show themselves. It follows clearly that a white missionary's proper work must be to train and to superintend native preachers. They must be the permanent missionaries and the regular pastors of the negro church. So long as it is expected of our missionaries that they will stay, say ten years at least, in some particular district, so long it is very possible that the terrible mortality we all deplore may continue. We must arrange for frequent changes, and that place will be best fitted for our centre of operations in which good medical advice, good lodgings, and the comforts that are needed in sickness are most easily obtained, and, above all, from which it will be possible for the head of the Mission to send away in time those who will surely die if they stay in Africa, and will surely live if they can get to a more temperate region. These advantages are nowhere to be found so certainly as at Zanzibar. There is nothing we should be more glad to find than a healthy location, and even a comparatively healthy spot would be at once occupied.

In any case, however, so long as Zanzibar remains what it is, the Mission must have a home there of some kind. It is very-probable that if (as has been often proposed) the British Government should establish a Colony of freed men near some convenient port, the town, which would soon grow up, might supplant Zanzibar as a commercial centre, in which case the Mission would, as of course, remove thither its head-quarters.

Mission Property.—The Mission property consists of land and houses for the use of its members. We have—

1. In Zanzibar itself; a large house in the part of the town called Shangani, used as a girls' school, and a portion capable of separate occupation as lodgings for the Bishop. The house is close to the sea, and a very fine one, the rooms being large and very lofty. It was procured cheaply, owing to its having been abandoned by the natives from fear of a spirit which was supposed to haunt it. Not having been occupied for some time, it was in need of much repair, and many alterations were necessary to adapt what might be described as an Arab palace to our purposes. Although so very large, we found only six rooms available for use. It was at one time proposed to purchase this house for the English Political Residency; it may be worth consideration whether, if a good price is offered, it might not be well to accept it, and to find or build a more convenient school-house for girls elsewhere. The question as to where the Bishop will for the future fix his general residence is, of course, most important in this respect. Extensive repairs were rendered necessary by the cyclone, and are still in progress.

2. A very small house, a short distance behind the larger one. It has been used as a lodging for guests and others for whom there was no room elsewhere, and, when necessary, as a small-pox hospital.

3. A piece of land (perhaps about eight acres) about two miles out of the town known as Kingani, or among the natives as Kinma Mgnu, on which stand the buildings occupied as a boys' school, and sometimes called St. Andrew's College. It is admirably situated for health, but the soil is very barren. Extensive repairs are going on here also.

4. A small piece of land (perhaps about two acres) containing the mud-and-thatch house occupied by the Sub-Deacon, John Swedi, who cultivates a portion of it. It is near, but not adjoining, to the larger Kingani premises.

5. A piece of fertile land (about thirteen acres) nearly five miles from the town, with a small stone house upon it, known as Mbweni. The house is in very bad repair, and the value of the property was almost entirely destroyed by the cyclone; out of 600 cocoa-nut trees only 19 were left standing.

6. At Magila, an iron house and some native buildings. The land was occupied under a special authority from the then King, which is almost the only right in land capable of being acquired among the Shambalas.

7. At Mworongo, the landing-place for Magila, we have helped Munji Hatibu to build an upper room to his house, on condition that we have the use of it on our journey to and fro.

Mission Staff in Zanzibar, December 1872.—1, Rev. E. Steere; 2, Mr. Moreton, General Superintendent at Kingani; 3, Samuel Speare and Benjamin Hartley, missionary pupils; 4, John Swedi and Francis Mabruki, native sub-deacons.

NOTE.

1. The total number of negroes who have come under the care of the Universities Mission since its settlement at Zanzibar is 110, all of whom were received as children.

There are now 48 males and 24 females under the immediate care of the Mission. Of these, 2 males and 2 females are now adults. There are besides 2 of the former scholars employed as sub-deacons by the Mission, and 4 males who have lately left the mission-house to go into service in the town.

2. Of the negroes now actually under the care of the Mission, 44 males and 23 females were received from Her Majesty's Government.

3. The children under the care of the Mission are instructed in English and Swahili, with a view to their employment in connection with the mainland stations of the mission. The elder children act as pupil teachers: some of the boys (at present six of them) are engaged in the printing office, others have been taught carpentering; the girls are taught needlework—and all, both boys and girls, take their share in cooking, cleaning the house, and waiting at table, besides keeping the grounds in order, and assisting in any special work that may occur.

(Signed) EDWARD STEERE,
Priest in charge to the Mission.

APPENDIX*(C).

French Mission.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, February 3, 1873.

I have the honour to inclose herewith detailed replies to the questions which your Excellency was pleased to address to me, on behalf of your Government, on the subject of our mission and its labours.

To avoid misunderstanding I wish to give a short explanation. Our establishment is not at present in its usual state. In consequence of the cruel hardships and many difficulties we had to undergo after the destruction of our dwellings by the hurricane of the 15th April last, several members of the Mission died or were invalided home to Europe.

In all probability five "religieuses" are now on their way to reinforce the establishment of sisters; priests and brethren are expected shortly. I shall, therefore, count our numbers in their usual force, and as we soon shall be.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) HORNER.

(Translation.)

*Answers to Questions put to the Rev. Père Horner, Superior of the Zanzibar French Mission, by Sir H. B. E. Frere.**

1st. The Society to which the Catholic Mission of Zanzibar belongs is called the "Société du Saint Esprit et du Saint Cœur de Marie;" its head-quarters are at Paris, Rue Lhomond (ancienne rue des Postes). This Society supplies Fathers and Brothers to the said Mission.

The "Superior-General" of this Society is "Préfet Apostolique" of Zanzibar, but he has delegated all his powers to Père Horner, whom he has named "Vice-Préfet Apostolique."

The Rev. Père Horner is also Vice-Provincial "Supérieur" of the ecclesiastics employed on the Mission.

He thus combines a double authority, viz., ecclesiastic and religious.

The Sisters, to whom the education of the girls at the Mission is intrusted, belong to the Society of the "Filles de Marie," whose head-quarters are at St. Denis in Réunion.

All the Sisters are subordinate to Père Horner, and are superintended by a "Supérieure Provinciale."

2nd. The governing body at the Mission is composed as follows:—

(1.) The community of St. Joseph of Zanzibar, possessing two priests and four brothers, with one lay professor of music.

(2.) The community of Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, comprising four priests, eight Brothers, and twelve Sisters, with two lay Brothers employed in agriculture.

3rd. There are at present under the Zanzibar Mission 324 negroes. Of these 324 persons, 73 are adults and 251 are children.

4th. We have received 172 freed slaves from the British Government.

5th. The occupation, of the various classes are divided as follows :—

(1.) Children. Primary schools.

Including religious instruction. Children pass five and a-half hours a day in the primary school, and the same length of time at manual labour.

(2.) Arts and trades.

Children who are employed in the workshops, and are learning different trades, only spend one hour in the primary school, and receive half an hour's religious instruction daily.

(3.) Agricultural section.

This is composed of children who show no aptitude for study. With the exception of half an hour devoted to religious instruction and an hour of the most elementary lessons, all their time, viz., nine hours daily, is spent in agricultural pursuits.

Girls.—1st. Primary school.

Very young girls follow the same course as the corresponding class of boys, except that some of their time is spent in sewing.

2nd. Working section.

Girls who have no aptitude for study only spend one hour a day in elementary lessons, and half an hour in receiving religious instruction. Five hours during the day are devoted to working in the fields, and the rest in learning sewing and other household duties.

6th. There is a small seminary of nineteen pupils under the Mission at Zanzibar for the education of a native clergy.

Amongst this number there are hopes of finding future Brothers and Catechists to regenerate the country.

There is also at Bagamoyo a noviciate of five girls who wish to become native Sisters.

These two bodies are drawn from our primary schools.

(Signed) HORNER.

Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, February 3, 1873.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

In accordance with the wishes of your Excellency, I have the honour to forward you a brief memorandum relative to the disposition of slaves liberated by the English Government.

Your Excellency can well understand that merely to liberate the negroes, without according them the succour of Christian civilization, would be quite insufficient to insure their happiness, or to make them useful members of society. You are come to give the blessings of liberty to the wretched slaves, and we shall be happy to give you our utmost help in so praiseworthy a mission.

Nobody can ignore the fact that the natural apathy and indolence peculiar to the negro character form the greatest obstacles to his "moralisation;" and it is only by degrees that we can conquer their vices, by inspiring them with a regard and love of work according to the principles of Christianity.

But it must be acknowledged that this system of education requires material, no less than personal, sacrifices.

Permit me then to explain to you in detail the conditions of the various classes of liberated negroes who might, at any time, be confided to our care.

These liberated slaves can be divided into three distinct categories from this point of view :—

1st. Healthy men, able to work.

2nd. Old men and women, and infirm people.

3rd. Infants of tender age, who are not able to earn their own living by work.

First.—Healthy men, able to work.

I have no hesitation in saying that a negro in good health, and of a working age, can earn his own living. But it is easy to understand that the newly-arrived liberated slaves are but little accustomed to work.

Consequently it is necessary at the commencement to "coax" them ("les menager") to prevent their running away, and to allow them a great latitude until such time as they may be accustomed to work.

During this time these men consume much but produce nothing. Moreover, as on their arrival they possess nothing at all, it is necessary to furnish them with a lodging, with clothing, with the most indispensable household utensils, and also with tools for work.

Still more, it is necessary to procure for them a happiness greater than that of the past, to render their life more agreeable, to attach them to their work, and to prevent them from returning to their primitive state of barbarism.

To obtain these results, I consider indispensable a sum of 125 fr. per man, to liquidate the cost of his first equipment and subsequent entertainment. * This sum would only be required once, on the first arrival of the negro.

Second.—Old and infirm people.

It occasionally happens, though rarely, that there are found, among the liberated slaves, some aged people so “overwhelmed” (“accablés”) with infirmities that they are quite incapable of work.

This class of slaves demands the largest pecuniary sacrifices, for the following reasons:—

Firstly, in addition to the necessity of providing them with the equipment mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it will also be needful to support these men until their death, without their being able to gain anything for their livelihood. Besides, as they are deprived of all support from their families, and have no one to administer the attentions so necessary in sickness and infirmity, they will require particular personal attendance to wait upon them. Again, these infirm people will require, in addition to medicines, a better description of food. Considering all these expenses, I think that this class of slaves should be estimated to cost at least 60 centimes per day per man.

Third.—Children.

In this class there are two descriptions of children:—

(1.) Children of the age of twelve years and under, who are incapable of earning their living by work.

(2.) Children from twelve to fifteen years, who can contribute something by work to the cost of their subsistence.

The first class would be entirely supported by the establishment.

Taking into consideration the cost of construction, of the material for schools, and for the support of the institutors, I do not think a sum of 50 centimes per child per day would be too much. With regard to those children who could already contribute something to their subsistence, I think 25 centimes per child per day to be reasonable.

Such are the cases in which I shall be happy to co-operate with your Excellency in aiding your general plans.

Yet, as the increase of the negroes would naturally necessitate that of the superintendents, I could come to no definite arrangement till I had consulted with the Very Reverend Father Superior, head of the “Congrégation du Saint Esprit et du Saint Cœur de Marie,” under whom I am, and who provides the missionaries for the work of civilization (“moralisation”) which I direct.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) HORNER.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Zanzibar, January 27, 1873.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that, during the last two years, Dr. Kirk has made over to this Mission about 200 freed slaves, who will thus enjoy the advantages of civilization.

Up till now we have done our utmost to meet his benevolent and enlightened views, and have been always grateful to him for his lively sympathy with our work.

Till quite recently, by increased labour and sacrifices, we have been able to carry on our work without asking any support from the Government which he so well represents. Most gladly and willingly would I continue to do so; but, M. le Ministre, the hurricane of the 15th April, 1872, carried away almost all our buildings at Bagamoyo, and financially ruined the Mission. Some of the children sent us by Dr. Kirk are temporarily most wretchedly lodged, and suffer thereby both in health and morals. This makes me trust that your Excellency will look favourably on the confidence I place in you, in frankly explaining to you the great and urgent need of our Mission. I am fully convinced that the Government of Great Britain will come to our aid, and better the lot of the poor negroes whom they have confided to our care. The state of our finances will cause the rebuilding of our establishment at Bagamoyo to be a slow and tedious operation. Consequently we shall, now and for some time to come, find great difficulty in providing shelter for any liberated slaves who may be sent to us.

Your Excellency will, I feel sure, understand that real necessity dictates this appeal

—an appeal which rests on the confidence I place in your Excellency, and on the generosity of that Government of which you are the noble and worthy representative.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) HORNER.

Remarks by Mr. Hill, Secretary to the Mission, on Memorandum by Père Horner, Superior of the Roman Catholic Mission at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo.

The organization of the French Roman Catholic Mission at Bagamoyo is so fully described in the preceding papers that very little remains to be said on that head, but some of Père Horner's opinions seem to call for a few remarks.

The manner in which the Fathers carry out their theory, that the negro should learn to be a useful member of society whilst he is being taught the doctrines of Christianity is so admirably practical as to leave nothing to desire to ensure the success which attends their efforts. But when Père Horner insists on the inborn indolence and apathy of the negro, does he not, perhaps, forget that most of those who come under his observation are unfortunate beings, in whom the sufferings they have undergone since they were carried off from their homes into slavery may have deadened all energy? And is this lack of energy to be wondered at, when we think that the idea ever present in their minds must be that the work they do brings them no gain, but only profit to a master who shares none of it with them, and who would sell them at once if it suited his pocket to do so? A very short time under the kind care of this Mission must, I am sure, suffice to disabuse them of this idea, and make them willing workers. We saw so many symptoms of a willingness to work when once they were sure that work meant prosperity to themselves, and not the labour of a slave for the good of his master, that I am convinced the liberated negro is indolent through ignorance more than through any idleness inborn in the East African race. For this reason I think that Père Horner has undervalued the labour of the adult negroes on his Mission ground; and, in future, now that that ground is considerably developed and cultivated, the force of example will be stronger on new-comers than it has hitherto been.

His theory of attracting them at first by comforts superior to those to which they have been accustomed, is indisputably correct in a place where there is no power of physical restraint.

Père Horner says that, within the last two years, he has received from Dr. Kirk, in round numbers, 200 slaves set free by our ships, i.e., at the rate of 100 a year; that of these, the adults are soon able to support themselves; boys and girls of over twelve years of age can contribute something to their own maintenance, while children and the aged or invalid are alone a direct burthen to the establishment. This burthen, he says, is especially trying at present, when the funds of the Mission are impoverished by the hurricane of 1872, which destroyed many of its buildings, as well as by the poverty caused in Alsace by the late war. He remarks on the increased sacrifices thus entailed on the Mission, and estimates the sum which, under the present conditions, he thinks necessary to support our liberated slaves, as follows:—

For adults, a bonus of 5*l*.

For aged and invalid, 6*d*. per day.

For children under twelve, 5*d*. per day.

For children over twelve, 2½*d*. per day.

This seems rather a high estimate, for it is partly based on a presumed necessity for continual construction of buildings, and there can be no reason why this should be, if once a sum of money were found to erect houses sufficiently large to meet the probable requirements.

If a subscription were set on foot amongst English Roman Catholics, this want would doubtless be soon met.

It is difficult at present to judge what effect the enforcement of more rigorous anti-Slave Trade measures may have in increasing the number of slaves to be cared for; but with the numerous other means of disposal at our command, it is not likely that there will be many more than 100 per annum sent to the care of the Bagamoyo Mission, and, with the cessation of the Slave Trade, of course this number would correspondingly diminish. Moreover, in considering the sacrifices which, as Père Horner justly points out, the missionaries are called upon to make on behalf of these liberated slaves, we must not forget the *raison d'être* of the Mission is the welfare of the African race, and in no way can a large number of Africans be better or more immediately aided than by the care which is bestowed on these sufferers.

It is clear, however, that Great Britain, who has taken on herself the duty of liberating slaves, is bound, even at a large cost, to see that they are not the sufferers by her acts.

There is at this moment no place in every way so suited to receive and properly educate them as the Bagamoyo Mission. Instead, however, of accepting Père Horner's plan of paying a daily sum for their subsistence, I would suggest that it would be more economical for us, and more advantageous to the Mission, now in immediate want of funds, that we should pay a bonus of 5*l.* for every freed slave, young or old, handed over to their care. This would find funds for providing the negro with proper clothing and tools, and, in the case of those over twelve years of age, would maintain them till they were able to earn their own subsistence.

Objections may very likely be raised to thus encouraging a Roman Catholic institution; but, till our missionary societies will follow their example and train up their pupils to be useful citizens as well as pious Christians, what is to be done? It is surely better that these pagan Africans should learn Christianity, even in a form with which we do not agree, than that they should be left in their present benighted state. What these Roman Catholic Fathers have done, our English missionaries could do as well; and an opportunity is now afforded at the Church Missionary Society's station at Kissoludini, near Mombasah, which, if properly taken advantage of, and supported by Her Majesty's Government, would at once form a Protestant home for very many liberated slaves, and a starting-point of the greatest value to civilization and to commerce.

(Signed) CLEMENT LI. HILL.

April 12, 1873.

No. 54.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Bombay, May 12, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th April, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by Colonel Pelly, inclosing an assurance from the Sheikh of Aboothabee, that he would continue to respect his Anti-Slave Trade engagements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

Colonel Pelly to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Bombay, May 9, 1873.

REFERRING to my letter of the 31st March, I have now the honour to inclose an authenticated translated purport of a letter from the Chief of Aboothabee, acknowledging his engagement against the importation of slaves. This completes the series for the Persian Gulf.

It will be satisfactory to your Excellency to learn that I have received a demi-official letter from the Acting Political Agent at Muscat, in which he states that the Sultan "Seyyid Toorkee has issued a Proclamation abolishing all Traffic in Slaves in his dominions, and I think fully intends to keep up to his engagements."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Sheik Zayed-bin-Khuleefah, Chief of Aboothabee, to the Acting Resident, Persian Gulf.

(After compliments.)

Dated 5th Mohurram, 1290 (March 5, 1873).

BE it known to you that I received a letter from Colonel Pelly, Resident in the Persian Gulf, in regard to the Treaty about the importation of slaves.

The Treaty exists intact, and I am always careful to see that it is not infringed.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

"Indus," May 16, 1873.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 12th March, requesting me to thank his Highness the Rao of Cutch for the ready assistance which he had afforded in furtherance of the objects of my Mission, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I had already done so on the 10th of January in anticipation of your Lordship's wishes.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June .)

(Extract.)

May 29, 1873.

MY previous letters will have informed your Lordship in more or less detail of the proceedings of the Mission from November 21, when we left England, to our return to Aden.

2. All the more important particulars of our intercourse with the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, and other native Chiefs, have been specially reported, and it only remains for me now to summarize briefly the results of our observations and proceedings as connected with the abolition of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

3. We met with ample evidence of the general correctness of the account given in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons as to the extent and character of the East African Slave Trade, as far as the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar are concerned. We saw reason to believe that where the details given in that Report require correction, such correction would generally add to rather than diminish the gravity of the facts stated, and the Committee had little evidence before them regarding other branches of the East African Slave Trade, which appear to be extensive, increasing, and quite as fatal to human life as the Slave Trade through Zanzibar.

The extent and character of the East African Slave Trade.

4. There is a general concurrence in the testimony of all well-informed and unbiassed witnesses that there is still an active and extensive, and some competent witnesses think a growing, trade in slaves by various land routes from the Lake regions, and the north-west frontiers of Abyssinia northwards to Egypt and the coasts of the Mediterranean and Red Sea. The trade is well organized, well supplied with capital, and well managed by intelligent men, who vary the route adopted by their slave caravans according to information collected in Egypt, where, by securing the support of the inferior officials, they are able to dispose of their slaves with impunity. The greater number of these slaves are required for domestic service in Egypt itself, where the demand has largely increased with the increase and general diffusion of wealth; but many are exported in small numbers at a time to Turkey, Syria, and Arabia, and the North African Coast.

Egyptian Slave Trade.

5. A similar trade appears always to have existed, and to be still carried on by various desert tribes, between the interior and the northern parts of Tunis, Tripoli, &c.; but I have not the means of adding much to the official information already before your Lordship on the subject.

6. The Egyptian demand is supplied by slave-hunting on the upper waters of the Nile and its tributaries, in districts which are changed from time to time to suit the convenience of route, or as the abundance of available and defenceless population may invite aggression, or its extermination have exhausted the supply.

7. The process of collecting a *caffila* of slaves, and conveying them northward, has been often described with all its horrible and disgusting details, and I could find in the testimony of credible, disinterested, and competent witnesses, no reason to doubt the general fidelity of the published accounts of its characteristics. A few slaves are occasionally recruited by purchase from parents, guardians, or petty local rulers; a still smaller proportion are taken in satisfaction of debts: but the greater number are got in *razzias* specially instigated and organized with a view to slave-hunting. Sometimes the trader avails himself of intertribal quarrels, and by supplying one side with arms and ammunition enables it to defeat its rivals and enslave the survivors, and receive payment in the slaves so acquired. Occasionally the trader in quarters not much visited by

travellers or troublesome officials makes razzias on his own account, but the comparative ease and security of the other process makes it generally preferred.

8. The immediate agents are men of various nationalities, and often of broken or desperate fortunes who are ill able to live in any law-abiding or civilized community; but these men get the means of carrying on the trade from merchants with high claims to respectability. Indeed I have been assured that all the trading between the foreign merchant who imports or exports goods at Alexandria, and the local retail dealers in Central Africa, are more or less directly implicated in slave-dealing, and take slaves in payment for a large proportion of the merchandize they send up-country.

Red Sea Slave
Trade.

9. Besides the slaves thus brought to Egypt there is a large and increasing trade through the Red Sea ports. Some are brought to Massowah occasionally from the upper affluents of the Nile, and sometimes by sea from the south. From Massowah and its neighbourhood they are sent, as opportunity offers, northwards to Lower Egypt, Turkey, &c., or across the Red Sea to the Hedjaz and Yemen.

10. The southern ports, including those just outside the Straits of Babel-Mandeb, the Somali ports of Zeila, Tajura, &c., which were formerly comparatively free from the Slave Trade, and with the rulers of which we have agreements binding them not to engage in the trade, have of late years become regular and considerable slave-marts, to a degree which renders them impatient of the presence of travellers whom they believe to be likely to denounce the Slave Trade to the British authorities at Aden.

11. It is said that the facilities afforded to slave-trading by the Ottoman flag were among the inducements held out to the Sheiks of those places when the Turkish flag was lately hoisted there. However that may be, the name of Abu Bekr, Chief of Zeila, has of late become infamous throughout the regions in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, for having reduced the Slave Trade from Zeila and Tajura to a systematic monopoly.

12. No one, it is said, can move along any of the routes leading to Shoa and Southern Abyssinia without the leave of Abu Bekr. All the trade is kept entirely in the hands of himself or his connections, and the slaves, which form the most valuable portion of the exports, are monopolized by him.

13. The slaves are many of them Gallas and Abyssinians, of mixed Christian and Moslem race, and generally far superior intellectually, as well as physically, to the ordinary Negro slave. They are sold as Christians to Moslem purchasers, and as Moslem to Christians. From this coast also come, it is said, most of the eunuchs employed in the harems of the higher classes, and the loss of life caused in supplying the market is much enhanced by the necessary operations.

14. Formerly Zeila and Tajura were regularly visited by the cruizers of the Indian navy, and the agreements of the Chiefs to abstain from Slave Trade were fairly enforced. But since the abolition of the Indian navy this duty has been imperfectly performed, and the use of the Ottoman flag has afforded Abu Bekr and his people great facilities for evading examination. He is said to use the great wealth he has acquired very freely in bribing the inferior Egyptian and Turkish officials, and the most scandalous stories are current of batches of slaves sent by him as presents to persons of the highest consideration.

Hedjaz slave-
market.

15. The Hedjaz seems to be the great emporium for all these Red Sea slaves, and also for Circassians and Georgians. Few pilgrims of wealth or high rank return from the Haj without adding at Mecca to their stock of domestic slaves, and so strong is the slave-trading interest in Mecca and the other towns of the Hedjaz that no Sheriff or Turkish Pasha has yet ventured to publish in the Hedjaz, still less to act on, any of the Sultan's rescripts denouncing the Slave Trade. On all these lines, with the exception perhaps of that from Massowah to Suez, and at all the places named, the Slave Trade is said by most local witnesses to be increasing, and the abatement of the evil is not easy owing to the increased demand for slaves of all descriptions, the high official position and great wealth of many who patronize the slave-trader, the general prevalence of a strong public opinion in its favour, but above all to the recent abuse of the Turkish flag.

Power of Egypt to
check this branch
of the Slave Trade.

16. Egypt is, however, favourably distinguished among the Moslem powers, who now are the only upholders of the traffic, by the enlightened views held by her present Ruler and by the sincerity His Highness the Khedive has always personally shown in giving practical effect to his promises and professions. Hitherto the general feeling of his people in favour of slavery, and the laxity and corruption of many of the officials, has too frequently frustrated his good intentions; but I believe I am safe in saying that none of our Consular officers ever brought a case connected with slavery, or the Slave Trade, to His Highness's notice without securing his hearty co-operation, and that in no country is redress so readily and effectually afforded as in Lower Egypt when any case of oppression of a slave by his owner is brought by our Consular officials before the functionaries of the Egyptian Government.

17. Hence I am not without hope that His Highness may see fit before long to take those decisive steps which alone can effectually check the Slave Trade in his dominions. A Ruler of his sagacity cannot but see that the destruction of ten or even five human beings of the Upper Nile country, who are, or who might be his subjects, producing, trading, and consuming, and adding whilst they live in a hundred different ways to his power and importance, is a heavy price to pay for a domestic servant, however useful, and that a traffic which corrupts the springs of social and family life, debauches traders, and desolates provinces, is an institution as little to be desired and protected by a Ruler as cholera or the small pox. He must see that it is useless to hope to be recognized as the real leader of African civilization while his people are the great modern upholders of a traffic which has been regarded in all ages as the curse of Africa; and it seems not too much to hope that His Highness may see his way to doing at least as much as the French have done to abolish the trade in Algeria. He may declare all immigrants after a certain period free to choose their own masters, all children born of slaves in Egypt after a certain date as free as any other natives of Egypt; and he may enforce as much practical attention by his Government officials to his prohibitions against Slave Trade as is habitually paid by them to the other orders of his Government. If this were done, and if two active English officers were employed, the one under the Consul-General in Egypt to watch the valley of the Nile, the other under the Resident or Governor of Aden, if our men-of-war more frequently visited Massowah, Suakim, Zeila, Tajura, and the other ports on that coast, I have no doubt that an appreciable effect might soon be produced in checking the Slave Trade in the Red Sea and its neighbourhood.

18. The abuse of the Turkish flag to cover Slave Trade would soon be checked if vessels under that flag found with slaves on board were taken by our men-of-war to Hodeida, and there made over to the Turkish authorities, the slaves being taken and carried to Aden, under powers to be enforced by Treaty or Agreement.

19. The cause of civilization and the suppression of the Slave Trade has undoubtedly greatly suffered in North-Eastern Africa by our neglect of Abyssinia. We have had it in our power to advise and assist, if not to direct, both Egypt and the various Kingdoms of Abyssinia in their intercourse with each other, to the great mutual benefit of all parties, because, whilst we have considerable substantive interest in the prosperity of both countries, we are free from suspicion of desiring territorial aggrandisement. The fate of Abyssinia can never be a matter of indifference to us as long as we desire an uninterrupted passage to India by the Red Sea. We may shut our eyes to its importance whilst it is torn by intestine divisions, parcelled out amongst barbarous petty Chiefs, and destitute of a seaport. But the case will be far otherwise if it should ever be united under one Ruler, or pass under the influence of a maritime and Mediterranean Power, already commanding such ports as Massowah, Zeila, and Tajura; and this is an event which might any day happen without the Khedive being involved in attempts to subdue the highland Chiefs, a task which he would find as unnecessary as it is difficult.

20. Besides the weighty political considerations connected with its possible bearing on our Indian highway, Abyssinia is sure, sooner or later, to attract European sympathy, owing to the nominal Christianity of the people; and it is more than probable that an influence which Egypt might have exerted for good in many ways, may be checked by an unreasoning dread lest the most ancient of Christian kingdoms should be absorbed into Islam.

21. Yet with all these motives for a constant and intelligent interest in Abyssinia, for the last twenty years we have systematically neglected the country and all its resources. Spasmodically nerved by some ecclesiastical dispute, or by the energy of some outlying Englishman, we have interfered, but never in a manner to render our designs or wishes intelligible up to the time of war. The war was mainly due, not, as is often asserted, to our meddling and interference, but to our neglect and inattention. After our influence had been at great cost replaced on the footing it ought never to have lost, we left the country a prey to anarchy and confusion. Egypt and Turkey have since then been the only Powers who affected the slightest practical interest in the country, and they are not in a position to be recognized as impartial arbiters of the fate of Ethiopia.

22. The position of Abyssinia bears in many ways on the East African Slave Trade. At present a great portion of her border is slave-hunting ground, or ground for Egyptian, Galla, and other neighbours; and the well-favoured Abyssinian Christian slave is to be bought in Cairo, Constantinople, Mecca, Zanzibar, or any other slave-mart in the East. Abyssinia retaliates, and in spite of the professed Christianity of the rulers and people, slavery is everywhere the lot of a large proportion of the population; and the slaves are obtained by Abyssinian razzias on Galla and other Moslem tribes, even more cruel than those of the Arab slave-hunter.

23. All this might be greatly mitigated, if not prevented, by exerting the legitimate, the inevitable influence of the English and Indian Governments. No costly expeditions or establishments are required, but simply the occasional visits of a well-chosen and competent Consular officer, who upon the Slave Trade and other questions affecting the country could speak with authority and weight, and offer the good offices of a powerful and not unconcerned, but disinterested ally both of Abyssinia and its neighbours.

Somali Land Slave Trade.

Equally distinct in many of its features from both the Red Sea and Zanzibar Slave Trades, but connected with both, is the Slave Trade in Somali Land and the coast which extends from Zeila to the northern limit of the Zanzibar dominions. The greater part of this coast is occupied by various tribes of Somalis—a handsome, active, intelligent race, with more of the Arab than the negro in their appearance and character. They appear to have been little known and much mistrusted in the last generation by our own naval officers, who frequented this coast till our occupation of Aden, when Somalis came over in great numbers, and engaged themselves as fishermen, labourers, horsekeepers, and in other menial occupations, and earned for themselves a very good repute for industry, intelligence, activity, and fidelity. In their own country they are divided into three classes: the true Somalis, who form a species of aristocracy; a class of inferior, and one of Helot race. Their occupations are generally pastoral; and though they seem to have been in the habit of keeping in their country any stranger who once entered it, and not allowing him to go away, and of retaining as slaves all captives in war, they do not seem till lately to have imported many slaves from other countries. They now import and retain, according to the estimate of well-informed persons, at least 4,000 southern negro slaves per annum. I have heard several conjectures as to the causes which have led to their having of late entered the Zanzibar market as purchasers of slaves. The money they have earned at Aden, and the habits they have contracted at Zanzibar, their recent adoption of agriculture for the production of oil-seeds, which they now cultivate and export in great quantity, have all been assigned to me as causes of their taking to import slaves; probably the fact is that they have in many ways made money and learnt to imitate their neighbours. They are said to be harsher masters than the Arabs; and I am told that as facilities for communication along the coast have increased, the Somalis have found it convenient to sell the Gallas and Abyssinians they capture in war, and replace them by purchased southern slaves, who, being further from home, are less tempted to run away. One thing is certain, that the demand for southern negro slaves is increasing, and their price has this year been higher on the Somali Coast than at Muscat.

There can be little doubt, looking to the social and political position and circumstances of the Somalis, that their tendency to become a negro-slave-buying and slave-holding people will rapidly increase, and, if not effectually checked, become confirmed, till a serfage of negroes is created under a race of Somali masters, who will so far forget their old pastoral occupations as to regard as servile and degrading all labour, pastoral as well as agricultural.

As tending to prevent such a result, and in every other point of view, political as well as commercial, I believe that much good would result, directly and indirectly, from cultivating a better acquaintance with these tribes. They show considerable aptitude for commerce as well as for pastoral pursuits. Besides many fixed entrepôts from Zeila to Brava, they have at Berbera, nearly opposite Aden, an annual commercial fair lasting throughout the winter months, frequented by traders who come both by sea and also by various overland routes from the Zanzibar coast, and even from the far interior lake regions.

No one who has seen the Somalis at Aden at intervals during the last twenty years can doubt their capacity for improvement. They are a vivacious, impressible, self-reliant, and independent race, who have the “makings,” as the phrase is, of a powerful people, peculiarly accessible to civilising influences. They have respect and liking for the English, who are known to them as punctual and liberal paymasters, lovers of peace, and rather officious peacemakers, but hard-hitters when they take to fighting; fairly just according to their lights in exercising the great power which Somalis, like the rest of mankind, much revere, whilst in the particular case of the English they do not fear its being exercised to their prejudice. Their country is evidently one of great natural resources. Whilst the ostrich feathers and eggs, and other spoils of wild animals, gums, money, incense, and other foreign produce, testify to its generally wild and uncultivated condition, the excellent and cheap sheep and cattle, camels and horses, mules and donkeys, speak of abundant and excellent pasture. It might even now do much to feed the opposite coast, not only of Arabia, but of India. Cheap and certain water-carriage might convey the cattle whose hides are now exported to India, and the

strong, active, hardy horses and mules. Steady demand for grain might ensure its cultivation, as it has caused the growth of sesamum and other oil-seeds, unknown till eighteen years ago, and the people might gradually settle down, adding agriculture to the pastoral pursuits which now so exclusively occupy them.

I know of nothing more likely to promote this object and to check, at the same time, the growing tendency of the Somalis to become a slave-importing and slave-holding nation than that the Resident at Aden and Consul at Zanzibar should both be instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes on the coast. For many years after our first occupation of Aden, a jealously-guarded system of non-intercourse was insisted on by the Indian authorities, and though it was impossible effectually to carry out such a system with neighbours so near and so useful, various unfortunate accidents occurred from time to time to perpetuate the effort and to maintain the barrier.

Of late years the strict rules of non-intercourse have been less rigidly observed, and both the Resident at Aden and the Consul at Zanzibar have been constantly brought into communication with the coast Somalis. Though the visits paid to them by British officers have heretofore been more frequently for some purpose of warning or punishment than of friendly intercourse, they have, on the whole, had a useful effect, by making both parties better known to each other.

I would direct both officers to take every opportunity of visiting the ports and learning more of the Somalis and their country, and of establishing friendly relations with them, encouraging everything which promoted amicable intercourse or tended to develop trade. If any Chief invited the presence of an English officer, I would appoint a Consular Agent, Indian or European, as soon as due provision could be made for his personal security, and I would undertake to secure from Arab or Turkish oppression any Chief who gave satisfactory assurances that he would not permit the Slave Trade to take root or to be carried on within his territory or influence.

Above all, I would insist on a strict observance of their engagements by any Chiefs who, like those of Zeila and Tajura, have bound themselves to abstain from slave-dealing; they are so much dependent on their sea-borne trade for the large incomes they now possess that very moderate degree of diligence on our part would suffice to secure fidelity to their agreements.

To the extent indicated in the foregoing paragraphs, and in what will be found further on regarding Madagascar, I would qualify the opening sentence of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1871,* since it will be seen that a large and growing Slave Trade exists north and south of the limits specified by the Committee, and to a great extent beyond the influence, as it is entirely outside the dominions, of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The Sultan of Muscat has given in his unqualified adhesion to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and has put his assent in the best possible practical form, by declaring that all slaves landed in his territory shall be free; all the Chiefs in the Persian Gulf, under the Political Agent at Bushire, renewed and confirmed their several Anti-Slave Trade Agreements, at Colonel Pelly's instance, before the Mission arrived in those waters. For these results I feel greatly indebted to Colonel Pelly. But due effect can be given to these engagements only by constant vigilance on the part of our local officers (naval and political), occasional visits by a man-of-war, and immediate notice by the Political Agent of any reported infraction of the Anti-Slave Trade engagements.

This is still more necessary on the Southern Coast of Arabia, where there can be no doubt that a considerable impulse will be given to the Slave Trade if the agreements given by the Sultan of Muscat and Chiefs further northward are faithfully observed. The action of the Nukeeb of Maculla was, in this respect, perfectly satisfactory (I regret to say that he has died since our visit to Maculla; he is succeeded by his son), but the language of the Jemadar of Sheher is rather evasive, and all these ports and the coast towards Ras-el-Hadd should be carefully watched, as suggested by Captain Colomb, R.N., in his evidence before the Select Committee.† The same course should be followed at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

An occasional unexpected visit to a port suspected of slave-trading is of much more use than might at first be supposed. If slaves are imported for local service, the new importations are easily recognized, and, when questioned, are generally very communicative. If an export trade has been going on, some clue to it is generally given to any vigilant and discreet officer, which will materially aid him to trace the agents and

* "That the Slave Trade in negroes on the East Coast of Africa is now almost entirely confined to a trade between the dominions of Zanzibar, on the one hand, and the coast of Arabia and Persia and the Island of Madagascar, on the other."

† See Report, p. 81.

effectually check it. The main obstacle is the want of recorded information in the hands of our naval officers. It is often not till an officer is leaving the station that he learns all the ports which are notorious for addiction to or freedom from Slave Trade practices, and discovers which parts of the coast are best worth visiting.

The engagements entered into by the King of Johanna and the Sultan of Muscat will be of great advantage if care be taken to enforce them, but their value will entirely depend on their not being allowed to become a dead letter.

The same causes which render it difficult to ascertain the total number of slaves exported from the African coast render it next to impossible to estimate, except by a loose guess, the numbers destined for any particular market. In the generally received estimates I believe that the numbers taken to the Persian Gulf and Eastern Arabia have been generally over-estimated, whilst those who enter the Somali country, and go directly or indirectly to the Red Sea, and also the export to the Portuguese territory and Madagascar, have been under-estimated. But it is probable that the proportions vary greatly in different years, the slave-trader changing the market to which he sends his slaves according to what he hears of prices and the vigilance or supineness of the Government authorities in any particular direction.

Zanzibar.

The character and extent of the Slave Traffic carried on in the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, and the possible means of stopping it, have been very fully investigated by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871, and I would once more beg to bear my testimony to the general accuracy of the facts the Committee accepted, and the soundness of all the more important of their suggestions for abating the evil.

As regards the history or character of the Sultan's Government, and His Highness views and power regarding the stoppage of the Slave Trade, I have little to add to the information collected by the Committee beyond what will be found in my despatches and especially in the memorandum on the authority and power of the Sultan submitted by me under date the 1st of May.

All the information we collected went to prove the perfect accuracy of the summary of the history of the Slave Trade given in the Committee's Report.

I observe in some recent publications a tendency to impute exaggeration to the informants on whose statements the Committee relied, and especially to Dr. Livingstone, and his companions, in reference more particularly to the mode in which slaves are obtained, the mortality attending their capture, and their sufferings on the journey down to the coast. I may mention, therefore, that I have made these points the subject of particular inquiry, and the result was to produce a strong conviction of the entire general accuracy of the statements referred to, and of those of Dr. Livingstone and his companions in particular.

We met with many persons, indeed, who, from length of residence on the East African coast, ought to have been well informed. They had no personal knowledge of the interior, but they assured us that they believed such cases as Dr. Livingstone mentioned to be exceptional, and that the bulk of slaves were obtained by less horrible means than intertribal warfare and the massacre of parents and elders.

But this view was not borne out by the evidence of slaves themselves, when not subjected to any influence which might induce them to invent or to conceal the truth. Occasional cases we met of slaves who had been sold for debt, or of children sold by parents and guardians from poverty, and to buy food, especially in times of general scarcity; and one case of a slave sold by himself is recorded by Livingstone, but, as a rule, there was a dreary uniformity in the circumstances attending the original loss of liberty, and the details fully confirmed the statements made by Livingstone. This was more particularly the case with children recently enslaved; some could or would remember little—a slave child, who has been for some time well treated, having often apparently a rooted aversion to recall the scenes of earlier life: but whenever the child could be got to recount the history of its capture, the tale was almost invariably one of surprise, kidnapping, and generally of murder, always of indescribable suffering on the way down to the coast and on the dhow voyage; horrible as might be the similarity of the details they were generally told with a simplicity which was a guarantee for their truth.

As regards the sufferings of the slaves at sea there could be less question, British officers having been so frequently eye-witnesses of the tortures caused by over-crowding, starvation, thirst, and disease, and invariably describing the sufferings of the slave as not admitting of exaggeration.

But palliators or apologists for slavery frequently insinuate that the sufferings of the slave during the voyage are enhanced by the means we take to effect his liberation, and that but for the dread of the British cruisers the slave would be conveyed with less

Accuracy of the
Committee's
account of the
Zanzibar Slave
Trade.

Sufferings of the
slaves *in transitu*.

risk to his life and health. Facts, however, by no means support this theory; overcrowding, starvation, and want of water are found to cause quite as much suffering during the open season and on the short voyage from Kilwa to Zanzibar, when the slaver has had nothing to fear from the cruiser, as they do during the close season and on the long voyage; as in the case of emigrant and coolie ships, the temptation of making a profit by over-crowding and under-feeding is irresistible, and when the cargo consists principally of children and women, all slaves, there is actually no check to the cupidity of the shipper; the profits of the trade, whether contraband or not, are so considerable that one lucky venture successfully run will cover the loss of three unsuccessful ones. Where this is the case it is vain to argue that a little more outlay in giving more room, food, or water might give in the long run more sure returns, if they were sometimes less on the single voyage. It is the gambling element, the high prize on the single venture, which is the charm of the speculation, and calculations of prudence are as much thrown away on the shipper as considerations of humanity.

I doubt whether the fear of meeting our cruisers at all affects the slave on his passage injuriously, except in the rare case when he is killed to avoid capture, or in efforts to escape. Generally, I believe, when our cruisers are numerous and active, the effect of their presence on the coast is to cause slaves to be run in smaller batches, and in a mode which will admit of their being passed as domestics, passengers, or mariners. I never have met with a single fact to support the assertion that the slaves might suffer less in transit if there were less chance of their meeting with our men-of-war engaged in suppressing the traffic.

As regards the statistics of the Zanzibar Slave Trade, I found greater difficulty in verifying the figures given in the Select Committee's Report, for the simple reason that there was no test to apply which had any pretensions to accuracy, except comparison with the same returns whence the Committee's figures are generally derived, i.e., the returns of the Sultan's Custom-house, abstracts of which are given in Dr. Kirk's reports.

Statistics of the
Zanzibar Slave
Trade.

But there is every reason to believe that the Custom-house Returns considerably understate the number of slaves actually passing to and fro. Even assuming that the returns are accurate and complete, as far as the knowledge of the Custom-house officials can make them (a point by no means free from doubt), there is known to be a great amount of smuggling and contraband trade in slaves, as in everything else; and I was assured by residents at Zanzibar that since the late discussion about the Slave Trade, the Custom-house farmer had been by no means so anxious as before to secure the passage of the whole trade through his Custom-houses. He is at all times more dependent than would be believed in Europe on the good faith of traders for getting his dues. He has along the whole coast, 360 miles in direct distance, and studded with hundreds of islands, but six Custom-houses where full returns are kept; each of these has numerous small outports, some watched by a local trader or by a single Arab soldier, neither of them incorruptible, nor always on the watch, nor careful recorders; so that between carelessness, incompetence, and corruption, there is ample room for contraband trade. The Customs farmer's real security for his dues is in the mutual good faith of the greater traders of Zanzibar, in whose hands, or within whose cognizance, all trade ultimately centres, and on the marvellous system of private intelligence which is the keystone of native Indian commerce, and by which every great Indian trader seems to hear of everything which concerns him wherever it may happen. All Customs accounts are settled at Zanzibar, on documents received from the outports. Few Indian traders in large business, whatever may be their commercial morality in other respects, can deceive one another at the daily settlements of their current accounts; fewer still at the great annual settlement at the Dewalli, or at the caste meetings, which are the tribunals appealed to whenever disputes arise, and from whom no book or documents are ever withheld.

But in the case of slaves, not only is clandestine shipping and loading peculiarly easy, but the Customs farmer has many reasons for not pushing his legal rights to their utmost. Even in the Island of Zanzibar itself it is doubtful whether he knows or can tax the slaves which are run in dribblets to the creeks and landing-places which abound on the island. Once on the island, the raw arrivals are easily concealed, exchanged, or moved by roads which avoid European observation to the northern end, where are safe and concealed harbours and anchorages peculiarly favourable to clandestine export, and where the owner can watch opportunities for shipping them on board vessels bound northwards. It is impossible that the Customs farmer can watch proceedings which are avowedly clandestine; and, if the venture is successful, few but those immediately concerned can know much about it.

This is still more the case with the Islands of Pemba and Monfia, the former of which is so far north, and has so many concealed harbours, with more than one entrance, that it is a very favourite point of departure for slavers when cruizers are about.

The Zanzibar Custom-house returns summarized by the Select Committee show an average of about 20,000 slaves annually exported through the Kilwa Custom-house alone to the Zanzibar Custom-house: 5,000 more would be a moderate estimate for the exports through the Custom-house from other points. The extent of the clandestine export must be entirely matter of conjecture: some rate it at more than double the registered export, but I should doubt whether it could be half that number.

At Zanzibar the slaves generally change hands. There is a considerable exchange of refractory or idle island slaves for more docile importations, and much money is earned by residents who make it a business, as it were, to break in fresh arrivals, or to feed up cheap slaves and make them more marketable.

Slave-market.

The slave-market at Zanzibar has been often described, and never, as far [as I have read, with any substantial exaggeration. As almost every book on Zanzibar contains an account of it I will enter into no details beyond referring your Lordship to the Memorandum by Mr. Hill, contained in my despatch No. 11 of the 18th of January, which describes its state during the least active season, when we were at Zanzibar.

It is the only pretence at any facility for commerce which is to be found at the capital, where there is neither dock nor crane, nor, with the exception of a rude terrace in front of the Custom-house, any pier, wharf, or other convenience for landing or shipping goods. The abolition of the slave-market should be insisted on, as proposed by the Select Committee; for nothing can tend more to keep up a depraved feeling on the subject of the Slave Trade generally than the existence of an open slave-market, as one of the principal sights and almost the only lounge of the place.

This perverted feeling is not confined to the slave-dealing classes, but more or less pervades the whole population from the Sultan downwards.

Classes who trade in slaves. (*Vide* Report, p. iv.)

The Select Committee were imperfectly informed as to "the whole Slave Trade by sea" being carried on by "Arabs from Muscat and other ports on the Arabian coast"—"not subjects of Zanzibar, but chiefly" belonging "to tribes of roving and predatory habits."

Every year the north-easterly trade-wind brings to Zanzibar a great fleet of native boats of a great variety of build, but all of simple latteen rig, from India and from the Persian, Arabian, and Northern African coasts.

The Indian vessels, when chartered to return to India, rarely take slaves for indiscriminate sale. All connected with them know full well the penalties prescribed by the English law, and if they take any slaves, they are few in number and carefully disguised, so as to baffle the vigilance not only of cruizers but of the police on landing in India.

But the large roomy Indian vessel is sometimes sold to dealers making up a full cargo of slaves; cheap and old vessels are preferred; they have an almost equal chance of making the voyage before a regular trade wind, and, if captured, are a smaller loss.

The vessels from the Persian Gulf and Arabian coast generally bring down a number of well-armed Arab adventurers seeking their fortune; many of them belong to the tribes on the coast, which, up to the last generation, subsisted mainly on piracy; some come to see their friends and relations; some to seek service or to try their fortune in continental slave-hunting or ivory-trading. All are born soldiers as well as sailors, and all are ready to join in any capacity in a slave-trading venture.

These are probably the classes specially referred to by the Select Committee.

But for capital, organization, local knowledge, and for information as to what the British squadron may be about, these amateur traders depend on the native of Zanzibar or the coast; sometimes an Arab half-caste or Swahili, sometimes a negro, and occasionally a slave, himself the owner of and trader in slaves. These negotiate with the Indian trader for capital or goods, and arrange all details of the venture; either for a full cargo to be specially run, or for a few slaves to be added to the crew of the small fast-sailing northern Arab boat, to take their chance of turning a few dollars wherever they may find a market.

I believe there are few classes at Zanzibar, except the upper classes of Europeans and Americans, who are entirely exempt from occasional connection with the Trade. The names of the Sultan himself and his nearest relations are as freely taken in connection with slave-dealing as in some other countries they might be with share-dealing, and occasional revelations in the Consular Court give more than colour to the imputation. For Zanzibar Arabs, even of the highest class, the speculation in slaves seems to have the same sort of attraction which horse-dealing has for an ordinary Yorkshireman.

They examine and discuss the points, bargain and bid, and, if they purchase an animal they like they keep it till tired of it, and then exchange or sell it.

The fashion is taken up by the Northern Arabs when they visit Zanzibar, but I was assured that in Arabia, though respectable Arabs will purchase slaves when they want them, it is considered disreputable to purchase them for re-sale, or to sell them except as a punishment or upon dire necessity.

It may be asked what, beyond the blunted moral sense caused by the atmosphere of a barracoon, is the cause of the special popularity of slaving ventures in Zanzibar? It is probably, in the higher classes, mainly due to the gambling element of risk—the uncertainty whether the result will be a great success or a total loss. In some cases there would be an additional attraction similar to that of smuggling or poaching for many classes in Europe, in that the venture was attended with danger, and was secret and contraband, at least, as far as the Feringis were concerned, and the knowledge that some of the straightest-laced Kaffirs condemned it; that it was attended with danger, and might lead to a trial of speed or a brush with the boats of the squadron, would give the enterprise great attractions in the eyes of the hardier and more adventurous northern visitors.

The share taken in the local Slave Trade by the Indian traders known as “Banians” seemed to me sufficiently important to be separately reported to your Lordship. As the principal capitalists who directly or indirectly furnish the means for carrying on the trade they must be regarded as gravely implicated, however much individual members of the community may deplore the connection. They are so universally regarded by the Arabs, whose language is very frequently something to this effect:—“It is very unjust of you, the British Government, to persecute the poor Arab for turning an honest dollar by a trade which is not, according to his ideas, illicit, when all the real profit goes to the Banian, your own subject, who grows fat, and builds houses in Cutch and Bombay from the profits of a trade which he pretends to abjure, but of which, whilst he avoids all the risk and obloquy, he pockets all the profits.”

The light in which the Banian connection with the trade is viewed by honest Arabs, and even European foreigners, is, to my mind, a strong reason for avoiding half-measures and palliatives in dealing with this question.

To the lower classes in Zanzibar a slave is a safe, easy, and profitable investment, and they will talk, even when slaves themselves, of investing a windfall of money in a slave or two, just as a native of India would of investing it in a pair of bullocks, or in bangles for his wife, or an English servant, or putting it in the savings'-bank. If they cannot afford to keep the slave at home, they make him or her go out to work and earn wages which are shared by the master.

Some idea may be formed from what has been said of the tendency to support and encourage the Slave Trade, which pervades every class of native society in Zanzibar, and which has a tendency to affect even Europeans who have been long resident. There can be no doubt that, of late years, the Indian traders have been awakened to something more than a sense of the legal dangers of the traffic, and that most of the intelligent men among them would gladly see it effectually stopped; but, whilst the traffic finds apologists and defenders, if not partners, in the Sultan and his nearest relations, there is little immediate chance of the native community declaring against it.

I met at Johanna a curious instance of the wide divergence between Oriental and Western ideas on this subject. One of the ruling family, a man of excellent character and respectability, went to travel in Europe, where he was extremely well received, and had his biography published in a popular English periodical. On his return he visited Constantinople and Teheran, where he was decorated with the Orders of the Medjedie and of the Lion and Sun, and returned home with three white female slaves, presents, according to his own account, from personages of the highest rank at the capitals of Turkey and Persia. Two of them he himself married, and gave the third to the King, who must have been greatly puzzled, when told of the exemplary rescripts and firmans which have from time to time been sent by Turkish and Persian Foreign Offices as evidence of the concurrence of their Governments with the views of the British Government on the general subject of the Slave Trade.

The treatment of the slave who is to remain in Zanzibar is generally not harsh; the Arab is, on the whole, a kindly master to all about him, and the condition of his slave in Zanzibar, as far as physical comfort, security, and chance of rising in the world goes, is better than anything to which he could have aspired in his own country.

But the slaves who are destined to remain in Zanzibar form but a very small proportion of the whole importations. The number required for internal consumption has been variously estimated at from 1,700 to 4,000 per annum; but, from all I could learn, the smaller number is far in excess of the real requirements of the island at the present time, and the remainder are doomed to re-exportation and all its attendant horrors and priva-

tions, which are necessarily greatly in excess of what has been already described when speaking of the short transit from the mainland to Zanzibar.

No partial or temporary permission of Slave Trade required. (Report, p. viii.)

We found abundant confirmation of the opinion at which the Committee arrived after hearing some conflicting evidence, "that any attempt to supply slaves for domestic use in Zanzibar will always be a pretext and cloak for a foreign trade, while the loss of life and injury caused to maintain even the limited supply of slaves required for this purpose must of necessity be so great as to forbid the country continuing to recognize any such traffic in slaves." I saw nothing to lead me to suppose that, if the Slave Trade were stopped at once, there would not be an ample supply of labour in Zanzibar itself. After careful examination of every fact brought forward by the advocates of a temporary limited Slave Trade I could find nothing to justify a belief that the existing labouring population was insufficient, or that if any additional demand for labour arose it would not be immediately supplied in a natural way, provided no Slave Trade existed, and the free immigrant were assured of freedom during his stay on the island.

No compensation needed for stoppage of slave import. (Report, p. ix.)

Nor did there appear any reason to suppose that, if the Slave Trade were relinquished, any serious disturbance, social, political, or industrial, need be apprehended in Zanzibar, or that the industrial position of the island would be adversely affected. On the contrary I feel fully convinced of the soundness of the opinion recorded by the Select Committee that the Sultan of Zanzibar will ultimately be no loser by the abolition of the Slave Trade. It is, consequently, not necessary to discuss any question of compensation to the Sultan or his people. The most sudden and peremptory stoppage of the Slave Trade would, I feel convinced, inflict on no one, except slave-traders, any loss for which compensation could be demanded.

Mozambique Slave Trade.

The above remarks apply more especially to the trade in slaves northwards from Kilwa through Zanzibar and Pemba to the north coast and countries beyond, carried on in vessels which come down before the north-east monsoon and return home with the south-west. But there is another, and I fear not a decreasing, stream of Slave Trade in the opposite direction which is incidentally noticed by the Select Committee and regarding which we obtained some additional information.

This trade is from the mainland south of Zanzibar, and flows southward and eastward to the shores and islands of the Mozambique Channel and Madagascar. The slaves are kidnapped in the interior, including tracts from the same slave-hunting grounds which supply the Zanzibar slave-market, down to the frontier of the Kaffir and Zulu tribes. The old machinery that existed when this was a great source of supply for the Brazilian, Cuban and North American slave-market still exists though on rather a reduced scale. Slaves swarm at Mozambique and Ibo, in numbers obviously far greater than the local demand for labour can require. The Governor-General assured me of his hope that the traffic had been of late reduced to very small dimensions, but inquiry from any of the groups of slaves who might be found lounging about at all times in the streets and environs of the town would have shown his Excellency that a large proportion were very recent importations, and would have left but one inference to be drawn, that there must be a very large and steady export in some direction.

There seems in fact every reason to believe that the Portuguese dominions are still a great entrepôt for slaves, where they are transported, not often as formerly in large numbers and fully laden square-rigged slavers across the Atlantic, but in smaller numbers across the Mozambique Channel by native craft. These running south before the north-east trade winds find, when it begins to fail or get variable, that it still enables them to cross the Mozambique Channel and to run their cargo of slaves to shelter in some of the numerous islands and bays of the north-west coast of Madagascar. Here they find a ready market by being smuggled into Hova or Sakalava service, or as "libres engagés" into the French colonies of Nossi Beh and Mayotte. The most moderate estimates I have heard of the numbers thus transported from Africa to the opposite coast north of Cape St. Andrew set them down at 4,000 slaves per annum.

There has always been a considerable trade from the north with north-west Madagascar, hides, ebony, and grain being exchanged for European and Indian manufactures. This is carried on chiefly by native vessels which come down with the north-east and return with south-west monsoon. Formerly they used to lie ashore in the interval, but of late years, I was told, they are kept running backwards and forwards across the Mozambique Channel carrying slaves in small numbers at a time. I fear the Indian merchant, generally Bhorahs, through whose hands most of the trade passes on both sides of the Channel, are not guiltless of complicity in the process by which these slaves, purchased from the Arabs and half-caste Portuguese, are converted into "libres engagés" and passed as such before the French authorities for employment in the French sugar plantations.

I trust that the engagement entered into by the King of Johanna will do something to check this process, but it will be requisite that he should be occasionally visited by our cruisers and Consular officers, not only to see that he acts up to his engagement but to give him countenance and protection in so doing.

I see no reason to doubt that the appointment of a Consul at Mozambique and occasional visits from a Consular officer from Zanzibar to the Comoro Islands and the north-west coast of Madagascar, coupled with more regular visits from the men-of-war on the station, will do much to check this Mozambique Slave Trade.

In considering these three main divisions of the East African Slave Trade—

1. The Northern—that in Egypt, the Red Sea, and Somali Lands ;
2. The Central—that of Zanzibar ;
3. The Southern—that of Mozambique Channel ;

Comparative age of
the three great
branches of Slave
Trade.

It is noteworthy that in their present dimensions they date from very different ages and are of very different degrees of inveteracy.

The first, or Northern, was still quite lately of very insignificant dimensions. As a maritime traffic it had nearly ceased a few years ago, whilst it was effectually matched by the vessels of the late Indian Navy, and it is only of late years that the Somalis have had the means of importing foreign slaves.

The Central or Zanzibar Trade has grown up chiefly during the past forty years. Before that period the prevalence of piracy and the absence of communication with the interior checked the development of Slave Trade. When Sultan Sayid first occupied Zanzibar and the Slave Trade first attracted notice, it appears not to have exceeded 10,000 per annum to all parts of the world, and the bulk of these went westward to America.

The third or Southern Trade may be regarded as the dregs of a trade which has existed for 200 years, and in that time has so effectually corrupted the surrounding population that it has become very difficult to revert to healthier modes of existence.

It does not require a long residence in the Portuguese Settlements to see that the task of civilization and humanity is there beset with much more formidable difficulties than further north, where the evils to be corrected are of more recent growth.

My despatches from Zanzibar will have informed your Lordship of measures taken to give effect to your instructions in laying before the Sultan the arguments relied on by Her Majesty's Government to secure his co-operation in putting down the Slave Trade. They will further have informed you that after much wavering His Highness finally resolved on taking up an attitude of decided opposition to anything like an abolition of the Slave Trade, or an effectual mitigation of its horrors.

Opposition of the
Sultan of Zanzibar
to any effectual
mitigation of the
Slave Trade.

It is not necessary here to discuss or to recapitulate the reasons which may have actuated His Highness ; but it will, I think, be clear from what is above stated, that in deciding, I believe against his first and better judgment, to oppose us, His Highness took up a line which was notably in accordance with the feeling of the most influential classes about him, but which had the tacit approval of many from he would form his estimate of European opinion.

It is also clear that, useful as would have been His Highness' moral support and authority, had he agreed with us, the harder part of the task must in any case have fallen on us, if we wished our denunciation of the trade, or His Highness' assent to our wishes, to have been anything better than waste paper. This conclusion will, I think, be more clearly evident from a consideration of the facts noted in my Memorandum* on the political position and power of the Sultan, showing how little real authority he possesses, except when swimming with the stream of Arab and African opinion.

Lastly, it is evident that, as His Highness the Khedive expressed it, the question is not one which can be settled by a "coup de sabre;" the task is one which must require many years, and the steady application of high and powerful agencies for its complete accomplishment.

The Slave Trade is, in fact, but one symptom of those peculiarities in the constitution and condition of Africa which for ages past have left her so far below the rest of the Old World in all that pertains to civilization and the enjoyment of any but animal existence.

Elsewhere migrations, wars, and commercial intercourse have favoured a fusion of races, and the domination of people stronger and more vigorous, physically or intellectually, than their neighbours ; but the negro race seems for ages past to have been shut up in the interior of Africa, under conditions which nearly excluded external civilizing influences. Peculiarly suited by physical constitution to the rich tropical country they inhabited, the negroes thrived and multiplied, till they came to be looked on

* Inclosure in No. 59 of the 7th of May.

by surrounding nations as a vast storehouse of brute force, which, if it had been more accessible, could have supplied the whole world with unskilled labour.

But, till within the last 400 years, this storehouse was hardly accessible to other nations, save by long and tedious land routes, of which the only route fairly practicable was by the Nile, through a people who, in those days, were peculiarly jealous of strangers, and able as well as willing to exclude them.

All this was changed when, in sailing round Africa, the Portuguese and other European nations found the negroes on the seaboard and on the East Coast in a fair way of being gradually civilized by contact with Indians and Arabs, who were then among the most civilized nations of the earth.

The first blow to the incipient civilization of Africa was given when the Portuguese drove out the Arabs and Indians from the East Coast, and, excluding strangers, condemned it, as far as their power went, to sterile isolation from that day to this.

But the evil work was completed when it was found that the labour of Africa was wanted in the West Indies and America, and when the Slave Trade was in consequence established.

Ever since that trade was reduced to a system, civilization in Negro Africa has stood still or has receded; the demand was for muscle only, and to procure it everything relating to civilization or humanity was necessarily sacrificed.

No imagination could depict a life so hopelessly brutalizing and retrograde as that forced on a people who pass their time in habitual fear of the slave-hunter. I do not now refer to what passes after capture, the murders and atrocities attending the kidnapping and journey down the coast or during the sea voyage, but to what is always present during the every-day life of the tribes from which the slaves are drawn. A very few narratives of what they experienced before capture, as told by a recently-caught adult slave, would satisfy the most sceptical that the description of Livingstone and others give but a faint image of the degrading influences always at work among the tribes within reach of the slave-hunting grounds. The midnight sowings and reapings, the uncereemonious marriages and births which bring nothing but care and fear to the parents, the constant fittings and hidings, the concealment of anything worth taking, the life of constant terror and anxiety, are enough to sink the highest race to the level of brutes. Hearing such things, and knowing that they have continued, not for a thirty years' war, but for generations and ages, one wonders, not that the people are no better, but that they are still higher than brutes, or that they have not, at best, long since sunk to the level of Australian savages.

Yet more degrading is the reflex action of slave-hunting on the races, contact with whom under any other circumstances would help to civilize the negro. The degradation is sufficiently marked in the coast Arab, but is yet more noticeable in the Portuguese, in whom a few years of slaving leaves but little trace by which one could recognize a descendant of the "hero nation" of Prince Henry and King John.

Let it be remembered then, that negro Africa is now little if at all advanced beyond the point she had reached four centuries ago; that her people are, in fact, as uncivilized as the rude tribes of Europe before letters were invented; that the stoppage of the Slave Trade must be the first step towards raising her from her present state of degradation; but that it cannot be effected, much less rendered permanent, unless other civilizing influences be brought to bear, not only on the negro, but on other races in contact with him.

What, then, is to be done to stop the Slave Trade by sea, his Highness having refused all co-operation?

The Select Committee note the employment of cruisers to watch the coast as the principal means heretofore used to check the Trade, and indicate an increase in the number of vessels employed, an additional proportion of steam launches and other boats for inshore service, a better supply of recorded information, and a less frequent change of experienced commanders, as among the measures most likely to increase the efficiency of the squadron.

With regard to interpreters, an effective and permanent staff is of the highest importance. I am convinced that the strong representations laid before the Select Committee on this subject, and to which they specially advert,* very imperfectly represent the difficulties, injustice, and mischief of every kind consequent on the defects of many of the interpreters in times past.

Regarding the disposal of the slaves liberated by our cruisers, I have separately submitted the information collected, and the measures suggested. Finding the interests

Measures to be taken to stop the Slave Trade.

Increase to naval squadron. (Report, p. vii.)

Interpreters.

Disposal of liberated slaves.

* Report, p. vii.

of the British Indian Government far more extensive, and better recognized, watched and protected than I had expected, I have ventured to recommend a trial of a system of liberating slaves under British protection, without attempting to confine it to British territory. I would by no means be considered as condemning or even negating the proposal to obtain, by purchase or cession, territory sufficient for establishing a free African Settlement under the direct government of the British Crown; but I think the less costly and natural system should be tried first, and that any Settlement should be allowed to grow up, in a place and under conditions selected by intending settlers, and not arbitrarily imposed under advice purely official.

Of the places which seemed to me specially well-adapted for the purpose of such a Settlement, Port Durnford is beyond the limits to which the Sultan's actual authority extends, though south of the nominal northern limits of his dominions. It is recommended by its reputation as one of the healthiest spots on the coast, with a good port and considerable facilities for trade, but we have little acquaintance with the people of the country, and caution will be at first necessary in dealing with them.

Mombas presents, perhaps, the greatest advantages of all as a place for European settlement, but it may be doubted whether the Sultan would willingly part with it, or with any of the ports between it and the Pangani River, where, though his own authority is not well established, he would probably not like to see a European factory.

South of Kilwa are several excellent harbours, and a large tract of healthy, fertile coast about Kiswara, Lindy, Mekindany Bay, &c., which to the Sultan are only a source of expense, and every way well adapted for European settlement; the same is doubtless the case with much of the mainland now under the nominal dominion of Portugal, and of which very little is known except to the Portuguese and the slave-traders who frequent it.

I would recommend, as far as possible, taking advantage of non-official, and especially of missionary enterprise, giving every aid and encouragement, in the latter case, to render the establishment effective for the industrial training of the liberated Africans.

We may, I believe, by an exertion of power very speedily and effectually stop the Slave Trade, but the work will only be begun unless it is followed up by a multitude of other measures having all, more or less, for their result, if not their immediate object, the civilization of the Continent.

Throughout the greater part of Equatorial Africa the work has to be done almost as completely *ab initio* as when mankind were first dispersed after the confusion of tongues: bonds of union have to be sought, and communities knitted together; life and property have yet to be made secure; letters and all but the most rudimentary arts have still to be learnt.

Alfreds and Charlemagnes are not to be got by official indent, but they are sure to appear when, as in the present case, men trained as members of great civilized communities are brought in contact with the masses of uncivilized men, tractable, teachable, and strong to labour, under any other conditions than those of the slave and his driver.

More especially, I believe, the men required will be found when they are attracted, not by mere worldly motives, by love of gain or adventure, but by the religious zeal which civilized the forests of the north, and which now supplies more or less of motive to all but the outcasts of society in every community of the civilized world in which the constructive faculty is still active.

No. 57.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the new Slave Treaty signed and ratified on the part of the Sultan yesterday.

I have, for safety, placed it in the hands of Lieutenant Hamilton, R.N., who will deliver it on arrival to your Lordship, and I trust that the course followed will meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure in No. 57.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

In the Name of the Most High God.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness the Seyyid Barghash-bin-Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have appointed as their Representatives to conclude a new Treaty for this purpose, which shall be binding upon themselves, their heirs and successors, that is to say, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland has appointed to that end John Kirk, the Agent of the English Government at Zanzibar; and His Highness the Seyyid Barghash, the Sultan of Zanzibar, has appointed to that end Nasir-bin-Said, and the two aforementioned, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

The provisions of the existing Treaties having proved ineffectual for preventing the export of slaves from the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Sultan above named agree that from this date the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease. And His Highness the Sultan binds himself, to the best of his ability, to make an effectual arrangement throughout his dominions to prevent and abolish the same. And any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such Naval or other Officers or Agents and such Courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of Her Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

His Highness the Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for the buying and selling of imported slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness the Sultan above named engages to protect, to the utmost of his ability, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or to reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall be prohibited from possessing slaves, and from acquiring any fresh slaves in the meantime,* from this date.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, at Zanzibar, as soon as possible, but in any case in the course of the 9th of Rabia-el-Akhir [5th of June, 1873] of the months of the date hereof. In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed their seals to this Treaty, made the 5th of June, 1873, corresponding to the 9th of the month Rabia-el-Akhir, 1290.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Political Agent, Zanzibar.
(L.S.)

The mean in God's sight.
(Signed) NASIR-BIN-SAID-BIN-ABDALLAH.†
With his own hand.

* The words "in the meantime" are redundant here. They were connected in the original English draft and in my translation, from which they are copied, with the sentence "from and after a date to be hereafter fixed."—G. P. B.

† No seal is appended to this signature. The defect is made good by the signature and seal of the Sultan to the ratifications following.—G. P. B.

[The following is evidently intended as the Sultan's ratification of the Treaty.]

WE have looked into and considered this Treaty, and we agree to it and accept it; and we confirm everything which it sets forth in all its provisions and Articles. And we confirm the same on behalf of our heirs and those who may succeed us, giving our firm bond and covenant, and our faithful word, to carry out all that is set forth in the body of this written document, and to avoid as much as possible everything that contravenes it, and, to the best of our ability, not to transgress its provisions and conditions. In confirmation of which we hereto affix our seal and our signature with our own hand this 9th day of Rabia-el-Akhir, 1290 [5th June, 1873].

Approved by
The poor, the unworthy,
(Signed) BARGHASH-BIN-SAID-BIN-SULTAN.
Written by his own hand.
(L.S.)

Translated by
(Signed) GEORGE PERCY BADGER.
June 30, 1873.

No. 58.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30,)

My Lord,

London, June 30, 1873.

WITH reference to my letter of the 13th instant, reporting my arrival in England, I have the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice, my obligations to the gentlemen associated with me by Her Majesty's Government in the duties connected with the special Mission to Zanzibar and Muscat.

I have already expressed my sense of the great loss which the Mission sustained in the departure of Mr. Badger, whose unrivalled acquirements as an Arabic scholar, and intimate acquaintance with the former relations of Muscat and Zanzibar, rendered it impossible to fill his place.

Colonel Pelly was summoned to Simla by the Viceroy of India, on matters unconnected with my Mission, and left me at Bombay.

I forwarded by his hands, for the Viceroy's information, complete copies of all my public correspondence, as far as they could be of interest to the Government of India; and I requested Colonel Pelly to furnish to the Viceroy any further information or explanation which the documents so sent might be found to require, and which I had hoped myself to have afforded, had time permitted me to go on to Simla.

I take this opportunity of bringing to your Lordship's special notice the great utility of the services which Colonel Pelly rendered to the Mission, not only as regarded the scene of his former official labours whilst Consul at Zanzibar, but on the Arabian Coast. I found the way well prepared by the attention he had, for a long time past, devoted to the subject, and he had anticipated your Lordship's instructions to me regarding the Chiefs in the Persian Gulf, from all of whom he had required and obtained agreements, recognizing and reiterating in more emphatic terms, their obligations under former agreements to exert themselves for the suppression of Slave Trade.

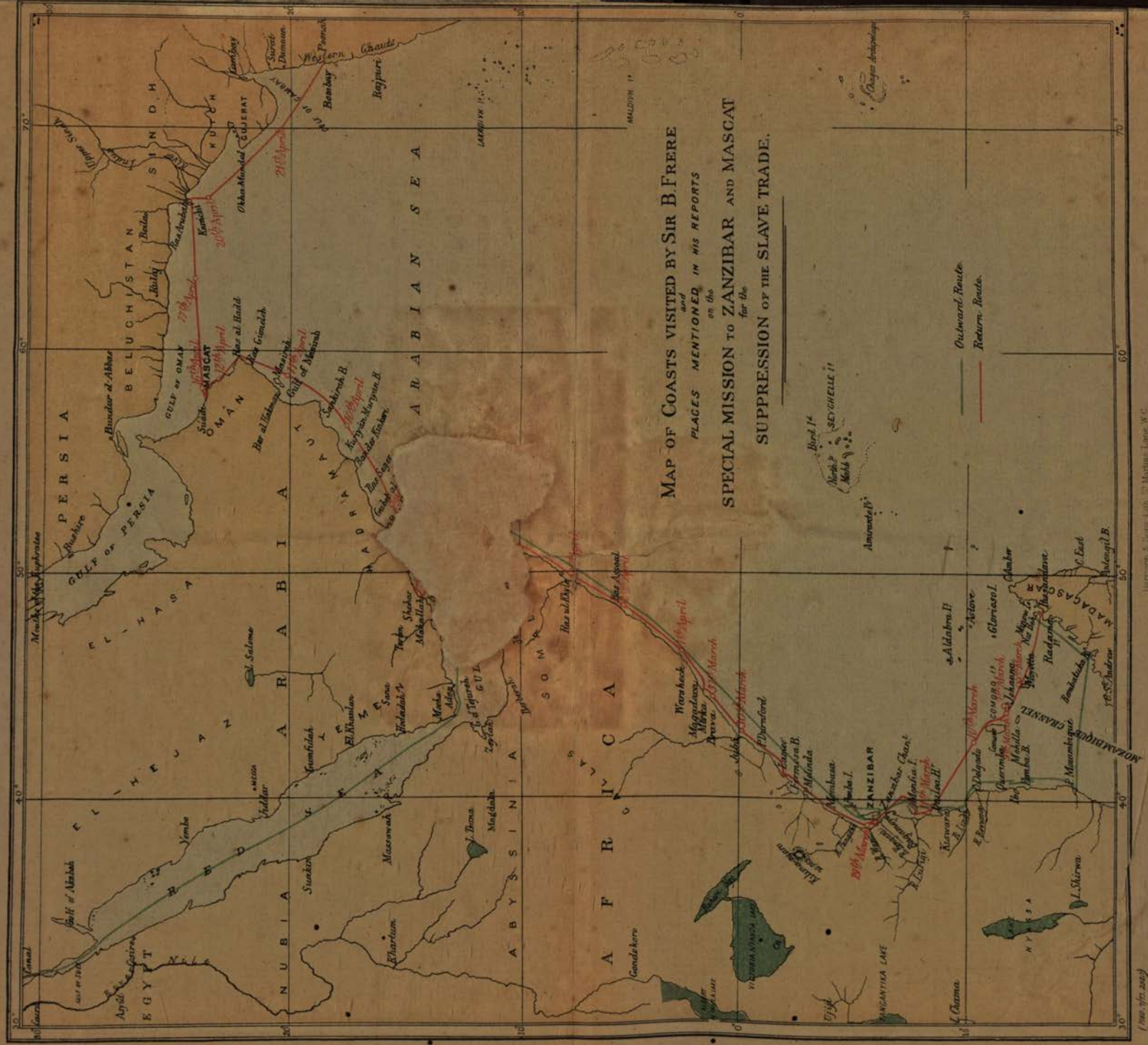
It is due to Colonel Pelly to state my conviction that the speedy and complete success which attended our negotiations with the King of Johanna, the Nakeeb of Maculla, and the Sultan of Muscat, were, in my opinion, to a great extent due to the judgment of Colonel Pelly and to the high character he has established, wherever he has been employed, for firmness and straightforward dealing. It will afford me great satisfaction to know that Colonel Pelly's services to my Mission have met with the marked approval of your Excellency and Her Majesty's Government.

The other members of my staff returned with me to England, and I shall be glad, if your Lordship should see fit, to acknowledge to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty my obligations to Captain Fairfax, R.N., for the very important assistance I received from him. His long experience, both local and professional, was of the greatest value to me, and contributed not only to lighten my labours, but to secure results which, without the aid of a most efficient naval associate, would have been unattainable. It was mainly through his sound advice that I was able to visit as many as twenty-four of the principal points on the African coast and Islands, and to extend my voyage to the Mozambique Channel and coast of Madagascar.

To Major Euan Smith, C.S.I., of the Indian Staff Corps, and to Mr. Charles Grey, of the India Office, my best thanks are due for the valuable assistance I received from them on every occasion ; nothing could have exceeded the readiness and ability with which their aid was most efficiently rendered on all occasions. Major Euan Smith more than supported the high character he had earned for himself as Secretary to Sir Frederick Goldsmid in his arduous mission to define the boundary between Persia and Affghanistan.

To Mr. Hill, of the Foreign Office, who acted throughout as Secretary to the Mission, my thanks are due for his cordial and able assistance ; and I would beg to acknowledge, through your Lordship, my obligations to him for very valuable services most efficiently and zealously rendered, and characterized in every way by that high tone which insures the respect alike of our countrymen and foreigners with whom he has been brought into official relations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.



R E P O R T
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON
SLAVE TRADE
(EAST COAST OF AFRICA);
TOGETHER WITH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,
APPENDIX AND INDEX.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
4 August 1871.*

Thursday, 6th July 1871.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the whole question of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, into the increased and increasing amount of that traffic, the particulars of existing Treaties and Agreements with the Sultan of Zanzibar upon the subject, and the possibility of putting an end entirely to the traffic in slaves by sea.

Committee nominated :—

Mr. Russell Gurney.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Sir Frederick Williams.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. Percy Wyndham.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Robert Fowler.
Sir Robert Anstruther.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Gilpin.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

Thursday, 13th July 1871.

Ordered, THAT the Report addressed to the Earl of Clarendon by the Committee on the East African Slave Trade, dated the 24th day of January 1870, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, and the Correspondence respecting the Slave Trade and other matters, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December 1870, and the recent Correspondence respecting the Slave Trade, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1871, be referred to the Select Committee.

Friday, 4th August 1871.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to report their Observations, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, to the House.

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R E P O R T.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the whole question of the SLAVE TRADE on the EAST COAST of AFRICA, into the increased and increasing amount of that Traffic, the Particulars of existing Treaties and Agreements with the Sultan of *Zanzibar* upon the subject, and the possibility of putting an end entirely to the Traffic in Slaves by Sea;—HAVE considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following REPORT:

THAT the slave trade in negroes on the East Coast of Africa is now almost entirely confined to a trade between the dominions of *Zanzibar* on the one hand, and the coast of Arabia and Persia and the Island of Madagascar on the other hand, the principal and by far the largest portion of the traffic being in the former direction. The dominions of *Zanzibar* extend along the Eastern Coast of Africa for about 350 miles, and lie between the Equator and 10 degrees south latitude, and include the islands of *Zanzibar*, *Pemba*, and *Momfia*, the head quarter of government being the island of *Zanzibar*, which lies opposite the centre of the coast line, and about 25 miles from the mainland. The town of *Zanzibar* is rapidly growing in importance, as is evidenced by the progressive increase of imports at the custom house there, from 245,981 *l.* in 1861-62, to 433,693 *l.* in 1867-68, of which trade about one-half is in the hands of British Indian subjects. It was reported in 1867 by General Rigby to be the chief market of the world for the supply of ivory, gum, and copal, and to have a rapidly increasing trade in hides, oils, seeds, and dyes, while sugar and cotton promise to figure largely amongst its future exports. The country in the interior of that part of Africa, and of which *Zanzibar* is the outlet, is said, according to the recent accounts of Livingstone and others, to be equal in resources to any part of India, and to be, as a rule, more healthy. Iron abounds in all directions, coal is to be found, and cotton can be grown to any extent.

The negro slave in general passes through three stages ere he reaches his final destination.

These are, (1) the land journey from his home to the coast, (2) a short sea voyage to the island of *Zanzibar*, where is the open slave market, and (3) the final sea passage from *Zanzibar* to Arabia, Persia, or Madagascar.

From the evidence laid before the Committee it appears that the large majority of the slaves are now brought from the western side of the Lake Nyassa (a distance of nearly 500 miles from the coast) to Kilwa, which is the principal port of shipment for *Zanzibar*, and is near the southern limit of the *Zanzibar* dominions.

Your Committee had before them extracts from Despatches of Dr. Livingstone, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, when Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his testimony as to the methods resorted to by the slave hunters, and the cruelties and horrors of the trade is fully supported by the evidence of witnesses who had travelled in the interior. This evidence is well summed up in the Report of the Committee on the East African Slave Trade addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, a quotation from which is as follows:—

“The persons by whom this traffic is carried on are for the most part Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These slave dealers start for the interior, well armed, and provided with articles for the barter of slaves, such as beads and cotton cloth. On arriving at the scene of their operations they incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become their property, either by right or by purchase, the price in the latter case being only a few yards of cotton cloth. In the course of these operations, thousands are killed, or die subsequently of their wounds or of starvation, villages are burnt, and the women and children carried away as slaves. The complete depopulation of the country between the coast and the present field of the slave dealers' operations attest the fearful character of these raids.

“Having by these and other means obtained a sufficient number of slaves to allow for the heavy losses on the road, the slave dealers start with them for the coast. The horrors attending this long journey have been fully described by Dr. Livingstone and others. The slaves are marched in gangs, the males with their necks yoked in heavy forked sticks, which at night are fastened to the ground, or lashed together so as to make escape impossible. The women and children are bound with thongs. Any attempt at escape or to untie their bonds, or any wavering or lagging on the journey, has but one punishment—immediate death. The sick are left behind, and the route of a slave caravan can be tracked by the dying and the dead. The Arabs only value these poor creatures at the price which they will fetch in the market, and if they are not likely to pay the cost of their conveyance they are got rid of. The result is, that a large number of the slaves die or are murdered on the journey, and the survivors arrive at their destination in a state of the greatest misery and emaciation.”

From Kilwa the main body of the slaves are shipped to Zanzibar, but some are carried direct from Kilwa to the northern ports.

At Zanzibar the slaves are sold either in open market or direct to the dealer, and they are then shipped in Arab dhows for Arabia and Persia; the numbers of each cargo vary from one or two slaves to between three and four hundred.

The whole slave trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other ports on the Arabian coast. They are not subjects of Zanzibar, but chiefly belong to tribes of roving and predatory habits.

The sea passage exposes the slave to much suffering; and, in addition to the danger from overcrowding and insufficient food and water, the loss of life connected with the attempt to escape Her Majesty's cruisers is very considerable, it being the practice to use any means to get rid of the slaves in order to escape condemnation, should the dhow be captured. Between Kilwa and Zanzibar a dhow lately lost a third of the slaves; there were 90 thrown overboard, dead or dying, many of them in a terribly emaciated state.

The ready market found for the slave in Arabia and Persia, and the large profit upon the sale, are quite sufficient inducements for the continuance of the traffic.

It seems impossible to arrive at an exact conclusion as to the actual number of slaves who leave the African coast in one year, but from the returns laid before the Committee an estimate may be formed. At the port of Kilwa is the Custom-house of the Sultan of Zanzibar, through which pass all slaves that are not smuggled, and there a tax is levied on all that pass the Custom-house.

ON SLAVE TRADE (EAST COAST OF AFRICA).

The following is a Return of the number of slaves exported through the Custom-house at Kilwa between 1862 and 1867, distinguishing those sent to Zanzibar from those shipped to other places :—

Year.	Zanzibar.	Elsewhere.
1862-63	13,000	5,500
1863-64	14,000	3,500
1864-65	13,821	3,000
1865-66	18,344	4,000
1866-67	17,538	4,500
	76,703	20,500
	20,500	

Total Exports from Kilwa }
in Five years - } - 97,203

From a despatch of Dr. Kirk, dated 1st. February 1870, it appears that 14,944 were exported from Kilwa in the year ending 23rd August 1869. But besides those passed through the Custom-house at Kilwa, numbers are exported from other places on the coast.

Such is the extent to which the exportation of slaves takes place from the Zanzibar territory on the East Coast of Africa. It has also been shown that there the slave trade still exists from the Portuguese territory to the Island of Madagascar, and that slaves are still imported into Turkish ports in the Red Sea, General Rigny having recently seen fresh importations even in the civilised port of Suez. It must not, however, be thought that those who are taken captive, great as the numbers are, represent in any degree the total number of the sufferers from this iniquitous traffic. Such is the fearful loss of life resulting from this traffic, such the miseries which attend it, that, according to Dr. Livingstone and others, not one in five, in some cases not one in ten, of the victims of the slave hunters ever reach the coast alive.

The slaves when liberated from the dhows have been sent of late years to Aden and Bombay, being maintained there at a heavy cost to the Imperial Exchequer. In time past some have been landed at the Seychelles, a dependency of the Mauritius. The climate in those islands is said to suit them exactly, and the inhabitants to be anxious for emancipated slave labour. Every variety of tropical product grows there in the greatest abundance.

Measures have at various times been adopted by the Government of this country to control and check the trade, but hitherto with but partial success; To control the trade, treaties have been made with the Sultan of Muscat, with the friendly Arab chiefs on the Arabian coast, and with the Shah of Persia. The treaties with the Sultan of Muscat are acknowledged to be binding upon the Sultan of Zanzibar, who has issued orders accordingly, and they prohibit the export of slaves from Africa, as well as their import from Africa into Asia, Arabia, the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, but permit the transport of slaves to and fro between Kilwa, Zanzibar, and any coast port up to Lamoo, which is the northern limit of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions.

See Appendix for
list of Treaties.

The result of the treaties, as far as the Sultan of Zanzibar is concerned, is, that not only are the slave traders enabled to rendezvous in great numbers at Zanzibar, but the dhows, often so laden that the deck is entirely covered with slaves, squatting side by side, and so closely packed that it is impossible for them to move, come up openly from Kilwa to Zanzibar, and then starting afresh, and provided with proper clearances for Lamoo, are enabled to make the first half of the journey north unmolested by British cruisers.

The object of the British Government in assenting to these treaty provisions was to avoid interference with the status of domestic slavery in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, as appears by a Despatch from the Right Honourable Earl Russell, dated 14th March 1864, in which it is stated "that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status

“ of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, nor with the *bonâ fide* transport of slaves from one part of the Sultan's territory to another. So long as this traffic shall not be made a cloak to cover the foreign slave trade, which his Highness is bound by treaty to prevent, and which Her Majesty's Government are also determined to suppress.”

It appears from the evidence that the transport of slaves between the island and coast dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar has afforded a cover for the foreign slave trade, as the traders procure at Zanzibar or Kilwa the requisite port clearances and passes for Lamoo, and thence run northwards, taking their chance of escaping the British cruisers.

There are no means of ascertaining the exact numbers intended for the foreign market, but different witnesses have estimated the numbers annually needed to maintain the supply of slave labour in the dominion of Zanzibar, at from 1,700 to 4,000, which would leave at least 16,000 as the number destined for the foreign slave market. The treaty stipulations and agreements with the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar have been carried into effect by various Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council, which contain provision for the establishment of courts of adjudication for the trial of vessels captured as slavers at Zanzibar.

The carrying out of these measures has been committed to the Political Agent of the Government of India, who also holds the appointment of British Consul at Zanzibar, and, in addition to the ordinary duties of a Political Agent and Consul, is Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court. The expenses of this Establishment are borne by the Indian Government.

The Government have proposed to enter into a new treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar to the following effect:—

“ 1. To limit the shipment of slaves from the mainland to one point only on the African coast, namely, Dar Selam, and to prohibit entirely their export from any other places.

“ 2. To make Zanzibar the only port for the reception of slaves shipped from Dar Selam, but with liberty to transport from thence to Pemba and Mombaza only; imports of slaves to any other place, or which have not come through Zanzibar, should be declared illegal, and liable to seizure.

“ 3. That the number of slaves exported from Dar Selam to Zanzibar, and thence to Pemba and Mombaza, shall be strictly limited to the actual requirements of the inhabitants of those places, to be annually settled by mutual consent between the Sultan and the British Agent, such number to be gradually decreased so as to cease altogether within a certain time.

“ 4. That every vessel engaged in the transport of slaves shall be liable to capture, unless she is provided with a proper pass from the Sultan, which shall be valid only for one voyage, and with distinctive marks on her hull and sails; a heavy penalty being attached to any piracy of these passes or marks.

“ 5. That the public slave markets at Zanzibar shall be closed.

“ 6. That the Sultan shall engage from the date of the treaty to punish severely any of his subjects who may be proved to be concerned, directly or indirectly, in the slave trade, and especially any attempt to molest or interfere with a liberated slave.

“ 7. That the Kutchées, and other natives of Indian states under British protection, shall be forbidden, after a date to be fixed by the Government of India to possess slaves, and that in the meantime they shall be prevented from acquiring any fresh slaves.

Lastly, “ The treaty shall contain a stipulation providing for the eventual entire prohibition of the export of slaves from the mainland.”

The Government have sent out instructions to press this proposed treaty upon the present Sultan; but pending the inquiry of this Committee nothing more has been done.

It

It has been stated to the Committee that for the performance of the additional duties which would devolve upon the Consul, should the proposed treaty be carried into effect, some increase in the present small staff would be required, and it was recommended by witnesses that an officer be appointed at Zanzibar to assist the Consul and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court in all matters connected with the slave trade, with the title of Assistant Political Agent and Vice Consul at Zanzibar, and to act for him in his absence; that a Consular Officer should also be appointed at Dar Selam, under the superintendence of Her Majesty's Consul, to whom he should report upon all matters connected with the slave trade, the number of slaves exported, and whether the Sultan's engagements with Her Majesty's Government are strictly observed. This officer would be required to visit, from time to time, the various points on the coast, and to report whether any irregularities exist, or any illegal exports are carried on; and as it is probable that for some time the slave traders would attempt to continue the exportation of slaves from Kilwa, the distance of which from Zanzibar and Dar Selam would prevent the British authorities at those places from watching and checking such practices, it might be necessary, at first, to station a consular officer at that port also.

It was also stated to the Committee that this proposal was concurred in by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for India in Council, who recommended that, as the duties of the agency and consulate at Zanzibar were of a twofold character—one part concerning the Indian, and the other the Imperial Government—that the cost of maintenance should be equally divided between the Imperial and Indian Governments.

This proposal was negatived by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and it was stated in evidence that, in consequence of this refusal and of the representation of the Indian Government, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council had informed the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the Foreign Office would no longer be privileged to send any instructions to the Zanzibar agent; and the whole matter, therefore, was brought to a deadlock.

The principal means used to check the trade have been the employment of some vessels of Her Majesty's Navy upon the East Indian station as cruisers to watch the East African Coast during the slaving season, which, depending upon the monsoon, is from April to the end of June, and from September to the beginning of November. It was stated in evidence that during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869, there were captured by the squadron 116 dhows, containing 2,645 slaves; while, according to the returns of slaves exported from Zanzibar and Kilwa, during those years, dhows carrying 37,000 slaves must have evaded capture, making the captures about 6·6 per cent. only.

These figures are sufficient to show the insufficiency of the present squadron to check, much less to stop, the trade; and the reasons assigned are that the existing treaties and the instructions as to domestic slaves render it impossible to seize a dhow south of Lamoo, and during the south-west monsoon it is very difficult to keep the cruisers sufficiently near the coast to intercept the dhows as they run northward before the wind, while there appears a general concurrence of testimony that the present number of the squadron is insufficient for the work to be performed, and that the efficiency of the squadron would be materially increased by an additional supply of steam launches for the arduous boat service on that coast. The traffic in slaves was, on the 31st of May 1871, as reported by the Admiral Commanding in Chief on the station to be, "without doubt, as busy and profitable as ever."

In connection with the failure of the measures hitherto adopted it was given in evidence that much was owing to the want of recorded information, and the necessity frequent change of commanders, who, moreover, are not supplied with the official reports of those who have preceded them, as well as to the inefficiency and untrustworthiness of the interpreters employed, who not unfrequently are in league with the traders, and mislead the commanders of the squadron.

Evidence given before your Committee shows the very great inconvenience and loss resulting to British residents, and a frequent diversion of trade

into foreign bottoms from the want of any regular postal communication with Zanzibar; the mails lying sometimes at Seychelles for months together waiting for a chance vessel. It has been stated to them that a very small subsidy would suffice to start monthly steam communication, either with the Seychelles, distant about 800 miles, in correspondence with French steamers running from Aden, or from the latter port direct.

Your Committee having heard the evidence, are strongly of opinion that all legitimate means should be used to put an end altogether to the East African slave trade.

They believe that any attempt to supply slaves for domestic use in Zanzibar, will always be a pretext and cloak for a foreign trade, while the loss of life and the injury caused to maintain even the limited supply of slaves required for this purpose, must of necessity be so great as to forbid this country continuing to recognise any such traffic in slaves.

It has been stated by some of the witnesses, that should the Sultan consent to relinquish the slave trade a revolution would follow, and that a sudden stoppage of the importation of slaves into Zanzibar would seriously affect the industrial position of the island; but on the other hand, a witness of great experience has given it in evidence, that the Zanzibar Arabs are fully aware that the trade will be stopped, and are beginning to understand that more profit can be made by retaining the labourers to cultivate their own country, than by selling them away as slaves, while the abolition of the trade would encourage free labourers from all parts to reside at Zanzibar, so ensuring a larger and better supply of labourers than exists at present.

It appears from the evidence, that the parties from whom serious opposition may be expected are the northern Arabs, but the presence of an English naval force at Zanzibar would afford sufficient protection.

Your Committee therefore recommend that it be notified to the Sultan of Zanzibar, that the existing treaty provisions having been systematically evaded, and having been found not only insufficient to protect the negro tribes in the interior of Africa from destruction, but rather to foster and encourage the foreign trade in slaves, Her Majesty's Government, unless further securities can be obtained for the entire prohibition of the foreign slave trade, will feel itself compelled to abrogate the treaty, and to take such further legitimate measures as it may find necessary to put an end to all slave trade whatever, whether foreign or coasting.

Further, that should the Sultan be willing to enter into a new treaty, having for its object the entire abolition of the slave trade, Her Majesty's Government would agree to settle at Zanzibar a proportion of adult negroes, who might thereafter be captured by Her Majesty's cruisers, provided the Sultan agreed to such measures for their protection and freedom as might be deemed necessary.

It has been represented to the Committee by some of the witnesses, that as the Sultan derives a considerable part of his revenues from the slave trade, it would be necessary to make him some compensation for the loss he would sustain by the abolition of the trade.

It appears from the evidence, that the Sultan of Zanzibar levies a tax of two dollars upon all slaves shipped from Kilwa for Zanzibar, and four dollars upon those shipped for Lamoo, and a further tax of two dollars upon all slaves shipped from Zanzibar. The witnesses have estimated the proceeds of this tax at various amounts, some putting it as high as 15,000 *l.* or 20,000 *l.*; others as low as 5,000 *l.*; but whatever the amount may be, the prospect of compensation has been suggested in the negotiations for a new treaty with the Sultan, already alluded to in this Report.

It has been suggested that, as an equivalent for the supposed loss to his revenue, the Sultan should be released from the payment of an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns to the Sultan of Muscat, which was arranged upon the partition of the dominion of the Imaum of Muscat, between his two sons, by the Indian Government as arbitrators; but it now appears that the circumstances under which it was supposed this release might be effected have altered.

It has been given in evidence that from 1,700 to about 4,000 slaves is probably sufficient to supply the requirements of the island and dominions of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, and this, therefore, is the extent of the legalised trade, and the value to the Sultan of Zanzibar at the present rate of tax would not exceed 4,000 £. annually

Your Committee, however, do not believe that the Sultan of Zanzibar would be ultimately a loser by the abolition of the trade; on the contrary, it was given in evidence that already the revenues of the Sultan, derived from the rapidly increasing trade of Zanzibar, and from his private estates in India are ample to maintain the Government of his State, independently of the sum received from the slave trade; while the witnesses generally concur in stating that were the slave trade abolished, and a more ready means of communication afforded between Bombay, Aden, and Zanzibar, the already flourishing trade of that State would be rapidly developed. Material assistance to this development might be afforded by a line of mail steamers to Zanzibar. Should the Sultan be willing to enter into a new treaty, the Committee recommend that it contain provisions for the entire abandonment of the slave trade, the closing of the Zanzibar and Kilwa slave markets, the punishment of any of the subjects of Zanzibar in any way engaged in the slave trade, permission to the British Government to station Vice Consuls at Kilwa, Dar Selam, and Lamoo; and on the part of the British Government an agreement to settle, under full and stringent measures for their protection, a certain number of negroes released from slavery by Her Majesty's cruisers.

The Committee concur in the opinion expressed by the witnesses as to the necessity of an increase in the consular establishment; and inasmuch as the staff of that establishment would be largely employed in the suppression of the slave trade, they think that the expense should be equally shared by the Indian and Imperial Government.

The Committee are of opinion that there should be for a time an increase, as recommended in the Report of the Committee on the Slave Trade, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, as well as by the evidence of the naval officers, in the strength of the naval squadron; and that it should be well supplied with steam launches to perform the inshore duties, which necessarily must be conducted in boats.

The Committee feel that the disposal of the squadron must be left to the discretion of the commanding officers, and they would recommend that advantage should be taken of their experience as to the class of vessels to be employed; and that they should be provided, as far as possible, with all recorded information on the subject.

The Committee also recommend that some effort be made to provide the squadron with efficient and trustworthy interpreters.

It has been stated in evidence, that some time must elapse after the measures above referred to have been put in force before the slave trade could be stopped; and assuming that an efficient squadron is maintained, the Committee see that the disposal of the liberated slaves becomes a matter of large importance. They have recommended the liberation at Zanzibar of adult slaves on the assumption that the Sultan would enter into a new treaty; should he, however, oppose the formation of a dépôt there, it will be necessary to seek some other locality for that purpose, and no other place combines the advantages possessed by the Seychelles Islands.

It was given in evidence that the Church Missionary Society are willing to enter into an arrangement for the superintendence and education of the children at the Seychelles, similar to that entered into with the Government with respect to liberated children at Sierra Leone, the Mauritius, and at Nassuck in Bombay.

In urging the necessity of retaining in this service trained and experienced men, the Committee consider that this principle most strongly applies to the Political Agency at Zanzibar. So complicated are our political relations at present with the Sultan, and so difficult will be the task of dealing with him, that they do not hesitate to advise that the services should be retained of the present acting Political Agent, bearing in mind his long and tried experience of Africa, its climate, its slave-trade difficulties, his knowledge of the Sultan, and his activity

vity in conducting the greater part of the work of the department for some years, they would recommend that no technical rules of the service be allowed to interfere with his appointment as Political Agent at Zanzibar.

In view of the considerable commercial interests which Germany, France, America, and Portugal possess in commerce with Zanzibar and the surroundings, your Committee suggest that Her Majesty's Government invite the co-operation of these several Governments in the suppression of a traffic so subversive of these interests. There is reason to believe that such an overture would be responded to, especially by the Government at Berlin in virtue of the preponderance of German trade at the port of Zanzibar.

It would be also desirable to enter into negotiations with the Government of Persia, to secure, if possible, for Her Majesty's officers greater facilities of search in vessels suspected of carrying slaves.

4 August 1871.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Friday, 7th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Russell Gurney.
Mr. Gilpin.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.

Mr. O'Connor.
Sir Frederick Williams.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.

Mr. *Russell Gurney* was called to the Chair.

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at One o'clock.]

Monday, 10th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Gilpin.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Kennaway.

Sir Frederick Williams.
Mr. O'Connor.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Sir Robert Anstruther.

In the absence of Mr. *Russell Gurney*, Mr. *Gilpin* was called to the Chair.

The Honourable *Crespigny Vivian* was examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at One o'clock.]

Thursday, 13th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Gilpin.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.

Sir Frederick Williams.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. Robert Fowler.

In the absence of Mr. *Russell Gurney*, Mr. *Gilpin* was called to the Chair.

The Honourable *Crespigny Vivian* was further examined.

Sir *John William Kaye* and Mr. *Henry Adrian Churchill*, C.B., were severally examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at One o'clock.]

Monday, 17th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. Gilpin.	Sir Frederick Williams.
Sir Robert Anstruther.	Mr. O'Connor.
Sir John Hay.	Mr. John Talbot
Mr. Kennaway.	Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Mr. Kinnaid.	Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.	Mr. Robert Fowler.

In the absence of Mr. *Russell Gurney*, Mr. *Gilpin* was called to the Chair.

Mr. *Henry Adrian Churchill*, C.B., was further examined.

Sir *Bartle Frere*, K.C.B., was examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at One o'clock.]

Thursday, 20th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. *RUSSELL GURNEY* in the Chair.

Mr. Gilpin.	Lord F. Cavendish.
Viscount Enfield.	Sir John Hay.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.	Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. O'Connor.	Mr. Kinnaid.
Mr. Kennaway.	Sir Robert Anstruther.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.	

Major General *Christopher Palmer Rigby* and Sir *Leopold G. Heath*, K.C.B., were severally examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at One o'clock.]

Monday, 24th April 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. *RUSSELL GURNEY* in the Chair.

Mr. Gilpin.	Lord F. Cavendish.
Viscount Enfield.	Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.	Mr. Kinnaid.
Mr. O'Connor.	Sir John Hay.
Sir Robert Anstruther.	Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. Percy Wyndham.	Mr. Robert Fowler.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.	

Sir *Leopold Heath*, K.C.B., was further examined.

Mr. *H. C. Rothery*, Sir *William Coghlan*, and the Rev. *Horace Waller*, were severally examined.

[Adjourned till To-morrow, at One o'clock.]

Tuesday, 25th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY in the Chair.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. O'Connor.
Sir Robert Anstruther.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Lord F. Cavendish.

Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Robert Fowler.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Kinnaid.
Mr. Gilpin.

The Rev. *Edward Steere*, LL.D., and Rear Admiral *Charles F. Hillyar*, C.B., were severally examined.

Major General *Christopher Palmer Rigby* further examined.

Captain *Philip Columb*, R.N., Mr. *Charles Allington*, and Mr. *Edward Hutchinson*, were severally examined.

The Rev. *Horace Waller* was further examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.]

Monday, 31st July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY in the Chair.

Mr. Gilpin.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Percy Wyndham.

Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Kinnaid.
Sir Robert Anstruther.
Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. R. Fowler.

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at Two o'clock.]

Thursday, 3rd August 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY in the Chair.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Viscount Enfield.

Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Kinnaid.
Mr. Gilpin.
Mr. R. Fowler.

DRAFT REPORT proposed by the Chairman, read a first time, as follows:

"1. That the slave trade in negroes, on the East Coast of Africa, is now almost entirely confined to a trade between the dominions of Zanzibar on the one hand, and the coast of Arabia and Persia and the Island of Madagascar on the other hand, the principal and by far the largest portion of the traffic being in the former direction. The dominions of Zanzibar extend along the Eastern Coast of Africa for about 350 miles, and lie between the Equator and 10 degrees south latitude, and include the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Momfia, the head quarter of government being the island of Zanzibar, which lies opposite the centre of the coast line, and about 25 miles from the mainland.

" 2. The negro slave in general passes through three stages ere he reaches his final destination.

" 3. These are, (1) the land journey from his home to the coast, (2) a short sea voyage to the Island of Zanzibar, where is the open slave market, and (3) the final sea passage from Zanzibar to Arabia, Persia, or Madagascar.

" 4. From the evidence laid before the Committee it appears that the large majority of the slaves are now brought from the western side of the Lake Nyassa (a distance of nearly 500 miles from the coast) to Kilwa, which is the principal port of shipment for Zanzibar, and is near the southern limit of the Zanzibar dominions.

" 5. Your Committee had before them extracts from Despatches of Dr. Livingstone, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, when Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his testimony as to the methods resorted to by the slave hunters, and the cruelties and horrors of the trade is fully supported by the evidence of witness who had travelled in the interior. This evidence is well summed up in the Report of the Committee on the East African Slave Trade addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, a quotation from which is as follows:—

" 'The persons by whom this traffic is carried on are for the most part Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These slave dealers start for the interior, well armed, and provided with articles for the barter of slaves, such as beads and cotton cloth. On arriving at the scene of their operations they incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become their property, either by right or by purchase, the price in the latter case being only a few yards of cotton cloth. In the course of these operations, thousands are killed, or die subsequently of their wounds or of starvation, villages are burnt, and the women and children carried away as slaves. The complete depopulation of the country between the coast and the present field of slave dealers' operations attest the fearful character of these raids.

" 'Having by these and other means obtained a sufficient number of slaves to allow for the heavy losses on the road, the slave dealers start with them for the coast. The horrors attending this long journey have been fully described by Dr. Livingstone and others. The slaves are marched in gangs, the males with their necks yoked in heavy forked sticks, which at night are fastened to the ground, or lashed together so as to make escape impossible. The women and children are bound with thongs. Any attempt at escape or to untie their bonds, or any wavering or lagging on the journey, has but one punishment—immediate death. The sick are left behind, and the route of a slave caravan can be tracked by the dying and the dead. The Arabs only value these poor creatures at the price which they fetch in the market, and if they are not likely to pay the cost of their conveyance they are got rid of. The result is, that a large number of the slaves die or are murdered on their journey, and the survivors arrive at their destination in a state of the greatest misery and emaciation.'

" 6. From Kilwa the main body of the slaves are shipped to Zanzibar, but some are carried direct to the northern ports.

" 7. At Zanzibar the slaves are sold either in open market or direct to the dealer, and they are then shipped in Arab dhows for Arabia and Persia; the numbers of each cargo vary from one or two slaves to between three and four hundred.

" 8. The whole slave trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other ports on the Arabian coast. They are not subjects of Zanzibar, but chiefly belong to tribes of roving and predatory habits, who come down to Zanzibar during the first four months of the year, carrying merchandise; they then make their purchases either at Kilwa or Zanzibar, and start on their return journey north in August and September.

" 9. The sea passage exposes the slave to much suffering; and, in addition to the danger from overcrowding and insufficient food, the loss of life connected with the attempt to escape Her Majesty's cruisers is very considerable, it being the practice to use any means to get rid of the slaves in order to escape condemnation, should the dhow be captured. Between Kilwa and Zanzibar a dhow lately lost a third of the slaves; there were 90 thrown overboard, dead or dying, many of them horribly emaciated and in a terrible state.

" 10. The ready market found for the slave in Arabia and Persia, and the large profit upon the sale, are quite sufficient inducements for the continuance of the traffic.

" 11. It seems impossible to arrive at an exact conclusion as to the actual number of slaves who leave the African coast in one year, but from the Returns laid before the Committee an estimate may be formed. At the port of Kilwa is the Custom-house of the Sultan of Zanzibar, through which pass all slaves that are not smuggled, and there a tax is levied on all that pass the Custom-house.

" 12. The following is a Return of the number of slaves exported through the Custom-house

house at Kilwa between 1862 and 1867, distinguishing those sent to Zanzibar from those shipped to other places:—

Year.	Zanzibar.	Elsewhere.
1862-63 - - - -	13,000 - - - -	5,500
1863-64 - - - -	14,000 - - - -	3,500
1864-65 - - - -	13,821 - - - -	3,000
1865-66 - - - -	18,344 - - - -	4,000
1866-67 - - - -	17,538 - - - -	4,500
	76,703	20,500
	20,500	
Total Exports from Kilwa } in Five years - - - }	97,203	

“ 13. From a despatch of Dr. Kirk, dated 1st February 1870, it appears that 14,944 were exported from Kilwa in the year ending 23rd August 1869. But besides those passed through the Custom-house at Kilwa, numbers are exported from other places on the coast.

“ 14. Such is the extent to which the exportation of slaves takes place from the Zanzibar territory on the East Coast of Africa. It has also been shown that there the slave trade still exists from the Portuguese territory to the Island of Madagascar, and that slaves are still imported into Turkish ports in the Red Sea, General Rigby having recently seen fresh importations even in the civilised port of Suez. It must not, however, be thought that those who are taken captive, great as the numbers are, represent in any degree the total number of the sufferers from this iniquitous traffic. Such is the fearful loss of life resulting from this traffic, such the miseries which attend it, that, according to Dr. Livingstone and others, not one in five, in some cases not one in ten, of the victims of the slave hunters ever reach the coast alive.

“ 15. Measures have at various times been adopted by the Government of this country to control and check the trade, but hitherto with but partial success; these measures have been two-fold.

“ To control the trade, treaties have been made with the Sultan of Muscat, with the friendly Arab chiefs on the Arabian coast, and with the Shah of Persia. The treaties with the Sultan of Muscat are acknowledged to be binding upon the Sultan of Zanzibar, who has issued orders accordingly, and they prohibit the export of slaves from Africa, as well as their import from Africa into Asia, Arabia, the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, but permit the transport of slaves to and fro between Kilwa, Zanzibar, and any coast port up to Lamoo, which is the northern limit of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions.

“ 16. The result of the treaties, as far as the Sultan of Zanzibar is concerned, is, that not only are the slave traders enabled to rendezvous in great numbers at Zanzibar, but the slaver, laden with slaves, starting from Zanzibar, and provided with proper clearances for Lamoo, is enabled to make the first half of the journey north unmolested by British cruisers.

“ 17. The object of the British Government in assenting to these treaty provisions was to avoid interference with the status of domestic slavery in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, as appears by a Despatch from the Right Honourable Earl Russell, dated 14th March 1864, in which it is stated that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, nor with the *bonâ fide* transport of slaves from one part of the Sultan's territory to another.

“ 18. It appears from the evidence that the admission of the Sultan of Zanzibar's right to transport slaves between his island and coast dominions has afforded a cover for the foreign slave trade, as the traders procure at Zanzibar or Kilwa the requisite port clearances and passes for Lamoo, and thence run northwards, taking their chance of escaping the British cruisers.

“ 19. There are no means of ascertaining the exact numbers intended for the foreign market, but different witnesses have estimated the numbers annually needed to maintain the supply of slave labour in the dominion of Zanzibar, at from 1,700 to 3,000, which would leave at least 17,000 as the number destined for the foreign slave market. The treaty stipulations and agreements with the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar have been carried into effect by various Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council, which contain provision for the establishment of courts of adjudication for the trial of vessels captured as slavers at Zanzibar.

“ 20. The carrying out of these measures has been committed to the Political Agent of the Governor General of India, who also holds the appointment of British Consul at Zanzibar, and, in addition to the ordinary duties of a Political Agent and Consul, is Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court. The expenses of this establishment are borne by the Indian Government.

"21. The Government have proposed to enter into a new treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar to the following effect:—

"1. To limit the shipment of slaves from the mainland to one point only on the African coast, namely, Dar Selam, and to prohibit entirely their export from any other places.

"2. To make Zanzibar the only port for the reception of slaves shipped from Dar Selam, but with liberty to transport from thence to Pemba and Mombaza only; imports of slaves to any other place, or which have not come through Zanzibar, should be declared illegal, and liable to seizure.

"3. That the number of slaves exported from Dar Selam to Zanzibar, and thence to Pemba and Mombaza, shall be strictly limited to the actual requirements of the inhabitants of those places, to be annually settled by mutual consent between the Sultan and the British agent, such number to be gradually decreased so as to cease altogether within a certain time.

"4. That every vessel engaged in the transport of slaves shall be liable to capture, unless she is provided with a proper pass from the Sultan, which shall be valid only for one voyage, and with distinctive marks on her hull and sails; a heavy penalty being attached to any piracy of these passes or marks.

"5. That the public slave markets at Zanzibar shall be closed.

"6. That the Sultan shall engage from the date of the treaty to punish severely any of his subjects who may be proved to be concerned, directly or indirectly, in the slave trade, and especially any attempt to molest or interfere with a liberated slave.

"7. That the Kutchees, and other natives of Indian states under British protection, shall be forbidden, after a date to be fixed by the Government of India, to possess slaves, and that in the meantime they shall be prevented from acquiring any fresh slaves.

"Lastly. The treaty shall contain a stipulation providing for the eventual entire prohibition of the export of slaves from the mainland."

"The Government have sent out instructions to press this proposed treaty upon the present Sultan; but pending the inquiry of this Committee nothing more has been done.

"22. It has been stated to the Committee that for the performance of the additional duties which would devolve upon the Consul, should the proposed treaty be carried into effect, some increase in the present small staff would be required, and it was recommended by witnesses that an officer be appointed at Zanzibar to assist the Consul and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court in all matters connected with the slave trade, with the title of Assistant Political Agent and Vice Consul at Zanzibar, and to act for him in his absence; that a Consular Officer should also be appointed at Dar Selam, under the superintendence of Her Majesty's Consul, to whom he should report upon all matters connected with the slave trade, the number of slaves exported, and whether the Sultan's engagements with Her Majesty's Government are strictly observed. This officer would be required to visit, from time to time, the various points on the coast, and to report whether any irregularities exist, or any illegal exports are carried on; and as it is probable that for some time the slave traders would attempt to continue the exportation of slaves from Kilwa, the distance of which from Zanzibar and Dar Selam would prevent the British authorities at those places from watching and checking such practices, it might be necessary, at first, to station a Consular Officer at that port also.

"23. It was also stated to the Committee that this proposal was concurred in by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for India in Council, who recommended that, as the duties of the agency and consulate at Zanzibar were of a twofold character—one part concerning the Indian, and the other the Imperial Government—that the cost of maintenance should be equally divided between the Imperial and Indian Governments.

"24. This proposal was negatived by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and it was stated in evidence that, in consequence of this refusal and of the representation of the Indian Government, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council had informed the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the Foreign Office would no longer be privileged to send any instructions to the Zanzibar agent; and the whole matter, therefore, was brought to a dead-lock, and the traffic in slaves was on the 31st of May 1871, as reported by the Admiral commanding in chief on the station to be, "without doubt, as busy and profitable as ever."

"25. The principal means used to check the trade have been the employment of some vessels of Her Majesty's Navy upon the East Indian station as cruisers to watch the East African coast during the slaving season, which, depending upon the monsoon, is from April to the end of June, and from September to the beginning of November. It was stated in evidence that during the years 1867, 1868, 1869, there were captured by the squadron 116 dhows, containing 2,645 slaves; while, according to the returns of slaves

slaves exported from Zanzibar and Kilwa during those years, dhows carrying 37,000 slaves must have evaded capture, making the captures about 6·6 per cent. only.

“ 26. These figures are sufficient to show the insufficiency of the present squadron to check, much less to stop, the trade; and the reasons assigned are that the existing treaties and the instructions as to domestic slaves render it impossible to take a dhow south of Lamoo, and during the south-west monsoon it is very difficult to keep the cruisers sufficiently near the coast to intercept the dhows as they run northward before the wind, while there appears a general concurrence of testimony that the present number of the squadron is insufficient for the work to be performed, and that the efficiency of the squadron would be materially increased by an additional supply of steam launches for the arduous boat service on that coast.

“ 27. In connection with the failure of the measures hitherto adopted it was given in evidence that much was owing to the want of recorded information, and the necessarily frequent change of commanders, who, moreover, are not supplied with the official reports of those who have preceded them, as well as to the inefficiency and untrustworthiness of the interpreters employed, who not unfrequently are in league with the traders, and mislead the commanders of the squadron.

“ 28. Your Committee having heard the evidence, are strongly of opinion that all legitimate means should be used to put an end altogether to the East African slave trade.

“ 29. They believe that any attempt to supply slaves for domestic use in Zanzibar will always be a pretext and cloak for a foreign trade, while the loss of life and the injury caused to maintain even the limited supply of slaves required for this purpose must, of necessity, be so great as to forbid this country continuing to recognise any such traffic in slaves.

“ 30. It has been stated by some of the witnesses, that should the Sultan consent to relinquish the slave trade a revolution would follow, and that a sudden stoppage of the importation of slaves into Zanzibar would seriously affect the industrial position of the island; but, on the other hand, a witness of great experience has given it in evidence, that the Zanzibar Arabs are fully aware that the trade will be stopped, and are beginning to understand that more profit can be made by retaining the labourers to cultivate their own country, than by selling them away as slaves, while the abolition of the trade would encourage free labourers from all parts to reside at Zanzibar, so ensuring a larger and better supply of labourers than exists at present.

“ 31. It appears from the evidence, that the parties from whom turbulent opposition may be expected are the northern Arabs, the presence of an English force at Zanzibar would afford sufficient protection.

“ 32. Your Committee therefore recommend that it be notified to the Sultan of Zanzibar, that the existing treaty provisions have been systematically evaded, and have been found not only insufficient to protect the negro tribes in the interior of Africa from destruction, but rather to foster and encourage the foreign trade in slaves, Her Majesty's Government can no longer recognise those provisions as binding upon this country, but will take such legitimate measures to abolish the slave trade as may be deemed necessary.

“ 33. Further, that should the Sultan be willing to enter into a new treaty, having for its object the entire abolition of the slave trade, Her Majesty's Government would agree to settle at Zanzibar a proportion of adult negroes, who might thereafter be captured by Her Majesty's cruisers, provided the Sultan agreed to such measures for their protection and freedom as might be deemed necessary.

“ 34. It has been represented to the Committee by some of the witnesses, that as the Sultan derives a considerable part of his revenues from the slave trade, it would be necessary to make him some compensation for the loss he would sustain by the abolition of the trade.

“ 35. It appears from the evidence, that the Sultan of Zanzibar levies a tax of two dollars upon all slaves shipped from Kilwa for Zanzibar, and four dollars upon those shipped for Lamoo, and a further tax of two dollars upon all slaves shipped from Zanzibar. The witnesses have estimated the proceeds of this tax at various amounts, some putting it as high as 15,000 l. or 20,000 l.; others as low as 5,000 l.; but whatever the amount may be, the prospect of compensation has been suggested in the negotiations for a new treaty with the Sultan, already alluded to in this Report.

“ 36. It has been suggested that, as an equivalent for the supposed loss to his revenue, the Sultan should be released from the payment of an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns to the Sultan of Muscat, which was arranged upon the partition of the dominion of the Imaum of Muscat, between his two sons, by the Indian Government as arbitrators; but it now appears that the circumstances under which it was supposed this release might be effected have altered.

“ 37. It has been given in evidence that from 1,700 to about 3,000 slaves is probably sufficient to supply the requirements of the island and dominions of Zanzibar, and this, therefore,

therefore, is the extent of the legalised trade, and the value to the Sultan of Zanzibar at the present rate of tax would not exceed 3,000 *l.* annually; any compensation, therefore, could only be based upon this small amount.

"38. Your Committee, however, do not believe that the Sultan of Zanzibar would be ultimately a loser by the abolition of the trade; on the contrary, it was given in evidence that already the revenues of the Sultan, derived from the rapidly increasing trade of Zanzibar, and from his private estates in India, are ample to maintain the Government of his State, independently of the sum received from the slave trade; while the witnesses generally concur in stating that were the slave trade abolished, and a more ready means of communication afforded between Bombay, Aden, and Zanzibar, the already flourishing trade of that State would be rapidly developed. Material assistance to this development might be afforded by a line of mail-steamers to Zanzibar. Should the Sultan be willing to enter into a new treaty, the Committee recommend that it contain provisions for the entire abandonment of the slave trade, the closing of the Zanzibar and Kilwa slave markets, the punishment of any of the subjects of Zanzibar in any way engaged in the slave trade, permission to the British Government to station Vice Consuls at Kilwa, Dar Selam, and Lamoo; and on the part of the British Government an agreement to settle, under full and stringent measures for their protection, a certain number of negroes released from slavery by Her Majesty's cruisers.

"39. Your Committee recommend, that as an inducement to the Sultan to agree to such a treaty, this country should express its readiness to take upon itself, in combination with India, the payment of the subsidy to the Sultan of Muscat. The continuance of this payment to the Sultan of Muscat should be made to depend upon the due fulfilment, by that ruler, of the obligations of his treaty for the suppression of the slave trade. The payment of this sum would entail a charge upon this country, small in comparison with that of the squadron now maintained, and, your Committee believes, would lead to the early extinction of the slave trade.

"40. The Committee concur in the opinion expressed by the witnesses as to the necessity of an increase in the consular establishment; and inasmuch as the staff of that establishment would be largely employed in the suppression of the slave trade, they think that the expense should be equally shared by the Indian and Imperial Government.

"41. The Committee are of opinion that there should be for a time an increase, as recommended by the Foreign Office Committee, as well as by the evidence of the naval officers, in the strength of the naval squadron; and that it should be well supplied with steam launches to perform the inshore duties, which necessarily must be conducted in boats.

"42. The Committee feel that the disposal of the squadron must be left to the discretion of the commanding officers, and they would recommend that advantage should be taken of their experience as to the class of vessels to be employed; and that they should be provided, as far as possible, with all recorded information on the subject.

"43. The Committee also recommend that some effort be made to provide the squadron with efficient and trustworthy interpreters.

"44. It has been stated in evidence, that some time must elapse after the measures above referred to have been put in force before the slave trade could be stopped; and assuming that an efficient squadron is maintained, the Committee see that the disposal of the liberated slaves becomes a matter of large importance. They have recommended the liberation at Zanzibar of adult slaves on the assumption that the Sultan would enter into a new treaty. Should he, however, oppose the formation of a depôt there, it will be necessary to seek some other locality for that purpose, and no other place combines the advantages possessed by the Seychelles Islands, which are stated to afford abundant scope for a settlement, the climate and the food being well suited to the Negro races.

"45. It was given in evidence that the Church Missionary Society are willing to undertake the superintendence and education of the children at the Seychelles, as has been done at Sierra Leone, the Mauritius, and at Nassuck, in Bombay. Should the Sultan, however, oppose the formation of a depôt at Zanzibar, it would become necessary to seek some other locality for that purpose, and no other place combines the advantages possessed by the Seychelles Islands.

"46. In urging the necessity of retaining in this service trained and experienced men, the Committee consider that this principle most strongly applies to the Political Agency at Zanzibar. So complicated are our political relations at present with the Sultan, and so difficult will be the task of dealing with him, that they do not hesitate to advise that the services should be retained of the present acting Political Agency, bearing in mind his long and tried experience of Africa, its climate, its slave-trade difficulties, his knowledge of the Sultan, and his activity in conducting the greater part of the work of the department for some years, they would recommend that no technical rules of the service be allowed to interfere with his appointment as Political Agent at Zanzibar.

"47. In view of the considerable commercial interests which Germany, France, America, and Portugal possess in commerce with Zanzibar and the surroundings, your
Committee

Committee suggest that Her Majesty's Government invite the co-operation of these several Governments in the suppression of a traffic so subversive of these interests. There is reason to believe that such an overture would be responded to, especially by the Government at Berlin, in virtue of the preponderance of German trade at the port of Zanzibar."

DRAFT REPORT proposed by the Chairman, read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraph 1.—An Amendment made.—Another Amendment proposed at the end of the paragraph, as amended, to add the words: "It was reported in 1867, by General Rigby, to be the chief market of the world for the supply of ivory, gum, and copal, and to have a rapidly increasing trade in hides, oils, seeds, and dyes, while sugar and cotton promise to figure largely amongst its future exports. The country in the interior of that part of Africa, and of which Zanzibar is the outlet, is said, according to the recent accounts of Livingstone and others, to be equal in resources to any part of India, and to be, as a rule, more healthy. Iron abounds in all directions, coal is to be found, and cotton can be grown to any extent"—(Mr. Kennaway).—Question put, That those words be added to the paragraph.—The Committee divided:

Ayes, 4.

Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.

Noes, 3.

Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Q. 596.

Q. 970.

Paragraph, as amended, *agreed to*.

Paragraphs 2—7, *agreed to*.

Paragraphs 8 and 9, amended, and *agreed to*.

Paragraphs 10—14, *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed, after paragraph 14, to insert the following new paragraph:—"The slaves when liberated from the dhows have been sent of late years to Aden and Bombay, being maintained there at a heavy cost to the Imperial Exchequer. In time past some have been landed at the Seychelles, a dependency of the Mauritius. The climate in these islands is said to suit them exactly, and the inhabitants to be anxious for emancipated slave labour. Every variety of tropical product grows there in the greatest abundance"—(Mr. Kennaway).—Question, That this paragraph be inserted in the proposed Report,—put, and *agreed to*.

Paragraphs 15—20, amended, and *agreed to*.

Paragraphs 21—23, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 24.—Amendment proposed, in line 6, to leave out from the word "deadlock" to the end of the paragraph—(Mr. Shaw Lefevre).—Question put, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the paragraph.—The Committee divided:

Ayes, 4.

Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 4.

Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Whereupon the Chairman declared himself with the Noes.

Paragraph 24, as amended, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 25, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 26, amended, and *agreed to*.

Paragraph 27, *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed, after paragraph 27, to insert the following new paragraph:—"Evidence given before your Committee shows the very great inconvenience and loss resulting to British residents, and a frequent diversion of trade into foreign bottoms from the want of any regular postal communication with Zanzibar; the mails lying sometimes at Seychelles for months together waiting for a chance vessel. It has been stated to them that a very small subsidy would suffice to start monthly steam communication, either with the Seychelles, distant about 800 miles, in correspondence with French steamers running from Aden, or from the latter port direct"—(Mr. Kennaway).—Question put, That this paragraph be inserted in the proposed Report,—put, and *agreed to*.

Q. 596, 604.

Paragraph 28, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 29.—Amendment proposed, in line 2, to leave out from the words "Foreign Trade"

Trade" to the end of the paragraph—(Mr. Shaw Lefevre).—Question put, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the paragraph.—The Committee divided :

Ayes 5.

Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 3.

Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Paragraph *agreed to*.

Paragraph 30, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 31, amended, and *agreed to*.

Paragraph 32.—Amendment proposed, in line 1, after the word "therefore," to insert the words:—"In view of the impotent efforts hitherto made to stop these horrible abominations, and of the duty which they believe to be incumbent on this country to attempt to put a stop to this terrible waste of human life, and regarding the benefit to be derived from the increase of trade confidently looked for on the cessation of the traffic in slaves, recommend"—(Mr. Kennaway).—Question put, "That those words be there inserted."—The Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.

Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 4.

Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Whereupon the Chairman declared himself with the *Noes*.

An Amendment made.—Paragraph, as amended, *agreed to*.

Paragraphs 33—36, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 37, amended and *agreed to*.

Paragraph 38, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 39.—Amendment proposed, to omit paragraph 39—(Mr. Shaw Lefevre).—Question put, That the words "Your Committee recommend" stand part of the paragraph.—The Committee divided :

Ayes, 3.

Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.

Noes, 5.

Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Gilpin.

Remainder of the paragraph *disagreed to*.

Paragraph 40, *agreed to*.

Paragraph 41.—An Amendment made.—Another Amendment proposed, in lines 2 and 3, to leave out the words "As well as by the evidence of the naval officers"—(Lord F. Cavendish).—Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the paragraph."—The Committee divided :

Ayes, 6.

Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. R. Fowler.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 3.

Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Another Amendment proposed, in line 3, after the word "Squadron," to insert the following words: "The vessels forming the Flying Squadron are manned in a great measure by the reduction of force on the West Coast of Africa, consequent on the extinction of the slave trade there, and if the sum expended on maintaining this force were devoted for a short time to manning a proper class of vessels for service on the East Coast of Africa, the Committee believe it would be attended by the most fortunate results

results in extinguishing the slave trade, without any addition to the Navy Estimates"—(Sir John Hay).—Question put, That those words be there inserted.—The Committee divided:

Ayes, 3.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Robert Fowler.

Noes, 6.
Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Gilpin.

Question, That the paragraph, as amended, stand part of the Report.—The Committee divided:

Ayes, 6.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. R. Fowler.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 3.
Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Paragraph 42.—Amendment proposed in line 3, after the word "employed," to insert the words: "but they cannot help observing that the opinions of Admiral Hillyar and Sir Leopold Heath, the two officers who have commanded in these seas since 1867, have given evidence that an additional force must be maintained on this service; and it is further in evidence that at least three vessels are required to watch the Portuguese territory on the shores of the Mozambique"—(Sir John Hay).—Question put, That those words be there inserted.—The Committee divided: Q. 695, 696. 1155-1157. 1310.

Ayes, 4.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. R. Fowler.

Noes, 5.
Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Gilpin.

Another Amendment proposed, in line 3, to leave out the word "and," in order to insert the words: "The Committee recognising how desirable it is that men and officers engaged on this monotonous and harassing service should not be detained for too long a period, recommend that more care should be taken in communicating to all naval commanding officers every information which may assist them in performing their duty, by providing them not only with accurate records of the proceedings of their naval predecessors, but with Parliamentary, Foreign Office, and India Office documents bearing on the question, which will assist them in forming a correct judgment as to the best mode of parrying the devices of the slave traders"—(Sir John Hay).—instead thereof.—Question put, That the word "and" stand part of the paragraph.—The Committee divided:

Ayes, 5.
Viscount Enfield.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 4.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. R. Fowler.

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraph 43, agreed to.

Paragraphs 44—45, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 46, agreed to.

Paragraph 47.—Question put, That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report.—The Committee divided:

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Sir John Hay.
Lord F. Cavendish.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. R. Fowler.
Mr. Gilpin.

Noes, 2.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

Amendment proposed, after paragraph 47, to add the following new paragraph:
“It would be also desirable to enter into negotiations with the Government of Persia, to secure, if possible, for Her Majesty’s officers greater facilities of search in vessels suspected of carrying slaves”—(Mr. Kennaway).—Question, That this paragraph be added to the proposed Report,—put, and *agreed to*.

Question, That this Report, as amended, be the Report of the Committee to the House,—put, and *agreed to*.

Ordered, To Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix.

EXPENSE OF WITNESS.

NAME or WITNESS.	Profession or Condition.	From whence Summoned.	Number of Days absent from Home, under Orders of Committee.	Expenses of Journey to London and back.	Allowance during Absence from Home.	TOTAL Expenses allowed to Witness.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Sir Leopold Heath - -	K.C.B., R.N. . . -	Southsea (twice) -	- -	3 2 -	- -	3 2 -

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Monday, 10th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Sir Robert Anstruther.
Lord Frederick Cavendish.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Mr. Gilpin.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Mr. O'Connor.
Sir Frederick Williams.

CHARLES GILPIN, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

The Honourable CRESPIGNY VIVIAN, called in ; and Examined.

1. *Chairman.*] I BELIEVE you have been for a considerable time connected with the Foreign Office?—For 19 years.

2. Are you connected with that department of the Foreign Office which takes cognisance of matters in connection with the slave trade?—Yes, I am senior clerk in charge of the slave trade department.

3. You have seen the terms of reference to this Committee?—I have.

4. What is the state of affairs at Zanzibar and on the East Coast of Africa, with respect to the traffic in slaves at the present time as far as you know?—Slavery in the first place is legal in Zanzibar. The sovereign of Zanzibar is an Arab, and his subjects are Arabs, and as such they consider there is no harm in slavery at all. By various treaties however, the export of slaves from Zanzibar to foreign countries, and also from Zanzibar to the dominions of the Imaum of Muscat in Arabia, is prohibited, but slaves are still allowed to be transported from the coast to the islands within certain limits, for domestic puposes ; in fact, they do not consider that as slave trade.

5. What are the existing laws of Zanzibar with respect to slavery and the transport of slaves?—There are no laws except those of the Koran ; it is rather custom than law. The punishments are by the sheiks, and the delinquents are punished, I believe, according to the Koran. I think Mr. Churchill will give you better information upon that than I can.

6. The government is a despotic government?—It is patriarchial, but, as you know, slavery among Mahomedans is considered a perfectly recognised institution.

7. What are the treaties between England and the present sovereign, or other sovereigns of

Zanzibar affecting the slave trade?—There have been several treaties ; the first was in 1820 with the friendly Arab tribes on the Persian Gulf. By that treaty “it is provided that the carrying off of slaves, men, women, and children, from the coasts of Africa, or elsewhere, and the transporting them in vessels, is plunder and piracy, and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of this nature.” That was the first treaty. There was then a treaty with the Imaum of Muscat (Muscat and Zanzibar being then under one sovereign) in 1822, and a further one in 1839, but it is hardly worth while referring to them, because they were both merged in a much stronger treaty in October 1845, which is the treaty to which we now appeal. That was signed by Captain Hamerton, who was our agent at Muscat, and Syud Saeed, who was Sultan of Muscat and Zanzibar. By that treaty the Sultan engaged to prohibit for himself, his heirs, and successors under the severest penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions, and for the first time renounced for ever the right of importing slaves from any part of Africa into his possessions in Asia, into Arabia, the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, and engaged to use his influence with the chiefs there to prevent the introduction of slaves into their respective territories. Up to that time, he had always maintained the right to carry on the traffic between his dominions in Arabia and his dominions in Africa, but for the first time in this treaty he renounced that right. He gave permission to his Majesty’s cruisers, as well as to those of the East India Company, to seize and confiscate his vessels carrying on the slave trade wherever found, excepting those engaged in transporting slaves from one port to another of his African dominions, between the limits of Lamoo to the north and Kilwa to the

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the south, including the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Momfia, so that he thus restricted the traffic entirely to his African possessions, and did not allow it to go on any further between Africa and Asia. This treaty was carried into execution by the Act 11 & 12 Vict. c. 78, which contained regulations for the trial of vessels and the bounties to be paid. The treaty was then communicated to the Arab chiefs in the Persian Gulf, and they severally engaged in April and May 1847, to prohibit the export of slaves from the coast of Africa and elsewhere on board their vessels, and those of their subjects or dependents, and permitted the cruisers of the British Government to detain and search their vessels, and to seize and confiscate any found violating this engagement by the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa and elsewhere, upon any pretext whatever. This treaty also was carried into effect by the Act 12 & 13 Vict. c. 84. The traffic in slaves was thus entirely prohibited between Africa and Asia, and localised to the African coast within the limits of Kilway and Lamoo, including the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Momfia. On the 6th of May 1850, a declaration was signed by the Imaum of Muscat, granting permission to Her Majesty's ships of war to enter his creeks, rivers, and harbours, and territorial waters, to seize vessels engaged in the slave trade, and to destroy slave barracoons. This permission was, I believe, confirmed by a letter of the late Sultan, Seyud Majid (the man who has just died). In October 1863 Synd Majid (the late Sultan) issued orders forbidding the export of slaves from the port of Kilwa; and on the 1st of January 1864 he issued two notifications, one entirely prohibiting any transport of slaves during the season of exportation, viz., from 1st January to 1st May, and the second, prohibiting householders from renting houses to the northern Arabs, who visit Zanzibar for the purpose of kidnapping slaves. Those are all the treaties we have with the Imaum of Muscat.

8. What are the treaties we have with Persia, with respect to the slave trade?—A firman was issued by the late Shah (and confirmed by the present Shah) to his governors in June 1848, containing positive and strict injunctions to all the slave dealers trading by sea, that the importation and exportation of negroes by sea into the Persian Dominions is entirely forbidden, but not by land. "Not a single individual" (says the firman) "will be permitted to bring negroes by sea without being subjected to severe punishment." By the Convention of 1851 the Persian Government agreed that the ships of war of the British Government and of the East India Company shall, in order to prevent the chance of negro slaves being imported by sea, be permitted to search Persian merchant vessels, but not government vessels, provided a Persian officer is on board the British cruiser. If slaves are found they may be taken possession of by the British authorities, without causing further damage or undue detention to the captain or crew of the vessel, which must be delivered up to the authorities of the Persian Government, who undertake to punish and fine the owner in a suitable manner. The treaty was to run for 11 years, and it was renewed in 1857.

9. Was it renewed for any definite time in 1857?—For 10 years more; the treaty did not expire till 1862, then it was to expire in 1872, and then only by notice on one side or the other,

and no notice has passed. We consulted our minister in Persia whether it was likely that we should gain any good end by denouncing the treaty and proposing a new one; whether we could get rid of the stipulation that a Persian officer is to be on board our vessels, which has been found to be rather an inconvenient stipulation, but he advised us not to endeavour to procure a modification of the treaty, as we might probably lose it altogether.

10. Has the Sultan of Zanzibar fairly and faithfully carried out those treaties?—I believe that the Sultan of Zanzibar has to the best of his ability carried out the treaties, but I do not believe that the Imaum of Muscat has, or that the Arab chiefs in the Persian Gulf have. You will find from the information you will get, that all the damage is done by the Arabs coming down from the north; they come down with the north-east monsoon to Zanzibar, and whilst they are there, they are a terror to everybody there; no black man can show his head outside his house, and it is they who do all the damage. They are, for the most part, subjects of the Imaum of Muscat and of the chiefs of the Arab tribes in the Persian Gulf.

11. Muscat and Zanzibar, which formerly constituted one sovereignty, is now divided; when did the division take place?—The kingdom was divided in 1856; Seyed Saeed left Zanzibar to one son, named Seyed Mejid, and he left Muscat to his other son, named Thowaynee, who did not at all assent to the arrangement, and a quarrel was imminent, but in 1861 they referred it to the arbitration of the Government of India, and Lord Canning decided, by awarding Muscat to Thowaynee, and Zanzibar to Seyed Mejid, and Seyed Mejid was to pay the Sultan of Muscat 40,000 crowns (or about 8,500 *l.* a year) as a subsidy.

12. Lord F. Cavendish.] In perpetuity?—I believe so; but Sir John Kaye will give better information upon that than I can; there has been a question about the terms of the arrangement, but I fancy it is in perpetuity.

13. Chairman.] Is there any considerable number of British subjects in Zanzibar?—I think there are 22 English subjects, but there are a great many British Indian subjects; I think there are altogether 3,710 British Indians and British protected subjects.

14. Mr. Kinnaird.] Is there a trade springing up in Zanzibar?—I believe so.

15. Which is capable of almost infinite extension?—Yes, I understood so; I have not been there myself.

16. You understand so from your information?—Yes; I think there is a trade springing up which is capable of considerable expansion.

17. Chairman.] What is the system pursued by the slave traders on the coast to obtain slaves from the interior?—The Northern Arabs come down with the monsoon from Muscat on the Persian Gulf in January, February, and March, to Zanzibar, at which point, or on various parts of the coast, slaves have been collected in the meantime by the slave-hunters, and the slave dhows then carry off the slaves (at great risk to themselves, but one or two successful voyages make up for a good many failures), picking them up as they run along the coast. If they see one of our cruisers, they generally run on shore, turn all the slaves out, and escape as best they can.

18. You are acquainted, I presume, with the statements of Dr. Livingstone with respect to the slave traffic?—Yes; and we considered his book very much in connection with our Report.

19. Have his statements been confirmed by the information you have collected at the office?—Yes, certainly, we have found them generally very trustworthy.

20. You have stated that the limits within which the export of slaves is recognised from one port to another on the coast, are Lamoo on the north, and Kilwa on the south?—Yes, that includes a coast line of about 350 miles.

21. Have those limits been pretty much kept to, or have they been overstepped?—They are, no doubt, constantly overstepped.

22. The line on each side is, of course, only an imaginary line?—Yes.

23. What is the approximate annual export of slaves from the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar?—We estimated it in our Report at 20,000 a year, but it may be more. I was looking at Dr. Kirk's returns, in which he says, as I understand him, that between 1867 and 1868 the Sultan got 270,000 dollars for his tax upon slaves; if that is the case, that amounts to about 56,000*l.*; we only calculated it at 20,000*l.* a year on 20,000 slaves.

24. You suspect that the number would be double?—Yes, upon that calculation; but I am not quite sure whether Dr. Kirk included in that the sale of slaves as well as the tax; you can safely take it at 20,000, it certainly is not less.

25. Have you any reason to doubt the statement made by Dr. Kirk, and confirmed by Dr. Livingstone and the Rev. Mr. Waller, that four or five lives are lost for every slave delivered safe at Zanzibar?—I have no reason to doubt it, and the hardships the slaves encounter become greater every year. As the country near the coast becomes depopulated, and the slave hunters have to go further into the interior for slaves, so does the march become more horrible and deadly to the slaves.

26. Mr. Kinnaird.] From the last accounts, how far does it appear that the slaves are now brought?—According to the last accounts they are brought from Lake Nyassa.

27. Have you any idea what the distance would be?—No; several days' journey.

28. Chairman.] The plea on which the recognised slave traffic is carried on is, that there is a certain amount of labour required in Zanzibar and the adjoining islands, and that slaves are wanted for that purpose?—That is the case.

29. What is your idea of the number that would be actually required for that purpose?—Dr. Kirk estimates the requirements of Zanzibar at about 1,700 per year.

30. Mr. Kinnaird.] Nominally for domestic service?—Yes, there is nothing but slave labour in Zanzibar; all the menial offices connected with the household are performed by slaves; free labour can hardly be obtained.

31. There is no peculiar qualification required for that service?—No; they are employed in various works and drawing water, and in all the usual labour in a household.

32. Chairman.] How do you account for the difference between the 1,700 and the 20,000?—Most of the others go to the foreign slave trade.

33. I suppose, as far as female slaves are concerned, they are, to a great extent, taken to the

harems of the Imaum of Muscat and the Arabian chiefs?—I believe that most of the slaves are taken to Muscat itself and Soor, and from thence they are exported to various ports on the Persian Gulf, and to Persia itself, wherever the market is the highest; they go even up to Bussorah and Mohamrah, and from thence I have no doubt some find their way into Turkish harems.

34. In point of fact, I suppose, at Muscat there is a recognised slave market?—Yes.

35. I need hardly ask you whether the system of obtaining slaves and exporting them involves great hardships and misery?—In answer to that question, I cannot do better than read the beginning of our Report. "The slaves required, as well for the legal as for the illegal traffic, are obtained from the interior of Africa. Formerly they could be procured from the countries bordering on the coast, but constant slave raids have so depopulated those districts, that the slave dealers are now forced to go far inland for their supplies. Year by year further tracts of country are depopulated and laid waste, and at the present time it is chiefly from the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa and beyond it that slaves are obtained. The persons by whom this traffic is carried on are, for the most part, Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These slave dealers start for the interior well armed, and provided with articles for the barter of slaves, such as beads and cotton cloth. On arriving at the scene of their operations, they incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become their property, either by right or by purchase, the price in the latter case being only a few yards of cotton cloth. In the course of these operations thousands are killed, or die subsequently of their wounds or of starvation; villages are burnt, and the women and children carried away as slaves. The complete depopulation of the country between the coast and the present field of the slave dealers' operations attest the fearful character of these raids. Having, by these and other means, obtained a sufficient number of slaves to allow for the heavy losses on the road, the slave dealers start with them for the coast. The horrors attending this long journey have been fully described by Dr. Livingstone and others. The slaves are marched in gangs, the males with their necks yoked in heavy forked sticks, which at night are fastened to the ground, or lashed together so as to make escape impossible. The women and children are bound with thongs. Any attempt at escape, or to untie their bonds, or any wavering or lagging on the journey, has but one punishment, immediate death. The sick are left behind, and the route of a slave caravan can be tracked by the dying and the dead. The Arabs only value these poor creatures at the price which they will fetch in the market, and if they are not likely to pay the cost of their conveyance, they are got rid of. The result is that a large number of the slaves die or are murdered on the journey, and the survivors arrive at their destination in a state of the greatest misery and emaciation."

36. Mr. Kinnaird.] You do not believe that there is the slightest exaggeration in that Report?—No; but of course evidence upon the state of things in the locality would be better given by people acquainted with the country.

37. Chairman.] What revenue does the Sultan of Zanzibar derive from the tax upon slaves?—We have

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have calculated it at 20,000 £ a year, but I make out, unless Dr. Kirk has included also the sale of slaves, that in 1867-8 he must have got about 56,000 £ by the tax upon slaves, that is to say, 270,000 dollars; whether that included the sale of slaves as well as the tax, I do not know.

38. According to that Report the value of a slave in the interior appears to be only a few yards of cloth?—Yes; at Zanzibar he is worth from 17 to 25 dollars.

39. What is his value on the coast of Arabia?—I believe about 60 dollars; but it must vary.

40. At what season of the year is the trade most active in Zanzibar?—From January to March is the time when the northern Arabs generally come down; then I think they go up again in March and April, and again in August and September.

41. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] Is the trade carried on generally, by the same set of people?—Yes; it is a regular trade; where they come from and who they are you will hear better from Mr. Churchill, but they are evidently old hands at the trade.

42. *Chairman*.] You told us that the slaves were principally exported to Muscat in the first instance?—Yes, and to ports in the Persian Gulf, and they go from there in small craft to the highest market.

43. Do the slave dealers come principally from the northern parts of Arabia?—Yes.

44. What measures have Her Majesty's Government taken to deal with these evils, and to suppress the slave traffic?—They obtained first of all the limitation I have already described to you; they found out when these Arabs principally came down from the north, and they obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar his declaration that no export of slaves should take place between the prohibited periods.

45. Was not that at the cost of recognising a legal traffic in slaves during a certain time of the year?—No doubt we have always recognised the fact of slavery being a legal institution at Zanzibar. Zanzibar consists partly of the mainland and partly of the Islands, and the sovereign has always claimed the right of transporting domestic slaves from his possession on the continent to his possessions on the islands.

46. Waiving for a moment the question of the propriety of that local slave trade, that is a very small proportion of the slave trade, which we are here inquiring into?—Yes, it is under the cloak of that that these northern Arabs have managed to carry their slaves to the north; they are protected as long as they are within those limits, whether they are there for legal or illegal purposes.

47. Have our Government proposed to enter into a new treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and if so, to what effect, and with what result?—They proposed on the 16th of June last year to enter into a treaty to the following effect: "To limit the shipment of slaves from the mainland to one point only on the African coast" (it now extends over 350 miles of coast), "namely, Dar Selam, and to prohibit entirely their export from any other places." "To make Zanzibar the only port for the reception of slaves shipped from Dar Selam, but with liberty to transport them thence to Pemba and Mombaza only"; (those two being the other islands which want slaves also, we did not wish to prohibit them from transporting them to those other islands; we only wished that all slaves should be

taken to Zanzibar, and from there shipped to the other islands, so as to have a double check upon them.) "Imports of slaves to any other place, or which have not come through Zanzibar, should be declared illegal, and liable to seizure. That the number of slaves exported from Dar Selam to Zanzibar, and thence to Pemba and Mombaza, shall be strictly limited to the actual requirements of the inhabitants of those places, to be annually settled by mutual consent between the Sultan and the British agent; such number to be gradually decreased, so as to cease altogether within a certain time. That every vessel engaged in the transport of slaves shall be liable to capture, unless she is provided with a proper pass from the Sultan, which shall be valid only for one voyage, and with distinctive marks on her hull and sails, a heavy penalty being attached to any piracy of these passes or marks. That the public slave markets at Zanzibar shall be closed. That the Sultan shall engage from the date of the treaty to punish severely any of his subjects who may be proved to be concerned, directly or indirectly, in the slave trade, and especially any attempt to molest or interfere with a liberated slave. That the Kutchees and other natives of Indian States under British protection, shall be forbidden, after a date to be fixed by the Government of India, to possess slaves; and that in the meantime they shall be prevented from acquiring any fresh slaves. Lastly, the treaty should contain a stipulation, providing for the eventual entire prohibition of the export of slaves from the mainland.

48. That is not yet a treaty?—No; Mr. Churchill was engaged in pressing it upon the late Sultan when he died.

49. Has it been pressed upon the present Sultan?—We have sent out instructions to press it upon the present one, but pending this Committee nothing more has been done.

50. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] The Foreign Office is waiting the result of this Committee to take further action?—That I do not know; I say we have not done anything more pending the inquiry of this Committee. There is a new Sultan now, and our proposals have been pressed upon him.

51. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Mr. Churchill has not been stopped in negotiating this treaty in a friendly way with the Sultan?—It is Dr. Kirk now who is acting in place of Mr. Churchill; on the contrary, Dr. Kirk has received instructions to press the same terms upon the Sultan, but the time and the mode of his doing it are left to his discretion.

52. *Chairman*.] Have Her Majesty's Government invited the co-operation of foreign powers in checking the slave trade?—They have; they have invited the co-operation of France, of Persia, and of Turkey.

53. Not Portugal?—No; I think it appears by a report amongst the last slave trade papers, that there is no slave trade at all on the Portuguese shore, or hardly any; it stops at Cape Delgado, I think. Slavery is abolished now in Portugal entirely.

54. Would you say there was any slave trade carried on from Zanzibar, under any flag except the Arab flag?—Yes; we had a representation that there was a slave trade carried on under the French flag; we have not got a right to search French vessels; if we have strong suspicions that a vessel sailing under the French flag is engaged in the slave trade, we can examine her papers, and

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and in a flagrant case take her to the nearest French authority, but we cannot seize her, or take her off; we had representations made to us, that a considerable slave trade was carried on under the French flag, and we wrote to the French Government and protested. I hardly think that such is the case. There was a differential duty of about 10 per cent. between goods carried under our flag and goods carried under the French flag, in favour of the French, and I think that had a great deal to do with so many dhows adopting the French flag; that is all at an end now.

55. It is the fact, is it not, that under the Empire the strongest regulations were in force for putting down slavery?—No doubt.

56. Sir John Hay.] Have the French any vessels on that coast?—Yes, and they have an Admiral on the station, who I believe is on the very best terms with the English Admiral.

57. Have they captured any slaves?—I never heard of their capturing any.

58. Chairman.] What naval force is employed on the East coast of Africa in suppressing the slave trade?—It is difficult to tell exactly; I sent to the Admiralty for a return of the number of ships on the coast, and I could not get it in time; you would be able to get that information from the Admiralty.

59. What is the system pursued by the squadron, and do they act under special instructions?—They act under special instructions; their duty is, no doubt, a very difficult one. It fell to us to comment, as the Commodore thought rather harshly, upon the conduct of some of the officers of the fleet. There is no doubt that very great injustice has been done in a great many cases; that many dhows have been taken which ought not to have been taken, and I daresay a great deal of ill-feeling and ill-will has been caused thereby. Recently the Admiralty have issued instructions warning officers to be very careful how they destroy dhows, and directing them never to do so if by any chance they could bring them into a port of adjudication. In former times there were only two ports of adjudication at long distances apart; one at Aden, and the other at the Cape of Good Hope (there was another at Madagascar, but that was on the wrong side, and the dhows were seldom taken there). Now there is an Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, and that has worked extremely well, and our Commanders have not the same reason that they formerly had for destroying vessels.

60. Are the officers interested in obtaining the condemnation of slavers?—Yes; they receive bounties on their condemnation.

61. In the event of their destroying the dhows without bringing them before the Prize Court, do they get the bounty in the same way?—They have to establish that the dhow was a slaver, in the Prize Court; they have to bring in such papers as they find on board, and such witnesses as are necessary to prove the character of the enterprise in which the dhow was engaged, and the dhow is condemned, but on an *ex parte* statement, in some cases.

62. So that the officers of our cruisers are pecuniarily interested in obtaining the condemnation of as many dhows as possible?—No doubt that is the case so long as the system of bounties continues.

63. What means have the officers of ascertaining whether the dhow is a slaver or not?—They find out that she is engaged in the slave trade by

the slave fittings on board the vessel, and also from the absence of the proper papers; then there are always indications of the dhow having had slaves on board from the filthy state in which she is; but upon that point Sir Leopold Heath could give better information than I can.

64. How do the officers deal with their prizes after capturing them?—If they can, they take them into a court of adjudication; and if they cannot, they take their dimensions for the purpose of claiming bounty, and then destroy them.

65. Why do they ever burn their prizes, instead of taking them into a port?—Very often there is a very strong monsoon, and those vessels would be unseaworthy in other hands than those of their owners. It is very often the case that they could not take them to a port of adjudication.

66. What becomes of the captured slaves and the master and crew of the slave dhow?—Such witnesses as are necessary to secure the condemnation of the slaver are taken to the court of adjudication, and the rest of the crew are either landed on the coast or transferred to another dhow that may be passing, as they may wish. The slaves are generally taken to the port of adjudication.

67. How are the liberated slaves finally disposed of?—They go in most cases to Aden; where there is very bad accommodation for them; they are imprisoned on a small island there till they can be sent on to Bombay; some of them are taken to the Mauritius; some of them are taken to Seychelles, another of our colonies. In those places the same regulations which apply to free labourers apply to them, and they are apprenticed for a certain number of years, and after that time if they can get employment, or show that they are capable of taking care of themselves, they are let go.

68. Is it considered to be out of the question their being sent to their own homes?—Yes, quite. You could not send them back hundreds of miles into the interior; even if you could, they would be certain to be recaptured by some of the Arabs.

69. Sir R. Anstruther.] The hardships they would encounter in going back that great distance into the interior would be as great as the hardships they had encountered in going down?—Yes; it would be out of the question their going to the country from which they had been taken. I think, however, it is very doubtful whether we are justified in taking those slaves into our colonies ourselves. I think it justly lays us open to the charge of making use of our crusade against the slave trade for our own purpose.

70. Mr. Kinnaird.] They are perfectly free in our colonies?—At the end of their period of apprenticeship they are free to do what they like; on their apprenticeship, I think a premium is paid by the planters who take them.

71. Sir R. Anstruther.] You must do something with them; you cannot send them home, and you cannot leave them where they are?—No.

72. Chairman.] What provision is made for their maintenance before they are transferred to our colonies, and at what cost?—In the case of those who are sent to Bombay they remain at Aden till a notification comes from Bombay that they can be employed there, and they are then sent to Bombay as they are wanted. The children go to the Nassick school there. We got

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from the Bombay Government the other day a bill for nearly 16,000 *l.*, which extended over five years, for the maintenance of slaves at Aden, so that, taking the average, it costs us about 3,000 *l.* a year. In the case of those who are sent to the Mauritius, I believe, they cost us nothing; the planters give a premium which covers the whole expense of maintaining them.

73. Mr. *Kinnaird.*] You have heard no complaint of their treatment in the Mauritius?—No; on the contrary, I believe the negroes are happy there.

74. The Mauritius is a very excellent outlet for these liberated slaves?—I have no doubt they are happy there, but I still think that our taking them to our own colonies lays us open to the charge that we are putting down the slave trade for our own purposes.

75. What did the Committee of which you were a member recommend should be done with the liberated slaves?—That they should be landed at Zanzibar itself, under due precautions, where a depôt of liberated slaves should be established, so as to substitute gradually free labour for slave labour; that we should form a colony there of free labour to compete with slave labour.

76. Mr. *Kennaway.*] Would not they be liable to be carried off if they were taken to Zanzibar?—Of course they would, unless under very strong precautions.

77. Mr. *Kinnaird.*] The great objection to it would be, that unless the Sultan of Zanzibar behaved better than we could expect him to behave, in all probability they would be re-captured?—Yes, the Sultan could not do it himself; we should be obliged to help him.

78. Mr. *Crum-Ewing.*] The northern Arabs would be too strong for him?—Yes; it was only the other day that the northern Arabs were found engaged in a plot to kidnap his own slaves, and take them away to the north.

79. Sir *John Hay.*] Do you think if the export was practically stopped, those men would still find their way down to Zanzibar?—My opinion is that you ought to seal up both ends; you ought to seal up the coast, and you ought to prevent those men coming down; they have no right to come down; they are clearly breaking the treaty. We have treaties with every Power up in the north, and we ought to insist that those Arab slave traders should not be allowed to come down.

80. Mr. *Kennaway.*] If the risk of capture were very much increased, so that the trade became no longer profitable, they would not come down, would they?—As long as there is the demand for slaves that there is in the north, you will always find that they will run the risk.

81. Mr. *Crum-Ewing.*] How would you prevent the Arabs coming down?—The only way to do it would be to appeal to the chiefs, and say, "You have broken your treaty; these northern Arabs are coming down in great quantities every year, and we must insist upon no person coming in future who is not furnished with a pass from you, the chief, to show that he is an honest and legal trader." Some arrangement of that kind might be made.

82. Mr. *Kinnaird.*] What is done with the children who are liberated?—There are schools at Seychelles, and there is the Nassick school at Bombay; the children, I fancy, are very well cared for. Bishop Tozer has a school at Zanzibar.

83. Is that doing well?—Yes; and there is a French mission school.

84. Have the Church Missionary Society made an offer to take care of the children?—Yes; I think they wanted to establish a school for their reception at Seychelles; they seem to me to be unwilling to go to Zanzibar.

85. You say there is considerable insecurity at Zanzibar?—Yes; there would not be with proper precaution; it is all a question of expense.

86. Mr. *Crum-Ewing.*] A very small British force at Zanzibar would be sufficient to prevent the liberated slaves being carried away, would it not?—Yes, I think one vessel and a steam launch kept there would be sufficient.

87. Mr. *Kinnaird.*] Have you had an offer to receive children at schools in the Mauritius?—I am not aware of it. I fancy we must have landed a good many children there.

88. By whom is the cost of the transmission of the liberated negroes to our colonies paid?—A premium is paid by the planters who take them, and I believe that covers all the expenses.

89. If the French offered to take them into their colonies, do you not think we ought to facilitate their taking them?—I think that might be done; in fact, we proposed it in our report as a tentative measure.

90. If we offered them to other countries who undertook to take of them, it could not with the same justice be said that we were only serving our own purposes in putting down the slave trade?—No; we consider that a negro once taken by our cruisers is a free man, and that he has the right to dispose of himself as he chooses. I do not suppose, however, that their tastes are always considered.

91. *Chairman.*] What is the administrative staff at Zanzibar, and what is its cost?—There is a political agent and consul at Zanzibar, and a vice consul and a clerk. The political agent is an officer of the Government of India, who receives *ex officio* a commission as consul, the salary of both offices being paid by the Government of India; he is also Judge of the Admiralty Court there, and has an enormous amount of duty to perform.

92. What office does Dr. Kirk hold?—He is the vice consul, and he is now acting as consul in Mr. Churchill's absence. The total expenses are about 2,766 *l.*; our share, if we paid half of it, which we do not, would be about 1,400 *l.*; we do not pay a shilling.

93. Are the duties of the agent purely Indian or Imperial?—I should think by far the greater part of his duties were in connection with the slave trade, which is a matter of Imperial interest.

94. The Indian interests which he is there to protect are the interests of British Indian subjects, residents there?—There are a great many difficult political questions in reference to Muscat and the Persian Gulf; the connection which existed in former days between Muscat, the Persian Gulf, and Zanzibar is still kept up, and our policy in relation to all that region in connection with India is a very difficult one.

95. Is the Indian Government interested in suppressing the slave trade?—If they did not think that it was a matter of Imperial interest to suppress it, I do not think they would set themselves to work to suppress it.

96. Mr. *Kinnaird.*] They are carrying out faithfully and energetically the policy of England?—They propose to work with us as energetically as possible.

97. And they have done so?—Yes; but naturally

ally they object to pay the whole expense themselves.

98. *Chairman.*] Are British Indians in Zanzibar allowed to hold or deal in slaves?—There have been different orders about that; most of the British Indians in Zanzibar are not natives of British India, but natives of protected States. Many of the important men in Zanzibar are natives of Kutch, which is an Indian State under British protection, and the Rao of Kutch has by proclamation made over to us the protection of his subjects abroad, for us to deal with them in the same way as if they were British subjects; but I believe in Kutch itself domestic slavery is recognised. However, when our Committee met last year, we determined that on no consideration would we allow any Indians under British protection to hold slaves in Zanzibar, and it is one of the provisions of the proposed treaty that, after a certain date to be fixed by the Government of India, all slaves held by Kutchies are to be released, and, in the meantime, they are to be forbidden to acquire any fresh ones; they have been allowed to hold slaves.

99. Do you think the Sultan of Zanzibar could be compelled or induced to prohibit the transport of slaves by sea altogether?—I think he might gradually; I do not think he could do it at once; I do not see how he could do without some sort of labour in Zanzibar.

100. *Lord F. Cavendish.*] What is the size of Zanzibar?—It is about 25 miles in length, I think; the number of slaves required in Zanzibar, in Dr. Kirk's opinion, is about 1,700.

101. How would you suggest that the Sultan might be induced to put an end to the export of slaves?—I think you would have to give him a money compensation, to make up for the loss of his revenue.

102. *Sir R. Anstruther.*] He derives about a fourth of his whole revenue from the slave tax, does he not?—Yes; we calculated that he derived about 20,000*l.* a year from his tax upon slaves, so that we could not expect him to give that up without getting some compensation for it.

103. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] Those are not all slaves he traffic in which is recognised by the treaty?—No; and though, in answer to a previous question put to me by the Chairman, whether the Sultan of Zanzibar had ever violated the treaty, I answered that he had carried out the treaty, I have always thought that indirectly he must have violated it, because he must know that this large number of slaves cannot be required for Zanzibar; and he accepts a tax for a larger number of slaves than can be required for the legal traffic.

104. Was not there an idea entertained by the Committee, or by some Members of it, that if we relieved him from what he was obliged to pay to the Imaum of Muscat he might be induced to enter into a treaty to discontinue the slave trade in his dominions?—Yes; that would be about 3,500*l.* a year; that is what we suggested.

105. You suggested that, anticipating that if that was done, and if the slave trade was suppressed, other trade would spring up which would amply repay us for any outlay of that sort?—Yes; but I think, to inaugurate that new trade, you would have to go to other expenses. For instance, you would have to establish steam communication with Zanzibar; at present the communication with Zanzibar is extremely irregular.

106. There have been very liberal offers from steam companies to run to Zanzibar, have there
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not?—There have been offers, but they all wanted a subsidy, and to that proposal the Government has turned a deaf ear.

107. Your opinion is, that one of the most useful ways of putting down the slave traffic would be by encouraging and subsidising for a time steam communication?—No doubt; nothing did so much good on the west coast, in the way of checking the slave trade, as the establishment of steam communication and opening up trade. Lagos, which is now a place of considerable trade, was formerly the very hotbed of the slave trade.

108. It now returns a very considerable revenue?—Yes.

109. *Chairman.*] What effect in your opinion would the abolition of the slave trade have upon the prosperity of Zanzibar?—If you did it suddenly, I think it would very likely provoke a revolution; if you managed it gradually, as the Committee proposed, by establishing a depôt of slaves, either at Zanzibar, or on the coast, under proper precaution, and hiring them out to different employers under proper precautions for their safety and good treatment, I do not think any harm would result, on the contrary I think the resources of Zanzibar would be opened up, and that there might soon be a flourishing trade.

110. Who would be the people who would join in a revolution?—The Arabs.

111. Would they be strong enough to bring about a revolution?—The Sultan is a weak sovereign, and the Arabs do almost anything they please. We had some despatches to-day from Zanzibar, in which it was stated that the Arabs had sent a message to the captain of the "Wolverine" to say that one of Her Majesty's vessels had gone on shore and that 20 men had been drowned, and that she steamed off to the rescue: it turned out that it was a mere trick of the slave traders to get her out of the way.

112. What precautions would you suggest for the protection of the freed slaves?—In the first place every slave ought to be registered at the British Consulate, and should be under his protection. You must have a ship and steam launch there constantly till the scheme began to work, and the Sultan should publicly notify his intention of punishing most severely any attempt to molest or kidnap a freed man. Then if you managed to shut out the northern Arabs as well, I do not think there would be much danger of the liberated slaves being kidnapped.

113. You said that the liberated slaves were badly treated at Aden?—I hardly meant badly treated, but there is no employment for them there; they are virtually kept in prison there till they are sent off to Bombay.

114. *Mr. Crum-Ewing.*] When they go the colonies they are apprenticed for a certain number of years with a planter?—Yes; who has to give security for his treatment of the slaves.

115. Their position is the same as that of the coolie labourers?—Yes.

116. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] Why are they sent to Aden?—Those taken in the north are obliged to be taken to Aden; it would be difficult to bring them to Seychelles or Mauritius; they are kept at Aden till notification is received from Bombay that labour is required.

117. What is done with them at Bombay?—I do not know what happens to them when they get to Bombay; they are not slaves.

118. *Chairman.*] What steps have been taken to carry out the proposals in the Report of the
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Slave Trade Committee of 1870?—This despatch dated the 16th of July 1870, embodying the proposed treaty, which I have read, was written to Mr. Churchill, in which he is requested to urge the views of Her Majesty's Government on the Sultan.

119. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Supposing you stopped the foreign slave trade, there would be no inducement for the northern Arabs to come down?—The foreign slave trade is prohibited entirely.

120. But it goes on underhand?—Yes.

121. If it was entirely stopped there would be no inducement for them to come down?—That is exactly the question, how we can stop it; the foreign slave trade is forbidden as much as it can be forbidden, by treaty now.

122. Supposing the plan which you have suggested were carried out, that would stop the seizure of slaves altogether, and there would be no inducement for the Arabs to come down from the north and carry on the trade?—No, they would probably try and carry it on for some time after we stopped it.

123. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] In recommending one central port for the shipment of slaves, you consider that that could be so effectively guarded that you would stop the trade altogether?—Yes; on the other hand you would have to keep vessels on the look out at the old ports of shipment; they would still try and export them from the places they had been used to; particularly from Kilwa.

124. You would have to continue watching those ports?—No doubt.

125. Sir *J. Hay*.] Has the proposal to obtain the cession of Zanzibar to this country ever been considered?—Not the cession of it, because they have never offered to cede it, but the seizure of it has been proposed; I do not see that we should have the slightest right to take possession of it.

126. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] Was the proposition to purchase the island ever entertained?—No, never to my knowledge.

127. *Chairman*.] Have you never heard that the Sultan would be ready to sell Zanzibar?—No; the Sultan has said, you may as well take all I have if you go on in this way, but that was mere pettishness; there was a proposal to take possession of it.

128. Have there been difficulties standing in the way of your doing more than you have done with reference to carrying out the proposals of the Committee of 1870?—Yes.

129. What have been the special difficulties?—The Government appear to have thought that those proposals did not go far enough. They said, that whatever their views might be, if the absolute extinction of the East Coast of Africa slave trade were in question, they were not disposed to spend a greater amount of public money than at present on measures which had the appearance of lending, at least, a partial countenance to the slave trade.

130. Sir *R. Anstruther*.] When was that opinion expressed?—This year. I cannot tell you exactly when; it was after the proposals of the Committee had been considered, as to increasing the number of ships, appointing vice consuls and sharing the expenses of the Zanzibar Agency.

131. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] Which was strongly recommended by the Foreign Office?—Yes.

132. It is that determination of the Government on the proposals of the Committee which has hung up the question for the present?—Yes,

we have desired Dr. Kirk to make our proposals to the new Sultan, but without an increase of force and without consuls on the coast, I do not think our proposals will have very much effect.

133. Unless we follow them up with some active measures we cannot give effect to them?—It is of no use adopting them in part unless you adopt them in the whole.

134. The Committee, in making that report, anticipated that the Government would carry it out?—Yes.

135. *Chairman*.] You attach very considerable importance to placing an additional number of vice consuls on several parts of the coast?—No doubt; I think it would be necessary. Sir *Fowell Buxton* objected to that particularly; he said he did not consider it a proper duty for a British consular officer to look after the slave trade. He wrote a strong letter to the Foreign Office, pointing out that it was not the duty of British consuls to superintend the traffic in slaves.

136. The Sultan, as I understand, has not yet refused or declined to entertain those propositions?—The late Sultan had promised to entertain them, and he and Mr. Churchill were to talk the matter over. Then he became very ill and died, and the present Sultan absolutely refused to entertain them. When Mr. Churchill proposed them to him, he said he had had quite enough of treaties as they were, without going into any further ones, and Mr. Churchill and he separated not very good friends. However, since Mr. Churchill left, he has shown a disposition to come to terms, and he has made, indirectly, overtures to Dr. Kirk, to the effect that he is prepared to do something, but Dr. Kirk said the overtures fell so far short, even of what we, the Committee proposed, that he would not entertain them for a moment, but he is, no doubt, rather frightened at our attitude.

137. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] At what part of the coast would you think of placing the vice consuls?—At the old place of export Kilwa and Dar Selam (which we propose to be the sole port of export from the coast, it being opposite Zanzibar, and therefore easily controlled).

138. Sir *R. Anstruther*.] You would propose to have a consul also at Lamoo?—Yes, one at Kilwa and perhaps one at Lamoo to watch the two extremities of the coast, and one at Dar Selam, which we mean to make the only port of export. We recommended that "A consular officer should also be appointed at Dar Selam, under the superintendence of Her Majesty's consul, to whom he should report upon all matters connected with the slave trade, the number of slaves exported, and whether the Sultan's engagements with Her Majesty's Government are strictly observed. This officer would probably be required to visit, from time to time, the various points on the coast, and to report whether any irregularities exist, or any illegal exports are carried on. It is probable that for some time the slave traders will attempt to continue the exportation of slaves from Kilwa, while its distance from Zanzibar and Dar Selam will not enable the British authorities at those places to watch and check such practices; and it may be necessary at first to station a consular officer at that port also."

139. *Chairman*.] Are the latest accounts regarding the prevalence of the slave trade on the Zanzibar coast worse or better than heretofore?—Worse; Dr. Kirk says the trade has never been so vigorously carried on as it has been latterly.

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140. Sir J. Hay.] As the distance increases from which the slaves have to be fetched, so do the sufferings of the slaves and the loss of life among them increase?—No doubt.

141. Chairman.] What is your opinion as to the best course to pursue in order to suppress the traffic in slaves on the east coast?—I cannot say more than that I adhere entirely to the opinions which the Committee enunciate in this report; I do not think it has been sufficiently understood either by the Government or by such Members of this House as have taken an interest in the question, that we have proposed to attach to the treaty an absolute stipulation that within a certain time the traffic should cease altogether, that there should be no transport by sea of slaves. We do not propose to do it suddenly, but gradually, and with an independent sovereign whose independence we have guaranteed; I do not think it right that we should take him by the throat and say, at the risk of losing your kingdom put a stop altogether to traffic in slaves by sea.

142. Have any communications taken place between our Government and the French Government respecting their policy with regard to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa?—Yes; as I have already stated we have drawn their attention strongly to cases in which there was a suspicion that the French flag was abused for slave trade purposes, and they have promised in return to make inquiries, at the same time they deny the accuracy of our information; I believe they are honestly anxious to put down the trade.

143. Under whose direct orders does the political agent at Zanzibar act?—He acts under the orders of the Bombay Government, subject to the control of the Secretary of State for India over here. But, after the Report of this Committee, in which we recommended strongly that the expenses of the agency should be shared between ourselves and the India Office, we agreed with the India Office that in all slave trade matters he should be under the control of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and that in all Indian matters he should be under the control of the Secretary of State for India. Latterly the India Office have said, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to pay anything towards the expenses of the agency, that they would put the office on an entirely new footing, having reference solely to Indian interests.

144. Mr. Kennaway.] Do you know whether since the issuing of this Report any decision has been come to by the Indian Government as to relieving the Sultan from the payment of the subsidy to the Imaum of Muscat?—Sir John Kay will be better able to give information upon that subject than I am.

145. Has any effort been made to get the Americans to co-operate with us?—No, I do not think the Americans have a consulate there even; there is a North German consul, a French consul, and our consul.

146. Mr. Kinnaird.] Have you any other suggestion to make to the Committee with a view to putting an end to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa than those you have already made?—No; I am very glad to see the interest that is beginning to be taken in the matter; I think affairs out there are in as unsatisfactory a state as they possibly could be, and I think it is very necessary that something should be done.

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In my opinion the best plan of doing it is that which the Committee have suggested, viz., gradually to seal up the ports on the coast, and forbid the transport of slaves altogether. In addition to that, I think that the Northern Arabs ought to be prevented coming down at all; they do a great deal of mischief; they are not legal traders, and there is no doubt they are breaking the treaty.

147. Probably the delay that has taken place in carrying out the recommendations of the Report of that Committee, may have induced this revival of the trade of which we hear?—It may have had something to do with it; it is also to be borne in mind that there was cholera on the coast last year, and the operations of the slave trade squadron were suspended for some time; and also, there having been a diminution in the number of slaves supplied, probably there was a greater demand for them this year.

148. The action of the squadron, though not perfect, has, I suppose, been of immense service in checking the trade?—No doubt, but still our attempts to suppress the slave trade cause great loss of life, because whenever a cruiser is seen they run the vessel on shore, caring nothing what becomes of the slaves. I should like to see the action of the squadron supplemented by the other means of suppression to which I have referred.

149. Chairman.] You agree probably with what was stated the other evening, that one consular agent is worth a vessel?—No doubt.

150. Mr. Kinnaird.] This Report has been in the hands of Members of Parliament for some months?—Yes.

151. And it has been in the hands of the Government since January 1870?—Yes.

152. Do you attribute the delay which has arisen in carrying out the recommendations of the Report to the want of the means of carrying it out?—The provisions of the proposed treaty have not yet been accepted, but probably if the Government were determined to push their policy on that coast, they would go to work in a more energetic manner than they have done hitherto. It was of no use proposing to carry out one-half of a measure, if the other half was not to be carried out.

153. The sooner you can get this question brought to an issue the better?—Yes, if this Session, so much the better; you will not do it without expense; you must expect to spend money.

154. But with regard to expense, you think that a fair and legitimate trade would spring up, which would soon compensate any expense that would be temporarily incurred in putting down the slave trade?—I think so. You will have better information upon that point from local men, but that is the opinion I should form from the information that we receive.

155. Is Persia in any way mixed up in this question?—Yes; and as I have already stated, we have a treaty with Persia.

156. Does Persia carry out the treaty fairly?—I have no doubt they bring in slaves landed in the Persian Gulf; they import slaves by land; they have refused to bind themselves not to transport slaves by land.

157. You think the argument that the Sultan would most understand, as an inducement to put down the slave traffic, would be a pecuniary consideration?—I think it would have a very great effect; naturally, a man does not like to lose 120,000*l.* of his revenue, and moreover an Arab

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does not look upon slavery in the light that we do.

158. You do not think there is any insuperable obstacle in putting down the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa?—Not if we were really in earnest; of course it is difficult, but by no means insuperable.

159. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Have you any information as to the manner in which the slaves are treated after they are sold by the Arabs?—I fancy it depends on whose hands they fall into; in many cases they fall into good hands; generally, in Mahomedan countries, the masters treat their slaves kindly; all the cruelty is in bringing them from the interior.

160. Lord *F. Cavendish*.] If the treaty you recommended was pressed on the Sultan of Zanzibar, do you imagine that he would be likely to accept it?—Yes, if properly and justly pressed upon him; you would have to take into consideration the serious loss of revenue which the abolition of the trade would cause to him; in fact, it would require money.

161. He would not consent to put an end to the slave trade within a fixed date without the payment of a sum of money down?—He would not consent to give up his right to transport slaves within the prescribed limits without the payment of compensation.

162. You stated that there is a great loss of life when the slave vessels run ashore, in order to escape our cruisers; do you imagine that there are many such cases every year?—I should think, taking the whole slave season through, there is considerable loss of life.

163. Are many more ships run ashore than captured?—That I cannot tell you.

164. Are the great bulk of these slaves men or women?—Men, I believe, but you will get valuable information upon those points from Mr. Rothery.

165. Have there been any recent negotiations with Persia and Turkey on the subject of the

slave trade?—When we wrote this Despatch to Mr. Churchill on the 16th of June last, desiring him to press this treaty upon the Sultan, we at the same time wrote to Persia and to Turkey, begging them to act up to their engagements with us. We have not proposed any new treaty with them.

166. Have you had any answer from Persia and Turkey to those communications?—Yes; we have had a very satisfactory answer from Persia.

167. What has been the answer from Turkey?—Turkey is always ready to do what we ask her when we show her the particular point. If we point out a particular case, she is always ready to take means to punish the offender in the particular case; but generally, in Turkey, no doubt they wink at the introduction of slaves.

168. The Imaum of Muscat would have a greater power of putting down this trade than anybody else, I presume?—Yes.

169. Has he any pecuniary interest in the trade?—Yes; I believe there is a tax levied in Muscat on the import of slaves, just as there is a tax in Zanzibar on the export of slaves.

170. Would not negotiations with the Imaum of Muscat seem to promise at least as good a chance of success as negotiations with the Sultan of Zanzibar?—We have the strongest treaty in the world with him, but it is so much waste paper. The treaty of 1845 is with the Imaum of Muscat, because in those days Muscat and Zanzibar were one.

171. In spite of his evading the treaty, we compel the Sultan of Zanzibar to continue to pay over 8,000*l.* a year to the Imaum of Muscat?—Yes.

172. *Chairman*.] Have you heard that a number of slaves, and not an insignificant number, find their way from Zanzibar to Cuba?—I have heard it, but I do not think there is any foundation for such a statement.

Thursday, 13th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Sir Robert Anstruther.
Lord Frederick Cavendish.
Mr. Cruin-Ewing.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Gilpin.
Sir John Hay.

Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. John Talbot.
Sir Frederick Williams.

CHARLES GILPIN, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The Hon. CRESPIGNY VIVIAN, called in; and further Examined.

173. *Chairman.*] You wish to make some additions to your former evidence?—In describing the slave trade that is carried on on the African coast, I said nothing about the slave trade with Madagascar. There is a constant slave trade with that island from the southern ports of Zanzibar, and though it goes on in dribblets it is still permanent. That slave trade is also forbidden by our treaty with Madagascar of the 27th of June 1865, which is to the following effect: "Her Britannic Majesty and her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, being greatly desirous of effecting the total abolition of the trade in slaves, her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages to do all in her power to prevent all such traffic on the part of her subjects, and to prohibit all persons residing within her dominions or subject to her from countenancing or taking any share in such trade. No persons from beyond sea shall be landed, purchased or sold as slaves, in any part of Madagascar; and her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar consents that British cruisers shall have the right of searching any Malagash or Arab vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, whether under sail or at anchor in the waters of Madagascar. Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar further consents that if any such vessels shall prove to be engaged in the slave trade, such vessels and their crews shall be dealt with by the cruisers of Her Britannic Majesty as if such persons and their vessels had been engaged in a piratical undertaking." So that there is a complete paper blockade of the whole of the slave trade on the East coast of Africa, and if the treaties were properly observed, the seas of Africa would be just as free from the foreign slave trade as the seas of England.

174. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] What do you consider to be the waters of Madagascar; how far do they extend beyond the island?—To a limit of three miles, I should suppose.

175. Have we made any remonstrance to the Madagascar Government?—Constantly.

176. What answer have you received?—They have always said that they mean to act up to their treaty, and lately they handed over to a naval officer a large cargo of slaves, which they had seized themselves.

177. You believe that there is every wish, on their part, to observe the treaty?—Yes; on the 0.116.

part of the Hova Government, but it is so close to Kilwa and the southern ports, that the trade is easily carried on. I think, if you sealed up Kilwa and the southern ports of Zanzibar, you would probably at once put a stop to that slave trade.

178. By blocking those ports?—Yes.

179. *Chairman.*] What does Madagascar want with slaves?—For labour, the same as at Zanzibar.

180. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] Is not slavery abolished in Madagascar?—No, it is legal there.

181. The imported slaves are not covered by the treaty?—It is the foreign slave trade that the Queen of Madagascar is compelled to suppress. With respect to slavery in Madagascar, a strong memorial was drawn up by the Anti-Slavery Society, urging its abolition, which memorial was forwarded, through the Foreign Office, to the Government of Madagascar, and the Prime Minister wrote to the society to say he was sure that it was their ignorance made them propose such a thing, because it would inevitably bring about a revolution in the country.

I was also asked on Monday whether the officers on the coast acted under special instructions. I said they did; and I now put in the instructions under which they are acting. Those special instructions were issued in November 1869, in consequence of the "serious irregularities and mistakes committed by officers commanding Her Majesty's ships employed in the suppression of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa." (*The same were handed in, vide Appendix.*)

182. Is there any other addition which you wish to make to your former evidence?—I said on Monday, that chiefly owing to the circumstance of the duties under the French flag being lighter than those levied upon British vessels a great many dhows had adopted the French flag. I think this fact may be attributed also, in a great measure, to the immunity from seizure which the French flag gave them; that is to say, that dhows carrying on an honest traffic, would adopt the French flag, in order not to run the chance of seizure by the English cruisers. Then I wish to correct my evidence, as to the non-existence of an American Consulate at Zanzibar; there is one, but I have never heard that the Americans

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Americans have taken any active part in the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa.

183-4. Do you know whether the consul is an American born subject?—I cannot tell you that; Mr. Churchill will probably be able to tell you. Then, I want to refer to a very important point, about which, I think, you can get better evidence from Mr. Churchill. I said on Monday that I thought one of the chief levers to be made use of was the payment of a money compensation to the Sultan to induce him to give up his right to transport slaves by sea. Dr. Kirk, in a letter, dated December 24, 1870, (in the papers laid before Parliament in the early part of this year) advises us that there is another way of bringing pressure to bear upon the Sultan. He says "I think that we stand in a better position to bring his Highness to reason on the more weighty matter that will be pressed upon him, the suppression of the slave trade, on which I have as yet no reason to think that his Highness has altered his views. In re-opening the friendly relations between the Arab Government and British agency, I have allowed all advances to come from his side, and avoided compromising the advantage we hold in pressing important concessions upon a prince who has once, in insulting terms, declined to discuss questions submitted to, and entered into, by his predecessor; and who will be entirely in our hands the moment we choose to press the matter. My former intimate acquaintance with Seyed Burgash gives me little hope that he will give in without pressure, but this is easily applied through the commercial treaty, one half of the provisions of which have never been enforced. Should a favourable occasion offer I shall sound his Highness on the slave question; and the way has been prepared for further action by publishing in Arabic and Gujeratee an abstract of our treaty rights, which I had before submitted to Seyed Majid, at the time he hesitated to reduce the coast tax, then unequally levied on our subjects and the French. This abstract has been accepted by his Highness Seyed Burgash, as a fair embodiment of our treaty rights; but so ignorant is he of the financial arrangements of his government, that he does not see that there are clauses which, when enforced, will deprive him of two-thirds of his revenue." That means to say, if we insist upon the stipulations, which we have a right to insist upon, in this commercial treaty of 1839, we can deprive him of a great part of his revenue. That appears to me an important point to consider.

185. He considers himself bound by that Treaty of 1839?—Yes; abstracts of it have been printed in Arabic and Gujeratee, which he has accepted as correct versions. Then I wish to read to the Committee two or three extracts from important despatches received since I last gave my evidence, which may be of use to the Committee. The first is dated from Zanzibar, the 20th of March this year. Dr. Kirk says, "The whole subject (this is about the disposition of liberated slaves), of the disposal of slaves on shore here, is one requiring much consideration and careful organisation before being practised to any extent. In the absence of some official thoroughly conversant with both the Zanzibar people and the tribes of the mainland, I consider that it would be most dangerous to allow so helpless beings, as a cargo of freed slaves, to go into the hands of any proprietor here. Properly

directed, I believe, that a greater influence can be obtained for the abolition of slavery through those freed slaves than in any other way; and nothing can be more disgraceful than the present mode of dealing with them at Aden and Bombay. I am certain however that it will be found expedient, if not necessary, so long as Zanzibar remains a free Arab government, for us to have a free settlement somewhere on the coast, possibly not an English possession, but certainly under our administration. On such a station only could a mass of freed slaves be properly and advantageously dealt with for the first five years of their freedom, and a settlement of this nature on the coast, would be a break in the land route that will at once be opened when the sea transport is prohibited and blockaded." Next, as to the position of the slave trade, Dr. Kirk writes on the 4th of April this year, "It is notorious how active are the preparations for the slave trade this season, and how utterly powerless the Sultan is to prevent the system of kidnapping, and secret slave dealing, that is, carried on by and for the northern Arabs. No one more readily acknowledges this than his Highness, who has of late seized in town 50 kidnapped slaves from the houses occupied by these Muscat people, but he knows that his officers are all open to bribes, and that although he can in a measure throw difficulties in the way of their leaving the harbour, he has no power to stop the transport of slaves in small lots, to other places on the coast at which the slave dhows call. Unfortunately no suspicion attaches to native vessels leaving the harbour in ballast, as so many cargoes of wooden rafters and corn are collected for Arabia from creeks and harbours along the coast, but the absence of the usual bounties so foolishly given to the Arabs of Oman, by the late Seyed Majid, will prove some discouragement to their return next year." Then Dr. Kirk writes on the 14th of April, "Seyed Burgash said, that from the English he had no fear, so long as he adhered to the word of the old treaties; these he said had been granted and could not be revoked, but that he well knew the English could not, and would not, force him beyond the text of what they had already got. He added that he fully expected they would write, talk, and threaten, possibly even send ships; but he was perfectly at his ease, knowing that they would not use force, unless he gave them the excuse by departing from what had been signed. Anticipating, through the English, trouble from Muscat, he said he had made a compact with Toorkee, and that both of them understood each other and the English also, that the one would not be made the means of ruining the other. Seemingly in connection with the last subject, his Highness sent me the original of a letter he had received from Seyed Toorkee, and I am aware that he had sent to Muscat 20,000 dollars a few days ago. I have also been informed that the subject of the renewal of the Muscat subsidy was discussed in Durbar, on receipt of letters from the agent of Jairam in Bombay, informing Ludda Damji that Toorkee has, or will receive permission from Bombay to claim the subsidy with two years arrears, and if not paid, enforce it in his own way. But I think for the payment of the subsidy Seyed Burgash is prepared. In all my former reports I have given Seyed Burgash the credit that is his due, for having cleared out a mass of iniquity and corruption in the course of law

law and justice, that disgraced the latter part of Seyed Mujid's reign; and to this agency he has been ever since I assumed the duties, most respectful; but I have invariably stated distinctly that I had no reason whatever to think that on the subject of the slave trade, he had in any way changed, or was prepared to grant what was asked through Mr. Churchill, although he had since then strictly fulfilled the letter of former contracts. Now it seems plain that he will not listen to any proposals, and to make such to him, without being ready at once with the means of enforcing them, would be injudicious. Remonstrance and intimidation are alike useless; to gain our object we must be prepared to act, and either to cripple his income or take the place from his hands. Whatever we do, ought, I think, to be done without previous notice, as Seyed-Burgash, if I read him aright, is a man, once danger is plain to him, to save himself from us by any means, although these might compromise his independence. One thing is perfectly obvious to all who have had an opportunity of judging, namely, that as yet our endeavours have been thrown away, and that the slave trade will flourish as before so long as the old treaties alone are in force."

186. Lastly, I wish to read a report from Admiral Cockburn, which is dated from Zanzibar, the 31st of May, 1871: "I take an early opportunity after my arrival here, to write about the slave trade; I am sorry to be obliged to give a bad report. It is without doubt a fact, that the trade is as busy and profitable as ever it was; in spite of all our exertions, every new plan adopted by us is quickly met by a cunning device of the Arabs encouraged by the Sultan; if not actively, certainly negatively. It is painful to any naval officer to be obliged to acknowledge this. Under existing treaties, and the recent instructions respecting domestic slaves, the Sultan having the power to give passports to any number of vessels laden with poor living creatures to be transported to different parts of his dominions, it is rendered almost impossible for a cruiser to take a dhow anywhere south of Lamoo, and during the S. W. Monsoon it is very difficult to keep cruisers suffi-

ciently near the coast to intercept them running with a fresh breeze. I assure their lordships it is a matter of sneer and jeer by the Arabs, our impotent efforts to stop that horrible abomination; yes, my lords, even the Sultan says the English will talk and bully, but can't or won't stop the trade. It is positively evident that a new system must be adopted. I propose that the money we annually expend in this course be employed in a more profitable and useful manner; I suggest that a stationary ship to act as a depôt and guardship, with a steam launch, be sent here under a captain who has had some experience in this duty; that a certain sum per annum be paid to the Sultan, on condition that he gives up the slave trade, importing only a few to fill up vacancies in his dominions. Your Lordships are aware that the Sultan receives about 10,000 £ per annum, by a tax upon the entry as well as the exit of slaves. The sum given to the Sultan would be recovered by the saving in bounties for captured negroes; and the stationary guardship would be cheaper than a cruiser; a large frigate without steam would be the best vessel, jury-rigged, and kept like a man of war, with a commander's complement of officers and men. This ship would be a military support to the Sultan, if he agreed to our own terms. I would add the advantage of a stationary officer at this port is greatly increased by the known fact that the East India Government do not encourage their agent in his efforts for the destruction of the inhuman traffic, which of course hampers him, if it does not damp his zeal. I visited the slave market here yesterday, and a more painful and disgusting sight I never saw. Hundreds of poor negroes of both sexes, ranged about in all sorts of conditions, some living skeletons, others fat and well dressed, pulled about with a crook stick and examined just like sheep or other animals in a market. I will take another opportunity to give further information, but I would not delay the request for the stationary depôt and guardship." That nearly endorses the proposal of the Foreign Office Committee.

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Sir JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, called in; and Examined.

187. Mr. Kinnaird.] WHAT office do you hold?—I am Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

188. How long have you held that office?—I have held it ever since the Secretary of State for India's office has been established in 1858, and previously to that time I held a similar appointment in the East India Company; altogether I have held the office for 15 years.

189. Has the India Office correspondence relating to the affairs of Zanzibar passed through your hands?—Entirely; in a ministerial position of course, under the Secretary of State.

190. Will you state in what manner British relations with the Sultan of Zanzibar are conducted?—They are conducted through an officer who is conjointly agent and consul; during the time of the East India Company he was the East India Company's agent, and he was also the consul appointed by the British Government; since the management of Indian affairs has passed under the hands of the Secretary of State for India in Council, he has been British agent

and consul; as agent appointed by the Government of Bombay, and as consul appointed by Her Majesty's Government; formerly, of course, the consular commissions were issued by the Foreign Office, but since the establishment of the office of Secretary of State for India, it was, after correspondence between Lord Stanley and Lord Malmesbury, agreed that the consular commission should be issued by the India Office, so that both as agent and consul he is under the India Office.

191. By whom is he, in fact, appointed?—He is absolutely and practically appointed as agent, by the Government of Bombay, and then, *ex officio*, he becomes consul on the part of the British Government.

192. He holds in fact the two diplomas, one from the Home Government and the other from the Bombay Government?—Yes, as political agent from the Indian Government, having his consular commission from the Queen; the only difference between the state of things formerly and since the establishment of the Secretary of State's office is this, that the Secretary of State

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for India signs the consular commission instead of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

193. He has always been an officer of the Indian Government?—He has always been, till Mr. Churchill was appointed. Mr. Churchill previously to his appointment had not been in the Indian service. In 1867, Colonel Playfair, an officer of the Indian Artillery, was British agent and consul at Zanzibar, and, finding that the climate did not agree with him (Mr. Churchill will probably tell you presently how it happened), he and Mr. Churchill managed to change appointments, Mr. Churchill being then consul-general in Algeria. Colonel Playfair accordingly went to Algeria to be consul-general there, and Mr. Churchill was appointed to be agent and consul at Zanzibar. I believe it was approved by the Bombay Government; but Mr. Churchill was the first officer representing British interests at Zanzibar who was not an officer of the Indian Government; he became, by being so appointed, an officer of the uncovenanted service of the Indian Government; but he was not an Indian officer, trained up in the school of Indian diplomacy.

194. That was done independently of the authority of the Indian Government here?—Yes, we knew nothing about it here, but it must have been approved by the Bombay Government or it could not have taken place. I should state that the agent and consul at Zanzibar receives his instructions partly from the Foreign Office and partly from the Governments of India or Bombay.

195. Has any inconvenience arisen from the duplex action of the Foreign Office and the India Office?—A good deal, I think, at different times; but in order to avoid discordant instructions to the political agent and consul proceeding from two different authorities at the same time, we came to the arrangement that on all matters connected with the slave trade the entire instructions should come from the Foreign Office, and that the India Office should superintend the political and general business of the agency. It was contended, too, at the India Office, that as a very great proportion, indeed the larger proportion, of the business of the agent and consul at Zanzibar was the business of the slave trade, we considered it was extremely unjust to the India Government that the whole of the expenses of the Zanzibar agency should be defrayed, as they now are, by the Indian Government. Indeed, in Sir Charles Wood's time, it was said, that, considering that almost the entire business was business connected with the slave trade, he thought it might be advisable that the Foreign Office should take over the whole management of it, and pay the whole expense. This was demurred to, and, I believe, after some correspondence, the Foreign Office offered to pay 200 l. a year towards the expenses of it, which was not accepted.

196. What is the total expense of the British establishment at Zanzibar, which is paid out of the Indian revenues?—I had the account made out when recently we were in correspondence with the Foreign Office on the subject; it was calculated that if we had carried out the idea of dividing it, the share of each department would have been 1,509 l. the gross amount being 3,019 l.

197. What are the treaty obligations, politically, of the Sultan of Zanzibar to the British Government?—Independent of all the slave trade

relations, the principal obligations arise out of the arbitrament that was carried out in 1860 with regard to the division of the states of the old Imaum of Muscat, Syed Saeed, between two of his sons. Before his death he divided his kingdom or principality, or whatever it might be called, between two of his sons, leaving Muscat to his son named Syed Thowaynee, and leaving Zanzibar to his son named Syed Mejid; and the kingdom was accordingly divided between the two sons. It was afterwards arranged between them that, considering that the Zanzibar state yielded a larger amount of revenue than the other, it would be equalised by Zanzibar paying to Muscat the sum of 40,000 dollars annually. After a certain time, as generally happens amongst eastern people, the Zanzibar man did not pay the subsidy, and he was two years in arrear. Upon this, Syed Thowaynee appealed to our Government, and at the same time he prepared to fit out a maritime expedition to compel the Sultan of Zanzibar to pay this subsidy. His fleets were getting ready when the Government of India (who thought it would be extremely inconvenient that this expedition should take place, and so, perhaps, throw all the maritime chiefs along the Persian Gulf into confusion), recommended him to stop the expedition, and said that they would send a special commission to inquire into the circumstances. Accordingly the Government of Bombay (Sir George Clerk being Governor at the time), supported by Lord Canning, sent a special commission, at the head of which was brigadier-general, now Sir William Coghlan, which inquired into all the circumstances, and managed to conciliate the parties, and their conclusion was, that the Sultan of Zanzibar should pay the arrears of the subsidy, i.e. the 80,000 crowns that were due, and that he should go on paying the 40,000 crowns annually. The two chiefs agreed to this most cordially, and the award was guaranteed by Lord Canning, so that it became, in point of fact, a substantive engagement, though it does not take the form of a treaty. That, in a political point of view, is the most important matter in the relations between the Government of India and Zanzibar, and the present Government of India say, it is the only thing that binds us to Zanzibar at all.

198. Are the relations between the two states now on an amicable footing?—There has been a long history of revolution since that time. Syed Thowaynee, with whom the arrangement was made, and to whom the subsidy was paid, was killed by his own son, Syed Salim, who usurped the government; upon which Syed Mejid said, in effect, "it was all very well to pay this to my brother, but this man is a parricide and an usurper, and I demur to paying the money to him." Then that, of course, brought up a new embarrassment, and after a considerable amount of discussion on the subject, it was arranged that the amount of the subsidy should be paid into the Bombay Government, as the Sultan of Zanzibar thought he could not properly pay the money to a man who had killed his (Syed Mejid's) brother. He said he did not wish to shirk his obligations, but he would pay the 40,000 crowns a year to the Government, and they might do what they liked with it. I think he paid in two years' subsidy; but in the meantime another man rose up, called Syed Azan-abn Ghias, and he turned out Syed Salim; he was not one of the brothers, but he was a distant connexion of the family, and it

was

was then supposed, he not being one of the brothers, with whom this family compact was made, he was no longer entitled to receive the subsidy. Since that time, however, another brother, one of the genuine family of Syed Saeed, has come and driven Azan-ben Ghias away, so that the present state of affairs is, that we have one brother representing Muscat, and another brother representing Zanzibar, both of those being the sons of old Syed Saeed, who made this original division.

199-200. Do you consider that the award was of a perpetual character, and that it ought to be maintained, without reference to the individuality of the *de facto* ruler, as an arrangement, between state and state?—That is one of the most difficult questions which I ever had before me, and one regarding which Indian authorities are greatly divided. My own opinion is, that as long as any member of the original family of Syed Saeed is the sovereign at Muscat, he has a fair claim on the subsidy from Zanzibar, but a man of a different family, an usurper, would not have the same claim; but others entertain a different opinion; they think it is an agreement as between state and state, and that the *de facto* ruler of Muscat is entitled to that subsidy, whatever his antecedents. I do not go so far as that; but Sir William Coghlan, who arbitrated the question, and to whom I wrote some time ago, when the matter of the subsidy was under discussion, said that in making that award, that was his view of it.

201. Do you consider if the Sultan of Zanzibar were relieved from the payment of the subsidy he would be more willing to put an end to the traffic in slaves?—I have not the slightest doubt that he would. He has several times hinted that he would do so. As to the action of the British Government; if any suggestion of that character was made, it was at a time when a man, who might be considered altogether an outside usurper, was in possession of Muscat; but the position of affairs is very much altered by a member of the reigning family being restored to power. The Slave Trade Committee, of which I was a member, which sat at the Foreign Office some time ago, recommended that the remission of the subsidy should be considered; but that was at a time when the family of Syed Saeed were entirely expelled from Muscat; so that the question of subsidy was then a more open question than it is now. The Government of India, however, have an extremely strong feeling on the propriety of maintaining, in every case, the payment of the subsidy.

202. As a matter of right?—As a matter of right, and as a matter in which the good faith of the British Government in India is pledged; and I think we should be obliged to maintain it now that Syed Tourkee, who is one of the brothers, has come to the throne. It would have been comparatively easy if Azan-ben Ghias had continued to reign at Muscat, to have said, You are not a member of the family of Syed Saeed, and you are not entitled to the subsidy.

203. You think that the arrangement recommended by the Committee might then have been carried out?—At the time we made this recommendation this usurper was in power; it would not be so easy to carry it out now.

204. You think the circumstances are rather altered?—The circumstances are altered since this Slave Trade Report was sent in.

205. What is the annual amount of revenue

derived by the Sultan from this traffic in slaves?—In our Report it was stated to be about 20,000 £ a year. I think that must be rather in excess of the real amount, because the subsidy is only about 8,000 £.

206. Would the general financial condition of the State admit of a diminution of revenue to the extent of the amount derived from the slave trade, without causing serious embarrassment if the payment of the subsidy should still be enforced?—I should say it certainly would not; it would be a very large slice out of his revenue. I think if it was taken away from him it would cause such embarrassment that it would be extremely injurious to his people and to himself, and I do not think he could carry on his government if he lost revenue, unless it were made up to him from some other source.

207. The Indian Government are strongly in favour of the subsidy being continued?—Yes.

208. Does the Government of India attach much importance to its connection with Zanzibar?—There has been a good deal of conflict of opinion with regard to that. The present Government say that, except as having arbitrated with regard to the subsidy, there is no reason whatever why the Indian Government should have any connection with it. If the Home Government were to decide, as regards this question of subsidy, that Zanzibar should no longer pay the money to Muscat, the Government of India would recommend that we should entirely withdraw from all connection with Zanzibar, because they say, that except in supporting this award they have no interest in the country at all. This is the view of the present Government of India; but I wish to say, that Lord Lawrence's Government expressed a totally different opinion on the matter. The India Office have for years been in communication with the Government at Bombay and the Supreme Government of India respecting their views; and till the time of Lord Mayo, the answer invariably was, that it was of very great importance to keep up a connection between Zanzibar and India, because there was a very large trade between Zanzibar and India, and because our subjects went to Zanzibar.

209. What is your own opinion on the matter?—My own opinion is in favour of not severing the connection between the Indian Government and Zanzibar.

210. What is the extent of the trade between India and Zanzibar?—I have a statement here showing the progressive increase of imports at the Zanzibar Custom House; in 1861-62, they were 245,981 £; in 1862-63, 332,092 £; in 1863-64, 294,613 £; in 1866-67, 380,051 £; and in 1867-68; they were 433,693 £, of which about one-half is in the hands of Great Britain. That was taken from the last Zanzibar Administration Report for 1869-70.

211. Is it on account of this commercial connection, that the Indian Government has consented to burden its revenues with the expenses of the maintenance of an agency at Zanzibar?—I think almost entirely, with the exception as I mentioned before, that it has been obliged to maintain its awards and guarantees. The principal argument urged in favour of our continuing our connection with Zanzibar is, that there is a great trade between India and Zanzibar, and therefore, that we should go to a certain expense in retaining an agency there; but I have always thought it would be a more equitable arrangement

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ment if we paid the lesser part of the expense, and the Imperial Government the greater.

212. There are some Indian subjects residing at Zanzibar?—Yes.

213. Do you believe if the slave trade was suppressed, a very large legitimate trade would spring up?—It has been shown that there is a great deal of trade now; whether if slavery were suppressed in Zanzibar we could introduce free labour, is another question; I should think we could in process of time, but my recommendation would be that we should attempt gradually to suppress the slave trade, because you cannot import free labour immediately, and it might embarrass the industrial resources of the country very greatly if you suppressed the slave trade suddenly without providing free labour.

214. Has the Indian Government ever proposed or recommended the establishment of more rapid communication by steam, between India and Zanzibar, as a means of suppressing the slave trade?—I do not know that they have, but I know that the Slave Trade Committee which sat at the Foreign Office recommended that the subject should be taken into consideration, as one of very considerable importance.

215. You have stated that you were a member of that Committee?—Yes.

216. As representing the India Office, were you willing that the expenses of the Zanzibar establishment, on the scale recommended by that Committee, should be borne in equal parts by the Indian and the Imperial Exchequers?—Yes, certainly, and the views I took were fully adopted by the Secretary of State for India in Council, and we wrote a letter to the Foreign Office, representing that those were our views, and hoping that that recommendation would be carried out.

217. Has that scheme been adopted by the Government?—The scheme was concurred in by the Foreign Office; both the Foreign Office and the India Office were of opinion that it would be a fair mode of settling the whole matter.

218-19. Can you tell the Committee the reason why it has not been adopted?—The reason it has not been adopted, has been because the Lords of the Treasury refused to pay a farthing towards it; I can produce the correspondence if necessary.

220. [Chairman.] Will you give the substance of the correspondence without putting the correspondence itself in?—The substance of the departmental correspondence is, that the Foreign Office asked the Treasury to pay and the Treasury refused. The result on the India Office is shown by this passage of a Despatch from the Duke of Argyll to Lord Mayo, dated 21st April 1871. "Your Excellency is aware the 'anomalous state of things' here adverted to was brought by Her Majesty's Government under the consideration of a Special Committee on the African Slave Trade, in which the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the India Office, and the Admiralty were represented, and of which Mr. Churchill, your agent at Zanzibar (then on sick leave), was a member. The Committee were of opinion, that as the duties of the agency and consulate at Zanzibar were of a twofold character, one part concerning the Indian, and the other the Imperial Government, it was expedient that the controlling authority should be divided between the Foreign Office and the India Office, and just that the cost of maintaining this twofold establishment should be equally divided between the

Imperial and the Indian Governments. This recommendation was supported by the Foreign Office and the India Office, but it is with much regret that I have to inform you that the proposal has been negatived by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, who refuse to burden the Imperial Exchequer with any part of the expenditure necessary for the support of the Zanzibar establishment. Against this decision, I have protested. I concur in opinion with your Excellency's Government, that the revenues of India should on no account be charged with any part of the expenditure entailed by the efforts made for the suppression of the East African slave trade; but I do not agree with you in considering that the interests of India are in no wise promoted by the residence at Zanzibar of an officer appointed and controlled by the Indian Government. There is a large and increasing trade between India and Zanzibar, and many subjects of Her Majesty and of neighbouring Indian states are located in that territory; apart from all political considerations, it appears to me indeed to be open to serious question whether an entire severance of the existing connection between your Government and the state of Zanzibar would not be highly injurious to large numbers of the people under your rule. If, therefore, it should be finally determined by the Lords of the Treasury that no contribution shall be made by the Imperial Exchequer towards the maintenance of the British establishment at Zanzibar, I should consider it my duty, in communication with your Excellency, to place the agency on an entirely new footing, so that no payment should thereafter be made from the Indian revenues on account of any proceedings connected with the suppression of the slave trade, or any other measures not having for their object the benefit of the people of India; but it will be obvious to your Excellency that at a time when the Financial Department of Her Majesty's Government refuse to entertain a proposal strongly recommended by other departments for an equitable division of the expenses of the Zanzibar establishment, I could not, if I thought it desirable, recommend that the Imperial Government should relieve India altogether of the charge of the Zanzibar agency and consulate; so that you see from this that the Secretary of State for India is very willing to share the expenses fairly and equitably with the Imperial Exchequer, but that the Imperial Exchequer declines to bear any part of the burden.

221. Mr. Kinnaird.} Has great inconvenience arisen from the refusal on the part of the Treasury to carry out that scheme so concurred in by the Foreign Office and the India Office?—Certainly, very great inconvenience must arise, because we have communicated to the Foreign Office that we consider that they will no longer be privileged to send any instructions to the Zanzibar agent; so that it must bring the whole thing to a deadlock.

222. So that this fearful traffic has latterly been increasingly carried on, owing to the action of one department of Her Majesty's Government?—Certainly; this would be the tendency; but I am not informed as to the fact.

223. You think that a matter deeply to be deplored?—I think it a matter greatly to be deplored.

224. The head of the department has authorised you to state that that is the view which he entertains?

entertains?—I think the head of my department has as sincere a desire as any man in the kingdom, to suppress the East African slave trade; but in the face of continued representations, which he is receiving from the government of India, he has considered that it would be a misappropriation of the Indian revenues to devote money towards that purpose. In their view it is not a question in which the people of India are in any way concerned, and therefore they have considered they could not conscientiously and honourably pass a vote towards that purpose; they consider it to be a matter entirely of Imperial interest. I may repeat that this is a very old question. It was brought up in Sir Charles Wood's time. The India Office in his time, continually represented to the Home Government, that the suppression of the slave trade was not a matter of Indian interest, and that the expenses of the Zanzibar agency should be paid by the Home Government. I have here a letter dated as far back as 1860, in which Sir Charles Wood says, "Every important communication from Zanzibar, related to matters especially in connection with the slave trade, more immediately within the cognisance and under the control of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, than of the Secretary of State for India." On the 26th of November, Sir Charles Wood again called the attention of Lord Russell to the subject, and on the 8th December 1860, the Foreign Office replied that they "concurred in the views of the Secretary of State for India, as to the propriety of the consulate at Zanzibar being replaced on the same footing as that in which it was placed in the time of Colonel Rigby's predecessor, who corresponded directly with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in all matters in which it was necessary that this office should be informed, and receive instructions on such matters from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;" and Sir Charles Wood sent out instructions accordingly. After that we again tried to make some impression upon the Imperial Exchequer, pointing out that we considered that as the Foreign Office agreed in opinion with us, that the matter was one of Imperial interest, and as they thought that instructions should go from the Foreign Office on all slave trade matters, they ought to pay part of the expense.

225. With regard to the recent refusal on the part of the Treasury, to allow part of the expenses to be borne by the Imperial Treasury, do you remember on what grounds they put that refusal?—I may state that the India Office has not had direct communication with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury upon the subject, but that our information has come through the Foreign Office; the reason that the Treasury gives is, that the policy suggested does not warrant any addition to the Imperial expenditure; the policy suggested being the putting a stop to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, and therefore the views of the Treasury, I suppose, are that the game is not worth the candle.

226. You understand by that, that the Treasury is perfectly aware that a small expenditure would be sufficient, but that it declines in any way to contribute anything towards the expenses of the agency at Zanzibar?—Yes; the Slave Trade Committee appointed to sit at the Foreign Office, composed of members of the different offices selected by their several chiefs of departments, sent in a Report, which had been most elaborately

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and exhaustively considered by those gentlemen. This Report was laid before the Treasury and before Parliament; but the Treasury after reading the recommendations of that Committee, supported by the Foreign Office and the India Office, did not think that there was anything recommended by that Committee of sufficient importance to warrant their paying 1,500 *l.* a year towards it.

227. Fifteen hundred pounds was all that was required?—Fifteen hundred pounds by the Imperial Exchequer, against 1,500 *l.* to be paid by the Indian Exchequer for the expenses of the Zanzibar agency and consulate.

228. What is the date of the despatch to which you just referred, containing the refusal of the Treasury?—The 2nd of June 1871; the Foreign Office felt so strongly upon the subject that they referred the matter back again to the Treasury, forwarding further letters from us on the subject; but still the Imperial Exchequer, would not pay anything for the suppression of the slave trade; and this letter of the 2nd June 1871, to which I am referring, is the final answer of the Treasury.

229. What was the date of the Report of that Slave Trade Committee?—January 24th, 1870; so that nearly 18 months elapsed before the final decision of the Treasury.

230. Had that small amount been granted, would the arrangement have been carried out immediately?—It would as soon as we could have sent out instructions; we should have had to appoint one or two more vice-consuls; it was agreed to increase the establishment for the purpose of taking more effectual steps for the suppression of the slave trade. We made out what would be the cost of those new appointments, and we added that to the cost of the old appointments, and we found that the whole cost would be about 3,018 *l.*, and therefore, the share of each Government would be 1,519 *l.*

231. Both Dr. Kirk and the Admiral on the station, state that the slave traffic is now being carried on with increased vigour; that, I suppose, is owing to that loss of time of 18 months?—I have no doubt it is in a very great measure owing to the suspension of all active measures on our part. I was asked yesterday, by the Duke of Argyll, with reference to a letter from Admiral Cockburn, which Mr. Vivian has just read, to state whether the Indian Government had either thrown impediments in the way, or had discouraged the proceedings for the suppression of the slave trade, and I said I should not be at all surprised if that were the case; at all events, the whole thing is in abeyance owing to nothing having been decided. But I daresay that the increase of the slave-trade has not been occasioned solely by that, but that it has been partly occasioned by the accession of Syed Burgash. Syed Mejid was favourable to the suppression of the slave trade so long as he got a *quid pro quo*, but on his death, his brother, Syed Burgash, became the ruler of Zanzibar, and he is a man of different temper and character, and not so inclined to further the views of the British Government; but upon that subject Mr. Churchill will be able to give better information than I can.

232. You think we have lost, by this delay, a very favourable opportunity of coming to a treaty arrangement by which the slave trade might have been stopped?—I must give a qualified answer

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to that; I think we should have been able to carry out such an arrangement if Syed Mejid had lived, but owing to the death of Syed Mejid and the change in the government, I cannot answer so positively upon the subject.

233. *Chairman.*] Without reference to the last despatch, which has been the subject of discussion, have you any doubt as to the *bonâ fide* disposition of the Government of Bombay to put an end to the slave trade as far as in them lies?—The Government of Bombay in all these matters is very much under the direction of the Viceroy in Council; it is the Government of India, and not the Government of Bombay, that finally controls these proceedings, and it is from the Government of India that we generally receive our advices. The Bombay Government report to the Government of India, and the Government of India then send their views home to us.

234. With respect to the liberated slaves, a large proportion of them go to Bombay, do they not?—A large number of them go to Bombay; they are detained at Aden, and they are sent thence to Bombay; I came upon a letter the other day, in which I found that in the course of five years charges have been paid by the Indian Government, and eventually paid by the Treasury to the amount of 15,000 *l.* odd, nearly 16,000 *l.* for five years, for the maintenance and support of those slaves; so that they absolutely pay upwards of 3,000 *l.* a year for maintaining these captured slaves, besides, perhaps other expenses upon the same account which I do not know. But as far as I understand financial matters, it seems to be a system of “penny wise and pound foolish”; the Imperial Exchequer seems to be spending a great deal more money than it need spend, because it will not look the matter fairly in the face.

235. Sir J. Hay.] Is that 3,000 *l.* a year the charge for the maintenance of the dépôt at Aden, or is it the whole charge for maintenance at Bombay and Aden?—It includes maintenance at Bombay.

236. Mr. Kennaway.] That is paid out of the Imperial Exchequer?—The Indian Government pay the money, and then we recover it from the Imperial Exchequer.

237. *Chairman.*] What becomes of those liberated slaves after they reach Bombay?—I am not able to say what becomes of them. The details of the slave trade are under the cognizance of the Foreign Office; they only come incidentally before me.

238. What is your opinion as to the prospect of increased trade arising between Zanzibar and Bombay?—I think, to a certain extent, that has been answered by the figures to which I referred showing the continued increase of imports at Zanzibar. I think, from the progressive increase shown in the last five or six years, the prospects are exceedingly good, and that there will be a still greater trade. A sudden stoppage of the importation of slaves into the island of Zanzibar would seriously affect the industrial position of the country, and therefore it would be very disadvantageous to disturb it suddenly, unless we were prepared at the same time with a scheme of free immigration.

239. Lord Enfield.] There has been a great saving annually on the Slave Trade Vote by the abolition of mixed commission courts, has there not?—Yes.

240. That has been so much gain to the Exchequer?—Yes, that is one of the points we considered in our Report. Mr. Rothery will give you the details, if he is examined.

241. In the summary of your suggestions these words occur: “Our views are to urge upon the Sultan the ultimate abolition of the legal slave traffic, and of the export of slaves from the mainland;” can you fix any date by which, supposing those suggestions to be carried out, and supposing there to be no financial difficulties in the way, we could look forward to the ultimate abolition of the traffic in slaves?—I think that was a point considered by the Slave Trade Committee; I am not competent to give an opinion from my own knowledge; but it would not be desirable to stop the trade immediately, because it might throw the affairs of Zanzibar into some embarrassment.

242. *Chairman.*] Summing up your evidence, it is practically a question of 1,500 *l.* a year?—Yes, in its immediate aspects.

243. If the Treasury were to advance 1,500 *l.* a year, in all probability we should live to see the ultimate abolition of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa?—I think we should; but at the same time the Committee must thoroughly understand that this 1,500 *l.* a year is only the amount to be paid to the agency, that is to say, the European officers and their staff; but the question is, whether we can stop the east coast of Africa slave trade without paying, for a certain number of years, a sum of money to the Sultan of Zanzibar. We cannot expect him to forego a part of his revenue without giving him something in return for it. His continuing the slave trade is based solely on the ground that he cannot maintain his government without the amount of revenue which he receives from the duty on slaves, just as we uphold in India what we all know to be wrong, viz., the opium monopoly and the salt monopoly, and other things; our only argument is, that we cannot carry on the Government without them; the Sultan of Zanzibar says he cannot carry on his Government without this tax upon slaves, and I think it is a great question whether the sum he receives from it, or a portion of the sum he receives from it, should not be paid in some way or other to him by the Government.

244. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] Would you pay him all the tax he derives from the slaves, or the sum he pays to the Imaum of Muscat?—It is stated in the Report that he receives 20,000 *l.* as the tax upon slaves, whereas the sum which he pays the Imaum of Muscat is 8,000 *l.*; but I think we must lay it down as a certainty that we must give him some bonus or compensation. It would be a matter for consideration what that should be.

245. *Chairman.*] For carrying out his treaty, in point of fact?—Yes; it was most strongly recommended a number of years ago by Sir George Clerk, when Governor of Bombay. He says, “The British Government must be prepared to support the Sultan by its ships and by its money. The strengthening of the Cape fleet, and the frequent extension of its surveillance to Zanzibar and the adjacent African coast; the stationing of gun boats at Zanzibar, and the grant of compensation to the Sultan for the revenue he will sacrifice, are measures which it would be presumptuous in this Government to advocate. The honourable the Governor in Council cannot for a moment doubt that if the horrors described by an

an officer so cautious as Brigadier Coghlan were made known to the British nation, not a voice would be raised against so small an acknowledgment to Zanzibar as 8,500 *l.* per annum for the attainment of so noble an object as the extinction of the East Indian African Slave Trade."

246. Mr. *Crum-Ewing.*] That does not contemplate the payment of the full amount of 20,000 *l.*?—No; but that was 10 years ago, and probably the slave revenues have greatly increased since then.

247. *Chairman.*] We had it in evidence on Monday that all that the Sultan of Zanzibar had a right to, under his treaty, was the introduction of slaves for the service required in Zanzibar itself; and it was stated that for that purpose 1,700 slaves per annum was the outside quantity required; if that is the case he must derive a large revenue from an illegal slave trade, involving, as has been stated, the sacrifice of half a million lives in five years?—Yes; I would only recommend that he should be compensated for the surrender of the legal traffic.

248. Mr. *Kinnaird.*] Supposing that policy to be adopted, and the slave trade to be put down, you would save the amount that would be incurred in compensation by the withdrawal of the squadron?—Yes.

249. Putting it as an economical arrangement, it is by far the cheapest thing to pay him this compensation?—Yes, I have always thought so.

250. Mr. *Crum-Ewing.*] Do you think the Sultan of Zanzibar could put down the slave trade if he were willing to do so without the assistance of the squadron?—No, he could not.

251. Mr. *Fowler.*] Do you think that in three or four years he would be able to do without the squadron?—Yes, if the suppression of the slave trade were done gradually and not hastily, and if steps were taken at the same time to import free labourers into Zanzibar, the thing might be done in time without damage to commerce, or the internal industry of the country.

252. Sir *J. Hay.*] The expenditure of 1,500 *l.* which you have just alluded to is entirely independent of the expenditure on the squadron?—Yes, entirely; the recommendation of the Slave Trade Committee that sat at the Foreign Office, was, that as a beginning the establishment at Zanzibar should be increased, because we wanted to put some vice consuls or agents upon the main land, so as to superintend the emigration, and so on, and that the cost of this increased establishment should be fairly divided between the Indian Government and the Imperial Exchequer; it was supposed that what is now 2,000 *l.* a year, would be increased to about 3,000 *l.* a year, and the proposal was, that the two Governments should divide the latter amount fairly between them.

253. The difficulty which the squadron has to encounter, as I understand it is this, that the transfer of domestic slaves along the coast within the legal limits, covers the illegal transport of slaves to foreign countries?—That is the difficulty.

254. That being so, your proposition is, that a sum by way of bonus should be paid to the Sultan of Zanzibar, as a compensation for the abolition of the present legal traffic in domestic slaves, so that the legal traffic in slaves should henceforth be no cover for the illegal traffic?—Yes; I should recommend that a sum should be paid to him equivalent to what he gains in

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revenue on the slave traffic not prohibited by treaty.

255. Have you considered what that sum would be?—No; I am very imperfectly acquainted with the details of the slave trade itself, but I believe it is generally considered that the amount of the subsidy of 8,000 *l.* which he pays to the Imaum of Muscat, would about cover what he would lose; so that if he were freed from the payment of this 8,000 *l.* to the Imaum of Muscat, he would be in a position to abandon the revenue to which I have referred, so I consider in round numbers about 8,000 *l.* would be the right amount; that is about the sum recommended to be paid him by Sir George Clerk in 1860.

256. You think there is no reason to suppose that it would be required to be larger now?—No, I think not, because some agents of the Sultan of Zanzibar were in this country two or three years ago, and they hinted that if the Sultan was relieved from the payment of the subsidy, he would be able to carry out the wishes of the British Government.

257. Is any part of the expenditure which is required for the maintenance of the squadron employed in the suppression of the slave trade borne by the Indian revenue?—I know we pay a fixed sum towards the support of Her Majesty's ships in the Eastern seas, viz., 70,000 *l.* per annum.

258. That is not specially applicable to the slave squadron?—No, it is for the entire maritime defence of India.

259. Would the Indian Government be prepared to make a larger contribution than that 70,000 *l.*, with the view of increasing the squadron on the coast of Zanzibar, and thereby hastening the suppression of the slave trade?—I cannot answer that question. I do not think we would like to pay any more than the 70,000 *l.* we now pay, considering that in addition to that we have to pay for our own transports.

260. Mr. *Kennaway.*] Have any instructions been issued to the Government of India, with regard to the continuance or discontinuance of the subsidy?—The last instructions which went out to the Government of India, with regard to the subsidy, have not yet been acknowledged by the Government of India, but the matter stands at present in this position. It is fair to state that there is a great difference of opinion between the different authorities with respect to the maintenance of the subsidy. The Government of India are strongly of opinion that we should maintain the subsidy, and that it would be a great breach of faith to release the Sultan of Zanzibar from the payment of it, while the views generally of Her Majesty's Government are, I think, that the Sultan of Zanzibar should be released from the payment of the subsidy. Under these circumstances the India Office has suggested that an officer of high rank and experience should be sent out to inquire into the state of affairs, and to bring about some amicable arrangement between the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Sultan of Muscat, which should be a permanent arrangement.

261. Did I rightly understand you to say, that the Treasury having refused to bear any part of the expenses of the Zanzibar agency, the Indian Government were about to send instructions to the agent to discontinue his endeavours to suppress the slave trade?—We have written to the

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Foreign Office most distinctly to say that, as the Imperial Government will not have any concern with it of any kind, and as the Government of India protest very strongly against paying for anything connected with the slave trade, we think that the Foreign Office should cease to send instructions to our agent at Zanzibar at all, thus leaving it to the Imperial Government to appoint their own agent there if they like.

262. Have you sent him any instructions as your agent, to discontinue his endeavours to suppress the slave trade?—The Secretary of State for India certainly has sent him no such instructions, but it is possible that the Government of India may have done so. I suppose that state of things described in the letter which has just been read by Mr. Vivian, that the Government of India were rather encouraging than otherwise the trade in slaves, or at all events, not discouraging it, has arisen out of this very embroglio to which we have been referring.

263. Would the agent at Zanzibar be allowed to act as judge of the Vice Admiralty Court still?—That is a question I have not considered. I think that the Government of India would not allow anything to take place that would cause any embarrassment and confusion. I conceive, therefore, that he would still act as judge of the Vice Admiralty Court.

264. Is much of his time taken up in slave trade matters?—I should consider that a larger part of his time was taken up with slave trade matters than with anything connected with India, but upon that question Mr. Churchill is ready to give evidence.

265. Mr. J. Talbot.] Do you think that the Sultan of Zanzibar, with the view of getting released from this subsidy, is putting a pressure upon us by encouraging the slave trade?—I think it is very likely. Syed Mejid died whilst Mr. Churchill was in Zanzibar, after that gentleman had sat upon the Slave Trade Committee, and I have no doubt that Syed Burgash thinks it very likely that he will be relieved from the payment of the subsidy.

266. The more he encourages the slave trade, the more pressure he puts upon the Government to relieve him from the payment of the subsidy?—I think it is very probable.

267. With regard to the suggestions of the Slave Trade Committee, of which you say you have no doubt the Treasury had cognisance, have they been officially pressed upon the Treasury as a means by which the slave trade might be abolished?—The Foreign Office have pressed these considerations upon the Treasury, and the Slave Trade Report was laid before Parliament.

268. Did the Treasury, after it was pressed upon them that by a small expenditure they could abolish the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, take upon themselves the responsibility of refusing that small expenditure?—Undoubtedly they did; the refusal was made when they addressed the letter to the Foreign Office to which I have referred.

269. Lord F. Cavendish.] The main part of the slaves exported from Zanzibar go to Muscat, do they not?—Some do; I do not think the main proportion do.

270. Have we any treaty with the Imaum of Muscat for the suppression of the foreign slave trade?—Yes; the original treaties were made

with the Imaum of Muscat, when he was also ruler of Zanzibar.

271. If the non-fulfilment of the conditions of that treaty with the Imaum of Muscat is one of the chief causes of the encouragement of this trade, do you consider that we are bound to enforce the payment of the subsidy to the Imaum of Muscat, in the case of his non-fulfilment of such engagement?—I do not think that this arrangement which was made for the payment of the 40,000 crowns by the Sultan of Zanzibar to the Imaum of Muscat, had any bearing upon anything connected with the slave trade at all. The arrangement was come to on this consideration, that the revenues of Zanzibar were larger than the revenues of Muscat, and it was supposed that the payment was necessary to the ruler of Muscat, with reference to his engagements to others; in point of fact, Muscat was originally the substantive state, Zanzibar being only a sort of appendage it; and the question was, whether Muscat, being the more warlike state of the two, would not attack Zanzibar, and whether the Imaum of Muscat would not say, "In my father's time Muscat and Zanzibar were one kingdom, and I will make it one kingdom now." This arrangement was come to, to prevent any such disturbance, and it had no reference to the slave trade whatever. Of course any breach or violation of treaty on the part of Muscat towards the British Government, may be punished by us as we think fit, but it was not with reference to any revenues from slaves that the agreement as to the subsidy was made.

272. Do you consider it reasonable that he should expect the power of England to be used to enforce the payment of this sum to him, when he is putting us to an immense expense in the arrangements we are making for the suppression of the slave trade, in consequence of his not observing his treaty?—It is a question whether he is putting us to enormous expense. I do not suppose that our squadron is mainly employed on this service.

273. We were told by Mr. Vivian, that by far the largest proportion of the slaves from Zanzibar are taken to Muscat?—That, no doubt, was stated on much better information than I am able to give upon the subject. The details of the slave trade are superintended by the Foreign Office.

274. The recommendation of the Committee of which you were a member, with respect to the payment of our consular establishment at Zanzibar, was only a small part of the recommendations of that Committee?—We made several other recommendations.

275. Amongst other recommendations which you made, you suggested that a new treaty should be made with the Sultan of Zanzibar?—Yes.

276. Have you any reason to suppose that the Sultan of Zanzibar would accept such a treaty as you recommended?—I think he would, if we released him from the subsidy, or paid him an equivalent. My recommendation is, that if we do not feel ourselves to be in such a political position as to release him from the subsidy, we should pay the money ourselves.

277. Did I rightly understand you to say that the mere payment of 1,500 £ a year, by the Imperial Exchequer, would put an end to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa?—I have not stated that; I wish distinctly to be understood

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to say that the payment of 1,500 *l.*, relates solely to the agency. I do not see that we could put a stop to the slave trade there, without relieving the Sultan of Zanzibar from the payment of the subsidy, or giving him some equivalent.

278. Would the recommendations which your Committee made with respect to the squadron, entail increased cost upon this country?—That I am not in a position to state.

279. Have you seen some observations made by Sir Leopold Heath on the Report of the East Coast African Slave Trade Committee?—Yes.

280. Perhaps, you recollect these extracts, “I very much regret that the evidence upon which the Report is based, has not been published, because any opinion I may give, will be merely that of an individual, and would, perhaps, have been materially modified had I seen the recorded evidence of others. With this reservation I have to state, that I can in no way agree with the opinion expressed in paragraph 36, that with three cruisers and one steam-launch, the slave trade will be effectually checked during the greater part of the year! I have frequently recorded my opinion, that all that England has done for the last 25 years, on the east coast, has been of no practical use in the suppression of the slave trade; and now that there is an apparent intention on the part of Government to inaugurate a more vigorous policy, I must earnestly hope that the squadron will be largely increased. So long as the existing domestic habits in slave receiving countries remaining unchanged, so long will there be more or less of slave trade. Those habits can only be changed by completely stopping the supply of slaves for a very long period, probably for a whole generation, and any system which stops short of that will fail of complete success. The trade will be scotched, but not killed, and will revive whenever the pressure is taken off. I recommend, therefore, that at least 10 vessels, besides the flagship, should be appropriated to this source.” Do you concur in that opinion?—Not being a naval officer, I am not competent to give an opinion upon that.

281. He further says: “I wish to add, that notwithstanding my general agreement with many of the proposals of the Committee, and my belief, that if carried out, they will make slave trading more hazardous, and tend to reduce its amount. I am yet more and more convinced, that the only certain way of stopping the traffic is by purchasing the sovereignty of Zanzibar, and thus obtaining a central position from which to work upon the neighbouring coast, and ultimately, upon the interior of the country.” From those passages, it appears that, at any rate, Sir Leopold Heath is not of opinion that the mere payment of 1,500 *l.* a year would stop the slave trade?—I do not think anybody would say that the mere payment of 1,500 *l.* a year would put a

stop to the trade, but we must have a beginning, and this is the agency by which it is to be stopped. The expenses of the agency might have to be supplemented afterwards by other payments, but this is a beginning, and this is all which the Treasury hitherto has been called upon to pay. There may subsequently arise a question, because it is still an open question, about relieving the Sultan of Zanzibar from the payment of the subsidy, as a matter of breach of good faith, and if we cannot relieve him from the payment of the subsidy, it would have to be considered whether we can in any way produce a sum of money sufficient to compensate him in another way for the surrender of the revenue which he derives from his slave trade. The 1,500 *l.* is a beginning; of course there would be subsequent expenses, but as to what Sir Leopold Heath says as to purchasing Zanzibar, you might as well talk of purchasing Germany.

282. He speaks of the island of Zanzibar?—That is the head-quarters of Zanzibar; how could we do it? In the first place, the Sultan would not sell it. There has been subsequently another recommendation, that we should annex it, as the term goes. I believe the Bombay Government supported that view of the matter, but immediately it was known here the India Office telegraphed to India that it would not be entertained for a moment.

283. Possibly, even with a sincere desire on the part of the Treasury to put down the slave trade, the view might be held that it is not worth while to incur the expense of 1,500 *l.* unless the country is further prepared to go to the expense of maintaining 10 ships on the coast, besides other expenses?—What I say is, that it might be economical in the end, even if that increase of the squadron were required (to which I cannot speak), because to maintain 10 ships for three years is better than to maintain three ships for 20 years; it is only a matter of calculation; the probability is that it would be cheaper in the end. The Committee assumed that there might be a temporary increase of expenditure to be set off against permanent diminution.

284. *Chairman.*] Evidence was given the other day, and you have confirmed it so far as your knowledge goes, that a certain limited number of slaves is sufficient for the labour required in Zanzibar proper; it is only with reference to that limited number of slaves that the treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar permits any slave traffic; that number being given us as 1,700 only per year, there must be a large illegal traffic in slaves?—I do not know how the 1,700 is calculated; whether that is the absolute number of able-bodied labourers, or whether allowance is made for those too old to work, or for children. I am not responsible for these figures.

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Mr. HENRY ADRIAN CHURCHILL, C.B., called in; and Examined.

285. *Chairman.*] You have resided some considerable time at Zanzibar?—Two years and nine months altogether.

286. In what capacity?—As political agent and consul.

287. Without going into all the particulars which have been stated already, as to the amount of the slave trade and so forth, I will ask you whether you are acquainted with the statements 0.116.

of Dr. Livingstone with regard to the slave trade?—Yes; I have read his book, and I do not think them exaggerated at all from what I have heard from Dr. Kirk, who accompanied Dr. Livingstone. In conversations with the former, I have gleaned that the road between Nyassa and the coast is strewn with the bones of slaves that have been killed or abandoned on the road, and the villages which, on their first visit were flourishing

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flourishing, were on their second visit quite abandoned and destroyed; in fact, the whole place had been reduced to a state of desolation.

288. You would not think the statement exaggerated, perhaps, that for every slave brought to Zanzibar there is a loss of four or five additional lives?—No, I think it is not exaggerated; they are better taken care of, of course, after they reach Zanzibar; there, they become comparatively happy. I do not even think they would return to their own country if they had the offer to do so; but the land journey is very trying, and in the course of it they are subjected to great cruelty, as is also the case when they are carried by sea, particularly when they fall into the hands of the northern Arabs.

289. Your special duties at Zanzibar, I presume, are, first, the general political relations, and, secondly, the protection of such British subjects as there are in Zanzibar?—Yes; British subjects, and British protected subjects.

290. How many British subjects and British protected subjects are there?—You may take them at about 4,000 altogether; 3,710 British protected subjects and British Indians; mostly British protected subjects from Kutch.

291. You have, I presume, to preside at the courts?—There are many lawsuits amongst those peoples, and the political agent has the decision of them when the plaintiff is an Arab or a subject of our own, and the defendant a British protected subject; the number of lawsuits decided in the first year that I was there was something like 90 or 100, later it came down a little. Dr. Kirk reported that in 1869 there were 67 lawsuits, and that the amount adjudicated for was about 11,000 £. or 12,000 £.

292. Have you any criminal jurisdiction?—Yes, as in all eastern countries. We can sentence a man to twelve months' imprisonment, and to a fine of 1,000 dollars, but not beyond that. If the offence was one requiring a greater punishment the criminal would have to go to Bombay.

293. What do your consular duties involve?—The ordinary consular duties; shipping, naval courts, the protection of seamen, and everything connected with shipping; the protection of British subjects, the issue of passports, notarial deeds, and so on; and beyond that there is the slave trade, which is quite peculiar to the Zanzibar consulate; that occasions an enormous amount of work; in fact, the greater part of the work connected with Zanzibar is the slave trade. The establishment of the Vice-Admiralty Court has involved a great deal of work.

294. You preside there?—Yes. During the first year it was established, about 30 dhows were condemned, and I think about the same number are condemned every year. That involves a great deal of work, particularly as the staff of the consulate is very limited. The staff of the consulate is so small, that I was obliged to apply for the services of Dr. Kirk, who was the medical attendant of the agency; his duties were simply to attend to the health of the establishment, it being at the same time open to him to offer his medical services to the Sultan, and to the inhabitants of the place; but with Dr. Kirk's concurrence, I wrote to India, and got him an increase of salary, and by that means he was enabled to give up a portion of his practice, and assist me in my consular duties. I subsequently obtained the services of a clerk, as

the work went on increasing, and besides Dr. Kirk and the clerk there is a native interpreter, who writes the Arabic letters. That is all the establishment.

295. Are there any Indian subjects, or English protected subjects, who hold slaves?—None but the British protected subjects, the Kutchees.

296. Those do?—Yes, many of them do. In General Rigby's time, when he was political agent at Zanzibar, he deprived the whole of the Kutchees, and every Indian subject, of the slaves they held, but he was succeeded by Colonel Pelly and Colonel Playfair, who made a difference between British protected and British subjects. They represented their manner of thinking to the Government of Bombay, and the Government adopted their views; since that time the Kutchees have been enabled to buy slaves, having placed themselves under the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar; they abstained from inscribing their names in our register, and abandoned our protection altogether; then of course they were allowed to hold slaves; in fact they were told that they would enjoy the same privileges as the Arabs themselves, and the Sultan laid great stress upon the letters he had received from Colonel Playfair upon the subject, and insisted, in a correspondence with me, when I protested against their holding slaves, that they had a right to do so, in consequence of those letters.

297. With reference to the protection of the slaves which are set free by the operation of the cruisers, and in other ways, what means are taken for their protection?—With the exception of those who have been landed for the missions—a very small number, I do not think it is more than 20 or 30 altogether—none have been landed lately at Zanzibar, in fact none have ever been landed there; but when General Rigby liberated about 4,000 slaves, he gave them papers of freedom, and made certain arrangements with their former masters to buy them small estates on which they were placed, by which means they managed to live, and I have never heard of any of them becoming slaves again; some may have been kidnapped, because it is a matter of every day occurrence; the Sultan himself loses his own slaves sometimes, when the northern Arabs come down from Arabia, who do not ask who the slave belongs to, but just take possession of him and carry him off, so that some of the slaves that were liberated in Zanzibar may have been kidnapped; there would be no protection against that, but I look upon it as an evil you must put up with; I do not think it would be carried to any great extent.

298. What are the last accounts you have had from Zanzibar as to the slave trade?—They are very bad; from a private letter I have received, I learn that the slave trade had increased in activity; the policy of Seyd Burgash towards the British agency had also altered; he was at first rather frightened at the attitude of the agency towards him; he did not know exactly what the British Government might do, and he was particularly anxious to please; but afterwards, seeing that nothing came of the insolent language he had held immediately after his accession, he changed about again, and became as insolent as ever; as far as the slave trade is concerned, I believe he has not changed his views.

299. What course would you recommend to be adopted to put a stop to the increase in the slave

slave trade?—I think the Arabs do not understand forbearance at all; they put it down to impotency; they think you are not in a position to insist upon anything, and they misunderstand the motive; in my opinion, the best plan would have been to have adopted strong measures towards the Sultan, and to have forced him to a certain extent.

300. What sort of strong measures do you refer to?—One would be to curtail his income, which we can very well do. Our British subjects have been in the habit for a long course of years, of paying an export duty of 5 per cent. on produce from the coast, coming to Zanzibar. The Sultan has a perfect right of levying octroi duty on the coast, and to facilitate matters; as the custom-house officer is an Indian, he insists upon the Indians, who are the people who carry on this trade, paying him at Zanzibar the 5 per cent., instead of getting it paid inland. If the Hindoos were told that they would no longer be obliged to pay this, I do not think the Sultan would be able to raise the money, and it is a considerable sum; something like 36,000 dollars. I think by our supporting the Hindoos in refusing to pay that, we should bring the Sultan to his bearings immediately; he would see we could do him a great deal of harm, and he would, in order that we should not do him that harm, come to terms with regard to the slave trade.

301. Have you any information as to the amount of trade at Zanzibar, and the probability of increase in it?—I have looked into the returns sent by Dr. Kirk, from which it appears that 310,000 dollars is paid by Jairam Sewji as the farmer of the revenue, and it further appears from the table of imports at Zanzibar, that we have 2,055,954 dollars as representing the imports; 5 per cent. on that, which is the amount levied, would come to 100,000 dollars. Then, on the other side, we have the exportations; the total amount is 1,527,800 dollars, but out of this you have to take 100,000 dollars for copal which pays a special duty, 2,400 dollars for hippopotamus teeth, 663,600 dollars for ivory, and also 270,000 dollars for slaves, that amount representing the value of the slaves. Altogether the deductions which would have to be made from the amount I have given, namely, 1,527,800, would reduce it to 792,900 dollars, on which 5 per cent. is paid, making 36,780 dollars. This, added to the amount received from the copal, which is 20 per cent., would make 20,000 dollars more; add to this the amount received from ivory, which is about 12 dollars per frasilah, it would make an addition of 132,700 dollars, altogether amounting to 289,000 dollars instead of 310,000. Evidently, from this calculation, Jairam Sewji, who is the farmer of the customs, has not put down the amount at its proper value; he has reduced it considerably; he must make a profit, no doubt, out of the business, and if you put it down at 400,000 dollars, it would show that the importations and exportations of Zanzibar are at least one-third more than they have been represented.

302. What is your idea as to the increase of traffic in the event of the abolition of the slave trade?—I think it would increase considerably in the course of time, but it would depend on the manner in which the abolition was carried out. If you attempted to suppress the slave traffic by a sudden stroke, the immediate effect would

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be to decrease the trade of Zanzibar, but if it were done gradually I do not think it would decrease the trade much, and in the course of time it would increase it considerably.

303. There is a certain slave trade recognised as legal, viz., the slaves wanted for the service of Zanzibar proper?—For Zanzibar and the coast.

304. Are there 1,700 required for the purposes of Zanzibar?—In my opinion, that amount is too small; I think that it is more than that; I would say 3,000 or 4,000; when I was there, between 17,000 and 18,000 were imported in the year.

305. Whatever the number may be that is required for service in Zanzibar, it is only the traffic in slaves required for that purpose that our treaties countenance?—Our treaties do not go into those details; they merely say we will not interfere in the transport of slaves from one end of the Sultan's dominions to the other, from Kiliva to Lamoo; but what we protest against and forbid in the treaty is the carrying of slaves from the coast of Africa to the coast of Arabia.

306. If you carry them from the coast of Africa to the coast of Arabia *via* Zanzibar, is not that as clearly a breach of the treaty as anything else?—Yes, undoubtedly.

307. Is not it obvious, if there is only a certain small number of slaves required annually for the service of Zanzibar, that the large proportion of those that are proved to be shipped from Africa to Zanzibar are so shipped for the illegal traffic?—Yes, only the Sultan and the people of Zanzibar would never acknowledge that they require a limited number of slaves at Zanzibar; they are all interested in the slave trade; I think the Sultan indirectly is interested in it too. For instance, his relations with Muscat induce him to favour the northern Arabs; not only does he favour them by allowing them in an underhand manner to take away the slaves, but he sends them large presents amounting to something like 40,000 dollars a year.

308. You say that you think the requirements of Zanzibar would be from 3,000 to 4,000 slaves?—Yes.

309. Large numbers of slaves are sent to the north?—Large numbers are sent to the north of the Sultan's dominions during the season when the carrying of slaves is allowed, and they are there kept in readiness by the inhabitants to be shipped off to the north, and as soon as the season comes round, the northern Arabs transport them to Arabia.

310. Are the hardships to which they are subjected very great?—They are very considerable; I have witnessed them myself; the slaves are starved while they are on board. I was in the "Daphne" when there were about 325 liberated slaves taken, and 11 of them died before we reached Zanzibar; that was only eight or 10 days' voyage; they died from sheer starvation; the captain and the crew of the "Daphne" took the greatest care of them, and tried to bring them round; the doctor used to visit them every day, but he could do nothing, they had become so much reduced.

311. Viscount Enfield.] Were they in that condition before they were shipped?—No, I do not think so; they had not been shipped very long; they had been taken on the coast between the northern limit of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions and Brava on the Equator, beyond the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and

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that is what makes me think that whatever treaty we might make with Zanzibar, and whatever money we might spend, we shall not be able to put a stop to the slave trade totally, because it is carried on beyond the limits of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, as well as within them; that was on the Somali coast.

312. Sir *J. Hay*.] Were they taken by Arab dhows?—Yes.

313. Viscount *Enfield*.] Are any of the slaves destined for Madagascar?—To some extent they are. Those taken from the southern part of the dominions of the Sultan, namely, from Kilwa to the south towards Cape Delgado, and even from the Portuguese territory, are carried to Madagascar; some are taken to the Comoro Island; these are more for the French who use them as liberated slaves; they are taken to Mohilla; people come across from the French possessions, and the Arabs sell them to them. The French are allowed to buy slaves, and they are liberated, or nominally liberated immediately, and sent to the plantations for a certain number of years.

314. Sir *J. Hay*.] For 10 years service?—Five years.

315. *Chairman*.] You have heard, of course, the terms of the suggested new treaty?—Yes; I received instructions from the Foreign Office to propose them to Syed Majid, which I did when I reached Zanzibar. I embodied them in an Arabic letter, and sent them to him. He took some time to consider the matter, and at last, being pressed, he said, he would discuss the question with me, and wanted me to go over to the coast with him for that purpose. I was prepared to go, but he was so ill at the time, that he begged me to put it off till he could send me notice; instead of that he came back himself, and 10 days after that he died. I pressed the same proposals on Syed Burgash, his successor. On the day of his succession, I took the precaution of calling him to the consulate, and having a conversation with him to see what his views were with regard to political matters and the slave trade, for I might have given my support to some other candidate, there being two or three, though he was the strongest claimant to the throne, and he promised everything; but the very next day he repudiated everything, and said, that he had made no arrangement whatever; that he had never promised anything; that it was all false, and even had he done so, he was not Sultan then.

316. I suppose you have no doubt if that portion of the suggested treaty were adopted, confining the export of slaves absolutely to one point on the coast of Africa, that would, to a very great extent, stop the slave trade?—It would reduce the slave trade considerably, because the place that has been selected is only about 25 miles from the south end of Zanzibar; and when the south west monsoon blows, no boat could leave Dar Selam and go outside the island; she would have to go between the island and the main coast, and the steam launch which we proposed to have there, could prevent all communication between Dar Selam and the Arabian coast direct; the slavers would have to pass between the islands, and we could put a stop to the traffic. Then there would be a great supervision, because we proposed to have a vice consul at Dar Selam, who would have an eye upon everything that was going on, and would be able to report and prevent any irregularities.

317. What naval force is employed on that part of the coast now?—I think seven or eight vessels. I am led to understand that the force has been increased lately. I counted seven, the "Forte," the "Nympe," the "Columbine," the "Cossack," the "Bullfinch," the "Teazer," and the "Wolverine."

318. What is the name of the flagship?—The "Forte." Of course they have other work to perform; the flagship is mostly on the coast of India.

319. I suppose it is not unnatural that the officers in command of those vessels have all sorts of complaints brought against them of their interfering with legal traffic as well as illegal?—Yes; and unfortunately many of the complaints are well founded; but I do not think it proceeds from any wish to be unjust on their part, but merely because they do not know a real slaver from a legal trader; they cannot distinguish the difference; even before my windows at Zanzibar, after I had shown the "Penguin" a slaver, and she was captured in the harbour of Zanzibar, the officers, on their own responsibility, overhauled a dhow that was just coming in, and seized her; I happened to be looking out of the window, and saw that they had seized a wrong dhow, so I got into my boat and went and told them; but it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade them that that was the case, and no doubt had this taken place at a little distance from Zanzibar, the dhow would have been destroyed, and we should have had a case before the Vice Admiralty Court, of no colours, unseaworthy, destruction of dhow and prize.

320. I suppose, as the officers receive bounty-money, they are interested in destroying as many dhows as they can?—I do not think that is the inducement.

321. I do not say that that influences them, but still they have a bounty?—They are very eager, no doubt, to get as many dhows as they can; it is the eagerness of sportsmen almost; the men are at the masthead to see whether they can spy a dhow, and they come with the greatest glee to the captain to say that a dhow is in view, and they are very much disappointed if they are not allowed to go after her; in fact, I have been told by some of the officers commanding, that it was a very difficult thing for them to keep within the bounds of justice, and not satisfy the ship.

322. When slaves are captured, how are they maintained?—They are maintained on board ship till they are landed by the captain.

323. Does that come out of the bounty money?—I do not know. I am under the impression that the captain pays for their maintenance, out of the money he receives. They are taken then to the nearest place where they are required, or sometimes where they are not required, for they have been taken to Aden, where they are considered a great nuisance. It was proposed to land them at Zanzibar; but none have been landed; yet, as the measures that were recommended by the Committee have not yet been carried out, they had first of all to be accepted by the Sultan, and afterwards the Treasury had to be consulted; so that in the instructions I received from Lord Clarendon, the question of the landing of slaves at Zanzibar was reserved.

324. What is the cost of the political agency and staff?—I put it down at 3,100 *l.* a year; there are certain contingencies that have not been taken

taken into account; the pay of the political agent is 1,400 rupees per month; the doctor receives 650 rupees; the clerk, 100 rupees; the interpreter, 60 rupees, and then there are nine or 10 peons who receive in all 190 rupees; all that put together, with a certain amount for contingent expenses, boats, flags, stationery, house rent (for though the establishment of the surgeon and the agency belong to Government, still you have to put down 100 rupees as the amount of interest that the capital expended on those houses would render), would make it 3,100 *l.* Then if you established vice consuls on the coast, it would make it a little more than that, because the salary would be something like 300 *l.* or 400 *l.* a year for each one; so that if you had three or four, it would come to about 1,200 *l.*, which, with the other amount, would have to be divided between the two Governments.

325. Mr. Fowler.] You spoke of 3,000 slaves being required for the population of Zanzibar; are those slaves kindly treated?—They are very well treated in the Island of Zanzibar, but of course they are always slaves; the master has the power of life or death over them; he might be amenable to a local court of justice, but I do not think he would be very severely punished for killing a slave. The blood money of a slave varies according to the value of the slave himself; if he is what they call a green slave (that is a slave just come from the interior), the blood money is only 25 dollars; if he is at all accustomed to manual labour it is 50 dollars; for an artisan, a bricklayer, and so on, it would be 75 dollars, and for a good looking concubine it would be 100 dollars.

326. There is no restraint upon the treatment

of slaves by their masters, except their own interests?—That is so; they are treated as you would treat your horse.

327. But the slaves are generally kindly treated?—They are very kindly treated, except on the transit between the coast of Africa and the coast of Arabia; I would not say they are harshly treated there, but they are packed very closely, and ill fed; I take it that they are ill fed because they are much more easily managed when they are weak, and in ill condition, than when they are strong; if they were very strong they might overpower the crew.

328. Are you acquainted with Egypt?—Yes.

329. Would you consider that, practically, the system of slavery in Zanzibar was like the system of slavery in Egypt?—I think there is very little difference.

330. I have always understood that in Egypt the slaves are very kindly treated?—Yes; they are so in Zanzibar, too.

331. I presume that in Egypt there is more restraint upon the power of life and death, for instance?—Yes; though the law would be the same, the Koran. In Turkey, since Sultan Abdul Mejid came into power, they have instituted the Ka-noon, which is a law beyond the Koran; there is no such law as the Ka-noon in Zanzibar.

332. I presume that contact with western civilisation which has operated in Turkey and Egypt, would not have had any effect in Zanzibar?—Very little. There are very few Europeans there; still, the Arabs of Zanzibar are very gentle, and I may say, quite as civilised as the Turks.

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Monday, 17th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Sir Robert Anstruther,
Lord Frederick Cavendish.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Robert Fowler.
Mr. Gilpin.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. John Talbot.
Sir Frederick Williams.

CHARLES GILPIN, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. HENRY ADRIAN CHURCHILL, C.B., re-called; and further Examined.

Mr. H. A.
Churchill,
C.B.
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333. *Chairman.*] I WILL ask you, in continuation of your evidence on the last occasion, what was the condition of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa, in the districts we have been considering in former times, that is to say, previously to your being there?—In former days, the condition of the slave trade was very flourishing, so much so that the East India Company considered it necessary to try to put it down, and their agents in the Persian Gulf and at Muscat entered into treaties with the various chiefs of the Persian Gulf and Muscat, for that purpose. But the difficulties attending the suppression of the slave trade, with regard to the Indian Navy, were so great that the officers belonging to that service never made any captures. In the courts of justice at Bombay, a captain, after having made a capture, was deprived of his command, in order that the evidence of the officers might not be influenced by him; so that very few captains took the trouble to capture slaves; in fact, I have heard them say, that they put the helm the other way, and went away clear of the dhow whenever they came across one; but matters changed afterwards, when the Royal Navy came to replace the Indian Navy.

334. About what date was that?—I do not exactly recollect, but I think it was when the East India Company was abolished.

335. What was the result of the appointment of the Royal Navy?—The Royal Navy was, on the other hand, too eager, and too great facilities were given to the Royal Navy in not being obliged to go to Bombay to condemn their dhows. They had the option of going there or to the Cape of Good Hope or Mauritius; the last two places being very far from their cruising ground, the Arabs could thus have no possible means of defending themselves. The facilities offered for taking dhows, and condemning them, were so great, that the effect was quite the opposite to what was desired, and they took a great many dhows which were not engaged in the slave trade.

336. Then the Foreign Office, as well as Colonel Playfair, who was then at Zanzibar, suggested certain measures to prevent this?—Yes; at the Foreign Office rules were made, and measures were taken to prevent this. One of those measures was the establishment of the Vice Admiralty Court at Zanzibar itself, which

has had a great effect in preventing irregularities. At the present moment cruisers are obliged to go to Zanzibar to get the dhows captured in that neighbourhood condemned, and there the Arabs themselves have greater facilities in defending themselves.

337. When you first went to Zanzibar, what arrangement did you propose for the stoppage of the slave trade?—There was a question of the subsidy that was paid to Muscat by the Treasury of Zanzibar under discussion; it had been awarded by the Governor General of India. It so happened that the Sultan of Zanzibar refused to pay this subsidy on account of a murder that had taken place; the murder of his brother by Salim, who had succeeded him at Muscat. I was told before I went to Zanzibar, that it would be a great thing if I could get this award put aside, and that by this means the Sultan would do anything for us with respect to the slave trade. When I went there, I sounded him on the subject, and I said, "Now, supposing the Government were to let you off the payment of this money, what would you do with respect to the slave trade?"—After a great deal of discussion, he said he would limit the carrying trade coastwise (I do not mean the trade with Arabia, because that was prohibited by treaty); he would limit it to a strip of land on the coast, between Dar Selam and Mombasa; that would diminish the distance by about six degrees; at present it is about nine degrees from one end of the limit to the other, so that about three degrees would remain.

338. That would lessen the distance by two-thirds?—Yes; and beyond those limits no carrying trade would be allowed; but it so happened that that was a plan that was very much opposed by the Indian Government, and although it has since been proposed by the Committee that sat last year, it has never been carried out.

339. Would that arrangement be now practicable, do you think?—Circumstances have changed since then. This murderer was succeeded by a man who, it is true, belonged to the reigning family, but who had no right to the throne of Muscat; he, in his turn, has been succeeded within the last six months by Seyed Turkee, who is one of Seyed Saeed's sons, and a brother to Seyed Burash. Sultan of

Zanzibar. It so happens that there are now two brothers, one at Zanzibar, and the other at Muscat; and it was under those particular conditions that the award was made that one brother should pay a subsidy to the other, so that there would be no reason for the Sultan of Zanzibar declining the payment now, whereas there was then a sufficient pretext for not forcing him to pay it.

340. The Committee asked you questions with regard to the trade of Zanzibar on the last occasion, but I will now ask you this; was the trade direct from England to Zanzibar?—The British trade is direct and indirect; on the whole it amounts to a little more than half the whole of the trade of Zanzibar, but that does not appear on the statement that has been published here by Dr. Kirk, for he says in one portion of his Report that the British trade appeared to diminish by 257,000 dollars; that was in the year 1866–1867 only; and again, it is mostly British trade that is carried on by foreigners. The Hamburg and the French houses send their vessels direct to England, and import into Zanzibar British merchandise. The Arabs do not know where it comes from; they only see that it comes in a French vessel, or that it is imported by a French house, and they put it down as French goods, but it is really English goods. The trade of Zanzibar with Great Britain is increasing every day.

341. But that is principally in foreign bottoms, is it not?—Yes, and even in English vessels; the trade is carried on by Germans and French, generally speaking. Within the last two years, an English house has been established. Messrs. Wiseman & Co. have considerable trade with Zanzibar now, and I believe they are intending to enlarge it very much; but the Indian trade with Zanzibar, though it has really increased, has not increased in the same proportion as the other trade; comparatively speaking, it has decreased.

342. How would the opening of the Suez Canal affect the trade on the East Coast of Africa?—In former days merchandise was sent to Zanzibar, and from Zanzibar to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, in sailing vessels; the facilities now are so great *via* Egypt that steamers will be employed. In former days merchants' capital could only be turned over once in 12 months; but now as the voyage through the Canal only occupies, going and coming, about 75 days, it may be turned over three or four times; they will be satisfied with less profits; but they will make quite as much, if not more money, through being enabled to use their capital so many more times in a year. I think that Austria and France will, if we do not pay attention to the matter, derive more benefit from it than we shall.

343. Have you turned your attention to what course you would recommend the English Government to take to put an end to the slave trade in these quarters, and with regard to the Sultan of Zanzibar, to enforce the treaties which he has entered into?—Yes; my opinion is that strong measures should be taken with Seyed Burgash, for he is a man who will not understand forbearance. If strong measures cannot be taken, for certain reasons, then I should propose that we should force him, indirectly, to make a treaty with us to put a stop to the slave trade, by menacing him with the deprivation of a certain portion of his income that he derives, without having a

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right to it, from our Indian subjects who carry on the trade between Zanzibar and the coast. The treaties say we are not to pay any export duty; the farmer of the customs at Zanzibar is a Banyan British subject, and most of the men who carry on the petty trade between the coast and the island are Banyans also, who are afraid of him, and of his influence; and he has induced them to pay him the tax of 5 per cent. on everything that is imported into Zanzibar from the coast; but in reality it is export from Zanzibar, and it amounts to something like 36,000 dollars a year; this, if Seyed Burgash was not particularly agreeable to us, we might take away from him.

344. By simply claiming the fulfilment of the treaty?—Yes; having deprived him of this source of income, we might hereafter say we would give it back to him, as a compensation, if he made a treaty with us putting down or limiting the slave trade.

345. Mr. Kennaway.] You mean allowing him those charges which he makes illegally at present?—Yes.

346. Chairman.] Is the Sultan of Zanzibar the only Arab Chief that it would be necessary to make terms with?—No; there are chiefs on the Somali Coast (on the Coast of Africa), between Cape Guardafui and Zanzibar, whom we should call upon to pay more attention to their treaties; and then again there is the Sultan of Muscat; and a great many of his subjects (in fact, most of the Northern Arabs are his subjects) come down purposely to carry on the slave trade. They belong to the neighbourhood of Ras'il Had, and trade under his jurisdiction. I do not suppose he derives any direct profit from the slave trade (though that is questionable); at all events, he might exercise his power over his subjects to prevent them from going down to kidnap slaves; and when they go back with the slaves, he would assuredly have the power of detecting them.

347. Have you any idea of the number of slaves that find their way into Persia, and how they get there?—Lately, in Bombay, I made inquiry on the matter. There is a man of great influence there of the name of Aga Khan, who is the spiritual chief of the Mussulmans of Bombay; and though I did not see him, I saw some of his relations, and they thought about 3,000 or 4,000 slaves found their way into Persia annually.

348. How do you say they get there; they go to Muscat first, I suppose?—Yes; they are first taken to the coast of Arabia from Ras'il Had to the Persian Gulf, and from that they are crossed over into Persian territory.

349. A former witness told us that at Muscat there was an open acknowledgment of the existence of a slave market; do you think that is the case?—I do not think there is, but I am not quite sure. General Rigby would give the Committee better information on that point than I can.

350. Sir R. Anstruther.] Are those slaves that find their way into Persia shipped from Zanzibar and the ports adjacent?—Yes; they are shipped from Zanzibar and the ports in that neighbourhood.

351. Chairman.] Do any slaves find their way into India?—Yes, I have heard so.

352. As slaves?—Yes, as slaves. General Rigby was political agent at Kuttawar for a certain

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certain time, and I am under the impression that he saw slaves imported there.

353. The Committee have heard that the slave trade recently has very much increased at Zanzibar and on the coast; can you give the reasons for that?—The demand has increased in the Persian Gulf, I should say, more particularly, in consequence of the cholera that has been raging in the Persian Gulf lately. About six months ago it was at Bender Abbas, and a great many of the inhabitants and slaves died, and no doubt those people want to get as many as they can in consequence. I think the trade greatly depends upon the demand. If the demand is considerable, the supply will be considerable.

354. Mr. Kennaway.] Would you recommend entering into treaties with the chiefs on the Somali coast?—Yes, I think that would be of use; some of them are anxious to enter into a treaty with us. A few days before I left Zanzibar a chief of the interior, beyond Brava, a man of great influence, who has command even over the chiefs of Brava, wished to enter into a treaty, and drew up a rough draft of a treaty with an Englishman who is there, a Mr. Heale; but the English of it was so bad that one could never think of signing anything of the kind. I drew Dr. Kirk's attention to it, and I dare say he has written about it. I think it would be a great thing to enter into treaty engagements with the chiefs of the interior.

355. Are there not several independent chiefs there?—The chief I refer to commands all along the coast between Magadoxa and Brava; he is the man who attacked Juba some time ago, and destroyed it. Then there are other chiefs higher up; it would, perhaps, be rather difficult to enter into treaties with them.

356. And if they kept out of it?—But I do not think they would keep out of it. The Chiefs of Brava made a treaty some years ago with Captain Paisley, but it was more for the protection of British seamen who might be wrecked on the coast than for any other object.

357. Would those ports be the natural ports of export for slaves, and give facilities for it?—There are no slaves exported from the ports I have just mentioned; but three years ago, in 1868, when I went up there in the "Star," they were importing slaves that had been exported from Fazeé, close by; they were importing them along the coast at Brava, at Merka, and at Magadoxa, and were undoubtedly engaged in the slave trade. They could not take them far up, on account of the south-west monsoon, which was just towards its close; the slaves could only go as far as those ports, where they would be fattened up, and educated, and made something of, until the slave trade season would come round; then dhows would come down from the Arabian coast, and take them away to Rusel Had, Muscat, and even to Persia.

358. Have we not a treaty with the Sultan of Muscat?—Yes.

359. If that was enforced, and the market for slaves were closed thereby, as it might be, would not that go a long way towards a settlement of the difficulty?—I do not know that there is a slave market at Muscat, but I should almost think there was. A great deal could be done at Muscat to put a stop to the slave trade. The attention of the Government has not been drawn to that as it should have been.

360. At what do you estimate the income that

the Sultan of Zanzibar receives from the export duty on slaves at this moment?—I have always considered it to be something between 15,000 l. and 20,000 l. My calculations are founded on this: that when I was in Zanzibar about 17,000 slaves were imported into Zanzibar, and I believe altogether 23,000 slaves were exported through the Custom House at Kilwa. There is a tax of 2 dollars at Kilwa for the exportation of slaves to Zanzibar, a tax of 2 dollars for the exportation of slaves from Zanzibar to the coast, and a tax of 4 dollars for the exportation of slaves from Kilwa to the coast; putting it altogether, I made it somewhere between 15,000 l. and 20,000 l.; it may be nearer 20,000 l.

361. In the evidence of the Honourable Mr. Vivian, taken before this Committee, he speaks of the tax derived by the Sultan of Zanzibar on slaves, and he says, "We" (that is to say, the Foreign Office) "have calculated it at 20,000 l. a year; but I make out, unless Dr. Kirk has included also the sale of slaves, that in 1867-8 he must have got 56,000 l. by the tax upon slaves; that is to say, 270,000 dollars"?—Yes, 270,000 dollars; but this Report of Dr. Kirk's represents the value of the total number of slaves imported, and not the tax that was levied upon them.

362. You do not think that there is any reason for putting it at that amount?—Certainly not.

363. With regard to the disposal of slaves; have you given the Committee any part where you recommend that liberated slaves should be placed?—I would recommend that they should go to Zanzibar.

364. Do you think that you could possibly keep them there in a state of perfect safety?—Yes, I see no reason for doubting it, only the Sultan of Zanzibar must be willing to co-operate with us; if he is at all opposed to it, it would be quite impossible.

365. How would you propose that the liberated slaves should be employed; on the coast, or on the island?—Some might be employed on the coast, and others on the island. There was an English company a little while ago that tried to obtain a concession of land on the coast; they wanted land between Dar Selam and the south, and they would have taken any number of liberated slaves. Captain Frazer would take about 500 or 600 in the Island of Zanzibar.

366. At all events, you think there would be no difficulty about it?—I think not. When General Rigby was there, he liberated about 3,000 or 4,000 slaves, and took the necessary means of protecting them, and I never heard that any of them had been made slaves of. I do not mean to say that none have.

367. But, on the whole, you think they can be protected?—On the whole, I think they can be very well protected.

368. With regard to those privileges for our Indian subjects, why should we submit to this tax being levied?—The question was raised by the Indian Government, and Ludda Damjee, the farmer of customs, was requested to state how it was that he had levied this tax; he replied that he had nothing to do with the tax on slaves, and that it went to the Sultan's private cash box; that he did not farm the slaves.

369. But I mean the tax that he levies on our Indian subjects; how do you explain that?—I think we knew nothing about it; it is only lately that it has been discovered.

370. Would other persons claim the same privilege

privilege if we enforced it?—At the present moment the French houses on the coast do not pay this tax; but they are very few, and I dare say an English house, if we had one established on the coast, would not pay. But the natives of India, who are, more or less, under the influence of the farmer of the customs, have paid it; and when they were asked why they did not come forward and claim their rights, they said, "Would you have us ruined," because Ludda Damjee could do it easily if he chose.

371. With regard to enforcing their redemption, would not the objection be that the Sultan would then be left without a sufficient revenue?—Yes; no doubt it would cripple his power altogether, and that would be the best means of bringing him to terms. If he found that he could not carry on his Government without this money, he would come to us and say, "I must carry on my Government, so let us come to terms."

372. What is the proportion of children, with regard to girls and boys, who are captured?—I think there are returns made by the commodore, which are sent in every year to the Admiralty; but I should say that there are about as many boys as there are girls, and as many men as women.

373. Dr. Kirk has had very large experience, has he not?—Dr. Kirk went out with Dr. Livingstone formerly, and has travelled a good deal in the country, and knows a good deal of the interior; his knowledge of Zanzibar is considerable.

374. Do you think that, in your absence, any one could be more safely left in charge than Dr. Kirk?—Certainly not; he is the best man for the post. It is a great pity that certain rules would militate against his appointment. When in Bombay I recommended his appointment, but the Governor said that it had been decided between the Government of India and the India Office that medical officers should not fill the appointment of political agents.

375. Is Dr. Kirk continuing there?—Yes, he is continuing there; but I am under the impression that as soon as he learns officially that he is not to aspire to the agency, he will give up his appointment, because it is not worth his while to remain in an out-of-the-way place like that, without the prospect of obtaining the best appointment possible.

376. And you think his leaving the place would be a great misfortune?—I think so.

377. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] You mentioned that the slaves that are now taken to Muscat could be taken to Zanzibar; could they employ such a number there?—Dr. Kirk says they require, at least 1,700 slaves a year; but according to my calculations they would require more, say, 3,000 at least, as some would have to be sent to Samoo and Pemba. They could certainly find employment for the number we could send; we do not capture more than 700 or 800 a year, so that for a considerable number of years they would require slaves there. I mean liberated slaves, of course.

378. But the 700 or 800 does not include, of course, the number that are sent up to Muscat?—No, I think about 10,000 or 11,000 are sent.

379. If those cruisers were very active they would stop more, would they not?—Undoubtedly.

380. But that would lead also to the capture of slaves up the country?—Yes, it would; if 0.116.

proper measures were not taken to prevent the northern Arabs from coming down, and kidnapping slaves; but the sending the liberated slaves to Zanzibar, would tend to diminish the slave trade. I do not think you could suppress it altogether, because so long as the demand exists the supply will exist. I do not think anything in the world will suppress it, until you prevent Persia and Turkey from employing domestic slaves. You might diminish it considerably, but as for putting it down, it is almost impossible.

381. You think it could not be stopped for the present?—No; for instance, we may enter into a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar. Let us say that he will do everything in his power to prevent the trade; but is this sufficient? Two years ago slaves were being exported to the north of his limits to a place with which he had nothing to do.

382. Sir *R. Anstruther*.] I want to ask you if you know whether domestic slaves in Zanzibar are ever exposed for resale in the foreign slave market?—There is no foreign slave market; there is a slave market for the inhabitants themselves, and decrees were issued by the Sultan on several occasions forbidding the inhabitants of Zanzibar from selling slaves to the northern Arabs, and there was a heavy penalty against it; but it is always done. A northern Arab who wishes to buy a slave gets some one to buy it for him; he does not appear in the market, but he gets the slave all the same.

383. He gets a slave from a person who has already been employing this African as a slave?—From a negro who goes and buys him in the market.

384. I was referring, not so much to direct purchase by an individual coming from the interior, but I see some evidence in the first Blue Book in which it is stated that a girl was taken to Kilwa and kept husking rice for a year, and then taken to Zanzibar and sold in the slave market of the Sultan; practically she would then be resold?—Yes; she would have passed through several hands.

385. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Are they exposed for sale regularly at Muscat?—I do not know, but I should say they would be, because only 25 years ago they were exposed regularly at Constantinople for sale.

386. Do you know whether there is much exportation from Muscat of slaves sold to go to the country there?—I do not suppose they do it openly.

387. Lord *F. Cavendish*.] If the Sultan of Zanzibar was induced by us to accept a treaty, do you think he would have the power, even if he were willing, to enforce that other power?—To a certain extent he would, I think; he would require money, and he would require the means to keep up an army to prevent the northern Arabs from coming down, ostensibly for the purpose of trade, but in reality to kidnap slaves; they get hold of the slaves and carry them off into out-of-the-way corners where they are not seen. An army or police force might prevent that.

388. In fact, we should have to subsidise him in order to give him the means of fulfilling his treaty?—Either that; or, as I said before, enter into an arrangement with him with regard to the amount we pay now of 5 per cent. on the export trade.

389. But if I rightly understand the matter we

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we are already paying that?—Yes; but I propose that it should be taken away from him, and then held out to him as an inducement to make a treaty.

390. But has he at present sufficient powers to enforce such a treaty unless his means were increased?—To the extent of the treaty that we recommended in the Foreign Office Committee I should think he might.

391. He would be able to confine the export of slaves to one port, would he not?—Yes, I think so.

392. Sir R. Anstruther.] But if he cannot enforce his own decree with regard to the resale of slaves for the northern Arabs, for his own subjects, what means would he have of enforcing such a treaty?—There are a great many reasons for not enforcing the decrees; many of his own people are engaged in the slave trade, the great folks of Zanzibar, and when they are detected he does not like to punish them.

393. Would not that apply also to the liberated slaves?—We should have a supervision over them; we should prevent them being kidnapped. I dare say some might be kidnapped, but, on the whole, I think we might protect them sufficiently well. The Sultan's own slaves are sometimes kidnapped.

394. Then the expense of the protection to liberated slaves would fall on us, and not on him?—To a certain extent it would fall upon us, certainly.

395. Lord F. Cavendish.] Could you state at all what expenditure we should be put to in order to enable the Sultan to put an end to this treaty. We have had it in evidence that the mere expenditure of 1,500*l.* a year, and the fees of a consular establishment, would put an end to the slave trade; is that your opinion?—No, certainly not. That would lead in a considerable degree to bringing the matter to a close ultimately; but I do not think it would put an end to the slave trade at all.

396. Can you give the Committee any kind of estimate with regard to the expenditure we should be put to in order really to grapple with this trade?—I cannot.

397. Can you form any opinion whatever of what the expense would be?—No; it would be a matter for future negotiations, I should say.

398. If the slave trade was confined to one port on the adjacent coast, would it not have the effect very much of increasing the land journey?—Yes; it would have the effect of increasing the land journey by the distance existing between Kilwa and Dar Selam; that would be a matter of four or five days.

399. And on those four or five days the suffering would be very considerable, would it not?—Not more considerable than the sufferings of the slaves in the dhows.

400. I think you stated that, after all, this trade, like all other trades, depended on the demand; should we not have a better chance of checking it if we checked the demand by making the landing of slaves much more difficult in Muscat, and the other places?—Yes, certainly. I propose that we should call on the Sultan of Muscat, and the chiefs of the Persian Gulf, to prevent the importation of slaves into their dominions and to punish those who engage in the trade.

401. Muscat is the main port of entry, is it not?—No; not Muscat itself, but all the small

ports along the coast of Arabia on the Gulf of Oman.

402. Are they all subject to the Imaum of Muscat?—Yes, most of them.

403. What other rulers are there beyond?—Beyond, in the Persian Gulf, there is the Chief of Bahrein, and a little lower down, the Chief of Abuthubbee.

404. Do they encourage or restrain the slave trade?—They encourage it just as the rest do, by allowing their subjects to carry on the trade with impunity.

405. They have a large pecuniary interest in it, have they not?—Yes, indirectly.

406. Have we any treaties with them?—Yes, with all of them.

407. But all those treaties are evaded, are they not?—Yes; Colonel Disbrow, who went the round of many of those ports, saw slaves landed openly there.

408. Chairman.] Have not many British subjects placed themselves under the Sultan of Zanzibar, in order to be able to hold slaves with impunity?—A great many.

409. That is principally since the Naturalisation Act has become known there, is it not?—It is many years ago that British protected subjects of India were allowed to take the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar; ever since the year 1862, I think.

410. Do you mean that they were allowed that protection by the connivance of the British Government?—General Rigby prohibited it; at least, it was never entertained during his time; but when he was succeeded by Colonel Pelly, it then began to be allowed; and in Colonel Playfair's time, with the sanction of the Government of Bombay, I believe, the Sultan was told that British protected subjects who had not entered their names in the consular register, were to be considered as Arab subjects. The first question the Sultan asked was whether they might hold slaves, and he was told that they were considered as Arab subjects, and might do what they liked, and they immediately began to buy slaves.

411. On whose authority was such a statement made; was it on the authority of the Government of India?—I am under the impression that it was; it could not be otherwise, I should say; but when I went to Zanzibar this subject attracted my attention, and I made representations about it, and the answer that I obtained from the Bombay Government was, to the effect that it might be very proper to deprive the said Indians of their slaves, but who was going to pay the compensation to which they would be entitled; certainly not the Indian Government. However, the question was very well ventilated, and the last orders of the Indian Government were that, although they should be allowed to keep the slaves they had, they were not to buy or sell any more.

412. I wish to ask you a few questions for Lord Enfield, who has left the room for a short time; the first is, are you aware that the late Sultan of Zanzibar ever violated the Slave Trade Treaty?—I have never heard of his having done so.

413. Did he discourage, as far as he could, the visits of the northern dhows?—He did; on one occasion he went so far as to say that he would burn every dhow that came from the north. I thought it a very general way of putting it, and I proposed that he should only burn those dhows that

that were engaged in the slave trade, that came openly for the purpose of carrying away slaves; but that if they came for the purposes of trade, he should leave them alone, because we had treaties with those people, and it would be our duty to protect them in their legitimate trade.

414. Would there be sufficient justification on the ground of alleged violation of the treaty for coercing the Sultan to surrender his right to transport slaves from the coast?—That is a matter for the Government to consider; when the late Sultan was about to die I called Seyed Burgash to my house; he was supposed to be a great fanatic, at least he pretended to be so; and he did not like the English at all; he had been engaged in a revolution against Seyed Majid before, and General Rigby had taken very strong measures against him; but when he came to me, and was questioned with regard to his politics, and as to what he intended doing, he promised everything; he said he knew all about the demands of the English Government with respect to the slave trade, and would do everything we required, and much more than Seyed Majid would have done. I inquired regarding the debts of his late brother to Ludda Danjee, who is one of our subjects, and he said he would take on himself the whole. After entering into a verbal arrangement, made in the presence of Dr. Kirk, he went away, and the very next day he denied everything, saying that he never made any arrangement at all. I think when a man breaks his faith in that way he should be called to account for it.

415. Has the late or present Sultan, to your knowledge, ever offered to sell or cede the island of Zanzibar?—No, never; he on one occasion said, "If you go so far as to demand the total abolition of slavery, and the carrying of slaves on my coast, you had better take the island away from me altogether." But that did not mean that he would either give or sell it.

416. Would a free settlement on the coast tend to prevent the slave trade, do you think?—I think so.

417. Where would you suggest it should be established?—I should think Monfia, to the south of Zanzibar, between Kilwa and Zanzibar, a very good place.

418. What would be the cost of protecting such a settlement?—It would not be very considerable. I think it would pay itself in the course of a few years; you would have to have a governor there, I should say; and 200 or 300 men would protect the whole place; it is a small island.

419. Lord *F. Cavendish*.] Whom does it belong to?—It belongs to the Sultan of Zanzibar. I do not think he would offer much difficulty to our securing it.

420. *Chairman*.] Would it be possible to prevent the slave hunting in the interior; and, if so, how?—Only by a decree from the Sultan; that is to say, that he should prevent his own subjects from engaging in that trade; and it is generally his own subjects who go up country with merchandise and set the negroes fighting against each other for the purpose of obtaining slaves.

421. We have been told that most of the slave traders come from Muscat, or from places in the north with which we have slave treaties; could we not prevent the annual visits of these northern Arabs to Zanzibar?—We have treaties with them that, so long as they carry on a legitimate trade, we are to protect them in that

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trade; therefore when they go down in a proper way, for the purpose of carrying on a *bonâ fide* trade, I do not think we could or ought to prevent them; but, unfortunately, it so happens that they are almost all more or less engaged in the slave trade. They take down merchandise from Muscat, and return with a cargo of slaves. The Arab authorities on the coast of Arabia, with whom we have treaties, must necessarily take cognisance of this illicit trade, and they should be called upon to punish most severely those who engage in it.

422. Should we be justified in charging the Sultan of Muscat, or the chiefs in the Persian Gulf, with violating their Slave Trade Treaties, and in insisting upon them stopping their slave dhows from coming to Zanzibar?—I do not think we should be justified in stopping all the dhows; every dhow is susceptible of being a slave dhow in the country; there are not particular dhows for the purpose.

423. They are not particularly fitted up for the slave trade?—No; that idea has misled a good many people. On the West Coast of Africa there were vessels fitted out purposely for the slave trade, with slave decks, and everything else; but on the East Coast there is no such thing.

424. Sir *J. Hay*.] Then how is it possible for a slaver to be detected?—That is the great difficulty that is encountered by our men-of-war; when they first go to the East Coast of Africa they are liable to take almost every dhow for a slaver.

425. Without a certain amount of water butts and other fittings, I suppose?—There are only two or three sizes of water butts. A small dhow may have a very large water tank, but that would not be a criterion of the dhow being a slaver; they may require a great deal of water, and a tank, about a cubic yard, is not a very considerable size.

426. There are no special fittings, then, by which a vessel is supposed to be condemned?—Most of the vessels that I would condemn would be those on which slaves were found on board, but the difficulty is in knowing a domestic slave from a slave that is for sale. The latter have particular marks on their heads when they come from Kilwa; they are marked like sheep. A part of the hair is taken off, and if you see 20 or 30 of them marked in the same way, you may be quite sure that they are for sale.

427. *Chairman*.] Can you suggest any means to prevent those northern Arabs from engaging in the slave trade, while at Zanzibar on professional or commercial pursuits?—The only means would be to have a good strong police force, but unfortunately the Sultan's troops are not very well in hand; when I was there they were bribed right and left to allow the dhows to go.

428. Do you think that it would be impracticable to reconvey the slaves to their own homes in the interior?—It would be very difficult; many of the villages from which they came have been destroyed when they have been taken. Villages are destroyed, and children are kidnapped, and the old are allowed to die on the spot, and if the liberated slaves were to return to their country, they would find nothing but desolation there.

429. Would the establishment of such a free depot as the Foreign Office Committee suggested cost more than the 3,000*l.* a year, which is now paid

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paid for the maintenance of liberated slaves at Aden and Bombay?—No, I think not.

430. Have you any observation to make on the present system pursued by Her Majesty's cruisers employed in suppressing the slave trade now?—We made certain recommendations in the Committee, but very few have been carried out.

431. Have you any suggestions to offer for its amendment beyond those recommendations made in the Report of the Foreign Office Committee?—No, I think not.

432. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] Under whose dominions are those tribes among whom the slaves are captured?—They have chiefs of their own; they are under no particular dominion; some of them are very important tribes in their way, but others are small.

433. Chairman.] You have said that the trade with Zanzibar has been gradually increasing; is it true that communication with Zanzibar is very irregular and uncertain?—Very much so; I have been six or seven months without receiving a letter from any part of the world. It is only when our cruisers come in that direction, and receive orders to touch at the Seychelles, that we get letters from Europe.

434. Would greater facilities for communication tend to develop trade in general, and assist to check the slave trade?—Considerably; so much so, that several houses have taken into consideration whether they would not sacrifice a certain amount at the commencement, and put on a line of steamers; they have applied to Government to know whether they could obtain a subsidy, but they did not receive a very favourable answer, I believe.

435. Do you consider the appointment of vice consuls along the East Coast a necessary element in any scheme for the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

436. At what places would you appoint them?—One at Kilwa, to see that no slaves were exported; another at Dar Selam, to have supervision over the slaves that were sent through there; another in the north, at Mombasa, or at Lamoo (they are close to each other), to see that the northern Arabs did not come and take the slaves away.

437. Do you think it probable that if vessels under the Arab flag were entirely prevented from carrying on the slave trade, and if Zanzibar

were entirely closed to it, slave traders would adopt the French flag, or a slave trade spring up from the coast of Mozambique?—No; I think an understanding might be come to with the French Government to prevent that; at present, certainly, the number of dhows navigating under the French flag is increasing, but I do not know that such a trade in slaves is carried on under the French flag. I do not think that any of our cruisers have ever detected slaves being carried under the French flag.

438. Have you in any way changed your opinion as to the expediency of the proposals suggested by the Foreign Office Committee, of which you were a member?—No.

439. You are of the same opinion as when you signed that Report?—Quite.

440. Mr. Kennaway.] Could we, in your opinion, enforce the proposals of the Foreign Office Committee, that all dhows engaged in the legitimate traffic of domestic slaves should bear a distinguishing mark on their hulls?—I think the Sultan would have no difficulty in effecting that. We could not enforce anything on him, but if it were proposed, and the Sultan were inclined to make any such arrangement with us, he would have no difficulty in carrying it out.

441. With regard to the ships that come down from the north, would it be practicable to unship their rudders and only return them when they could prove they had got a legitimate cargo on board?—That plan has been adopted at Zanzibar by the customs; that is to say, as soon as a dhow comes in, to prevent her from going away or changing her ground, they unship the rudder and take it into the custom house, and she is totally at the mercy of the custom house officer. I think the same plan should be adopted everywhere, and all northern Arabs should be, without exception, disarmed on their arrival in the Sultan's dominions.

442. Sir J. Hay.] With regard to the recommendation of Admiral Cockburn as to having a stationary guard-ship at Zanzibar, do you think that would be a good plan?—I think the best plan would be to have a ship that could cruise, but I understand he proposes a stationary ship in addition to a cruising ship; this would entail an additional expense.

443. Have you anything to add to your evidence?—No.

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444. Chairman.] I BELIEVE you are a Member of the Indian Council?—Yes.

445. Has your attention been turned to the subject which the Committee is now investigating, and in what manner and to what extent?—My attention has been a great deal directed to the subject of the East African slave trade. Since the year 1838 I have been on terms of more or less intimacy with Colonel Hamerton, General Rigby, and Colonel Playfair, who have held office on that coast; and I have been also intimate with Dr. Livingstone, and I have taken very great interest in the depôts at which liberated slaves are taken care of in India, and at Aden.

446. Have you read, and if you have read, how far do you agree with the previous evidence

given before this Committee?—I agree very generally with Mr. Vivian in his evidence. There are a few points in which, I think, additions might advantageously be made to what he has stated on the subject. I think he has rather under-estimated the extent to which the French flag is made a cover for aiding a modified kind of slavery; or something which amounts almost to slavery; not at all with the consent or connivance of the French officials, but wherever those who use it are out of their sight. The system which is known as the system of *engagés* is very apt to lapse, when it is not carefully watched, into something very like a system of slavery. Then I should like to add a few words to what is said by Mr. Vivian on the way in which the slave trade appears to have grown up. I know

know that when Colonel Hamerton first went to Zanzibar, he was very much surprised to find that the slave trade had already acquired such dimensions as he observed; but at that time the slave trade was very much less, and on a very much smaller scale than it is now. The Arabs in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, and on the coast, are naturally a very active maritime people, and for probably a century and a half, before the beginning of this century, they had been very active pirates, not only on their own coast, but down the coast of Africa, and along the coast of India, as far as Singapore, certainly. It appears that one of the hereditary modes in which they employed the maritime energy of the nation was at that time piracy. That was checked, and almost suppressed by our naval officers, and then the pirates turned to the slave trade. There can be no doubt that a great many of the people, and the vessels, and the firms who are now engaged in slaving, are the sons and grandsons of those who used to devote themselves to piracy. I have no doubt, if the slave trade were stopped, you would find these same people devote themselves with equal energy to what we should call legitimate commerce.

447. Do you recollect pretty nearly the date when Colonel Hamerton went to Zanzibar?—I think it was about 1837 or 1838.

448. I think you heard a portion of Mr. Churchill's evidence, and probably you have read his evidence given on the former day; have you any remarks to make on that evidence?—I have no doubt with regard to the facts of the case that Mr. Churchill's evidence is very full, and accurate; but I entirely disagree with the remedies he proposes for putting a stop to the slave trade. It appears to me that the cardinal evil which you have to deal with, is the oscillation of our own opinions in the matter. Up to about the time when Lord Palmerston died, for many years, the general opinion of all parties in England had been in favour of a determination to put a stop to the slave trade wherever we could possibly do so without infringing the rights of other nations, and the whole weight of the Government influence had been put on the side of suppressing the slave trade. But of late years it has been manifest that there has been very considerable wavering of our own opinions upon the subject. Many of those who were most active in promoting measures for the suppression of the slave trade in former times have thought, perhaps, that the work was done; and because the work was effectually carried out on the West Coast of Africa they have rather relaxed their efforts, and one sees in public writings a good deal of a kind of excuse for slavery, which certainly would not have been put forward some years ago, and would not have met with any kind of public favour and acceptance. That seems to me to be the cardinal evil with which we have to contend, and our Government, representing public opinion, appears to me of late years to have been very half-hearted in the matter. The first thing to be done seems to me to be to make up our own minds with regard to what is to be done, and whether we really are in earnest as we were 25 or 30 years ago.

449. Following upon that would naturally come the question; what measure you yourself would recommend for adoption in order to stop the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa?—

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I should begin by saying that I do not agree with the opinion that Mr. Churchill has expressed, when he says that the Arabs do not understand forbearance. I believe that, like all other strong-handed nations, at least those with whom I have had to deal, they understand real forbearance when they know it is forbearance, and not weakness; they understand it better than we do ourselves, perhaps, and they certainly do understand justice and their own interests. Our first business is to interest them on our side, and to carry their opinion with us, and to let them know what we wish, and what we want; and what we think would be for their interest. As far as I have ever seen those people, and people of the same kind, they would be very apt to respond to that by taking our advice, and being a good deal guided by our wishes in the matter. That has certainly been the case with regard to the suppression of piracy, and in many other things in which their own interests were very much concerned. When they once understood what we wanted and what we wished, and why we wanted it, and why we wished it, they have been very ready to come into our views. They are not acted upon by fears in the way that weaker nations are, but when they have once made up their minds they are all on that account the more to be trusted. There were some other points connected with Mr. Churchill's plans with which I could not agree. I do not think that we have the slightest right to interfere with the internal taxation of Zanzibar; we must leave them to tax everybody who lives under their rule very much in the way they think best. For the good of their own exchequer they would always be willing in the long run, quite as willing as we are, to give due weight to our arguments in the matter; and I think throughout all our dealings with them we ought to recollect how long it took in our own country to put an end to slavery. There are people now alive who can recollect domestic slavery in English homes; it has been seen in a very recent generation in England itself; and it has only been by persistent argument and efforts that we have arrived at our present state of public and private morality on the subject. We ought to consider that the Arabs cannot be expected to be very much more rapid in the movement of public opinion among them than we are among ourselves. I would say that the best measures for putting a stop to slavery, as far as I can judge, on that coast, are those shadowed out in the opinion given by Sir George Clerk's government, quoted at Question 245, of Sir John Kaye's evidence. That was given in Lord Canning's time, and I think had Lord Canning's complete assent. I need not mention that Lord Canning's feelings were very much interested in the work of putting a stop to slavery, and that his whole opinion was in favour of doing all that could be done to put an early stop to this branch of the slave trade.

450. I think that, as a matter of explanation, I should say the evidence given by Mr. Churchill with regard to what you call interfering with the internal arrangements of Zanzibar arose from the fact that a portion of the treaty already made had not been carried out by the Sultan; is not that so?—I would rigidly enforce the treaty as far as it is fairly enforceable, but I would not attempt to carry treaties out by cutting off any source of revenue that is in itself a reasonable source of revenue, and to levy which does not

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interfere with our national rights, though we may not think it very wise, viewed by our lights of political economy. Some of the Sultan's most industrious subjects, some of those who are the main stay of commercial affairs in his dominions, are men of Indian extraction, who come there and are subject to poll taxes. I have no doubt it would be a wise measure, if he could afford it, to remit the whole of a poll tax of that kind; but, I think, it should be left to his own sense of his interest, and unless there is some national question which enables us to say, "You shall not tax our subjects," we should abstain from interfering with him.

451. Mr. Churchill said, I think, that inasmuch as a treaty had been made by which certain duties ought not to be levied, but had since been levied *sub silentio*, there would be in our power the offering of a *quid pro quo* for his giving up the traffic: was not that his evidence?—Possibly that is the explanation. There are some six or seven preventive measures which, if the Committee will permit me, I will refer to. The first seems to me to be to limit the transport from the main land to Zanzibar. As I understand the question, it is reasonable that we should for a time, at all events, offer no effectual objection to the Sultan of Zanzibar having such a number of slaves belonging to himself or his subjects, as he requires to transport from the main land to Zanzibar, but that we should not allow that transit to be made a cover for slaves who are not really intended for domestic or agricultural purposes in the island of Zanzibar, but who pass to the sea, and so away to the northward; and it is proposed to limit the transit to the export from one particular port. I should think from what I heard from the agents of the Sultan at different times in Bombay; and even in this country, that they would be very willing, if they saw their way clear to what we were about, to make that transit much more restricted, and subject to much more stringent rules than appeared to be contemplated by the report of the Foreign Office Commission. For instance, I should think, if it were properly put before the Sultan, he would be very willing to have the whole legalised transit of slaves between the mainland and Zanzibar managed by steam-boats, with regard to the departure of which from the mainland and their arrival at the island, there would be much less doubt and discretion than there would be with regard to sailing vessels, and that every slave who was so passed should pass only under a permit which would come under the view of some authorised functionary of the English Government.

452. Sir R. Anstruther.] That would diminish the export of slaves from the main land by about three-fourths, would it not?—It would diminish the export of slaves to a very considerable extent. There is some difference with regard to the number required; some authorities say between 1,700 and 1,800; others, and I think Mr. Churchill, who has probably the soundest opinion, says nearly 3,000 or 4,000; but whatever it may be, I would give an outside limit; I would not attempt to draw the thing too tight at once; if you limit the route by which they should go, you are pretty certain when you once get them to Zanzibar that you will have them more under your own view and your own control. Then I think you must be prepared when you are requiring the Sultan to cancel what he

thinks a very valuable right to give him something in return. I think the means of doing so are afforded by the very peculiar position into which he has returned with regard to his relative, who is reigning at Muscat. The whole of the arrangements between the two kingdoms have been fully explained in the evidence which has been given in the last two days, and it amounts to this; that the cost of carrying out in perfect good faith, as far as we are concerned, an arrangement which was very solemnly entered into a very short time ago under the authority, not only of Her Majesty's Government in England, but of the Government in India; I say, that the cost of carrying that arrangement out is in round numbers 8,000*l*. This arrangement affords the means, first of all, of keeping peace between Zanzibar and Muscat, and keeping both the branches of a very important family, a family to which civilisation and the English Government in India are under considerable obligations, in a position of honour, and in a position in which we should wish to see them placed, and where, if they understand us and act on their family traditions, they are quite certain to do very much what we ask them to do. It does not seem to me a large sum to pay, if it were divided between the Exchequers of England and India, for such very great objects. It is very much less than we have been in the habit of spending year by year for the purpose of putting an end to slavery; and it would help to put an end to it in a natural and, it seems to me, a legal, as well as a very politic mode. It would give us a very great hold both on Muscat and Zanzibar. But our agents on the spot must know what the Government really intends to do, and must act vigorously as their predecessors have acted. The English Government has been extremely well represented hitherto, both at Muscat and Zanzibar; and whenever our consuls have known what we wanted, they have given great effect, both by argument and influence, to what the English Government required. That is the second point which I would urge, namely, that, between England and India, we should arrange for the payment for which Zanzibar is at the present moment bound to Muscat, and that we should take that as a stand point; and, referring to the benefits which we have conferred on both, say, "Now in return for this you should do something that we consider desirable, and also for your benefit." The third point is, that I would place our consuls and the consular service there, generally, on a better footing. Both Muscat and Zanzibar are extremely trying climates. The position is one which wears out men very fast; they are very ill paid, and they are almost without subordinate assistance; they are especially deficient in the means of employing vice-consuls, and persons in that position at the outposts. I have no doubt that if you were to deal with those gentlemen as the Indian Government has always been in the habit of dealing with great political officers, and giving due weight to their representations, as to the want of an additional outlay of 150*l*. or 200*l*. a year at particular places, for particular objects, I say I have no doubt that a little more liberality in that respect, enabling them to employ, not necessarily English agents, but consular agents, whether they might be natives of India, or Arabs, or Egyptians, you would find that they would always have the means of knowing what was going

going on at the outports. The want of such knowledge is one of the great defects of our present system, because our consuls are really dependent on those who are interested in keeping up matters as they are. The fourth point is this: I think more attention should be paid to the views of our naval officers with regard to efficient squadrons. I think that taking officers like Sir Leopold Heath, and the present Admiral on the station, every deference should be paid to their opinions with regard to the kind and strength of squadron which they really require to enable them to do their duty on that coast. At present a great deal of the duty is done by open boats with a young officer, very often only a midshipman on board, and those boats are out for weeks together, I believe I might say for months together, in the most exposed positions, with really not the means that are requisite to effect the object for which they are employed; they make up by their energy and dash for their want of number and want of power, but still there can be no doubt that if, instead of those small open boats, you had a kind of small steam gunboat perhaps, but, at all events, steamboats capable of going into very shallow water, and also capable of making head against the very strong currents which run along that coast, and are one of the great difficulties of the navigation, you would enable your naval officers to put an effectual stop to the traffic much more rapidly than they can at present. They ought also to be enabled to watch the northern Arabian ports themselves much better than they are now watched. The number of ships is not sufficient to watch the northern ports, and to look after the slave dhows after they get away from the immediate African coast. I believe that there are some restrictions under which they act with respect to a three-mile limit from the shore. Now, if we get the Sultan's Government, and the Imaum of Muscat's Government with us entirely, and act, as I think we are bound to act in those seas, rather in supplementing their defects, than in superceding their authority, and if we make use, as far as possible, of their authority, I think we should be able to get rid of a great many of those inconvenient limitations which very much harass and impede our naval officers. There should be much more liberality in the way of efficient interpreters, and the admiral on the station, I think, should have full power to employ interpreters of a much higher stamp than those usually furnished. Then a fifth, and very important point, seems to me to be the provision of lines of communication, and post office steamers, along all those coasts. I think this has been very strongly recommended already, and I would merely mention that none of those objections that have been started appear to me to be of any validity, as opposed to a system of subsidies for limited periods, such as that under which the Indian Government has extended the lines of steam communication from Rangoon up to the Euphrates. Such subsidies are certain to be brought every year, at least some portion of them, under the supervision of the Government, and the Government is perpetually reminded by rival companies if they are paying more than the service can be done for. I think if a just medium is struck of what is sufficient, and not more than sufficient to enable a commercial body to start lines of the kind, they would very soon prove almost self-

supporting; but I would always keep a certain subsidy payable to them, in order to give the Government the power of enforcing regularity of departure. For, viewed merely as part of the anti-slavery machinery, regularity of departure is a very important point, because it at once marks those who are in the service of the Government; and though, like the regularity of the policemen on their beat, it may tempt evildoers to try to evade the officers of the Government, still if the officers of the Government are on the watch, it also enables them to catch evildoers when they attempt to pass unseen. Then, steam communication, if it were fully developed, as I believe it would speedily be, by natural commercial causes on that coast, would, I have no doubt, lead to a good deal of natural emigration from one point to another, and where there was surplus labour you would find that people would not be afraid to transfer their labour to other parts where it is wanted. This would again strike at one of the roots of the evil, because there can be no doubt that the attempt to enslave people and carry them off as slaves, is one of the irregular remedies for an irregular distribution of labour over the surface of the globe. The sixth remedy is one that has already been very fully discussed in the evidence that the Committee has heard, namely, a colony for liberated slaves on the mainland. On that point I have only to add to what I find on the evidence, that I think care should be taken not to make it, if we can possibly avoid it, an English colony, but to make it a colony of English people, living under the flag of the Sultan, under his protection, and under his guarantee, and watched over by English officials. That would get rid of a good many difficulties in the way of founding fresh colonies; and it would also insure the great object of all, namely, the Sultan being carried with us, and the native local authorities being carried with us in all that we do. I think that free use should be made of the establishments, which the Church Missionary Society, and other missionary societies, and some of the French Roman Catholic Missions have on those coasts. They are very willing to co-operate, and to take a great part of the labour off the hands of the Government; and I think every use should be made of them in the way of head money, paid not in the very stinted and niggardly way in which it has been paid of late years, but paid very much in the way in which it was done at the time when the slave trade was suppressed on the West Coast of Africa. Above all, there is the necessity for a very able and well-selected consul being appointed, who will not only strongly press on the Sultan all that the English Government wishes in the matter, but will really be to him a support; such as the Imaum of Muscat, and others in his position, and the Sultan of Zanzibar have always found the political officers who have come up to the mark of real efficiency in the service. Lastly, it appeared to me that as the subject had a good deal changed its position since it was last under the review of Her Majesty's Government here, and the Government of India in Lord Canning's time, it would be very desirable to place this matter in the hands of a person who would go both to Muscat and to Zanzibar, specially charged by the Government of India, or Her Majesty's Government, as the case might be, but in the confidence of them both, well acquainted with what lengths he might

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Sir B. Frere, might go to in dealing with those Governments, and prepared with some authority, and with the dignity of a special envoy to press these points on those governments.

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453. What is the nature and extent of the Indo-African trade, exclusive of slaves?—It is very considerable. Some of the reports before the Committee give the figures. But the point that should be noted especially is, that it is a very old and reviving trade. Before any authentic Greek history, it is quite clear that there was a very considerable trade on this coast, and India had a very considerable share in it. It is more than probable, that a good deal of the African trade, such as it was, which found its way to Tyre and Syria, was carried on then, as now, by Indian merchants, who had their houses of agency at African ports. The earliest travellers, both those who came from the north and those who came with the Portuguese round the Cape, found Indian traders at every port along the coast, and a very considerable Indian trade carried on between Africa and India. And that trade was only crushed for a time, or very much lessened, at all events, by the action of European and Arab piracy. All the novels of Defoe's time speak of piracy in those seas very much as we refer to expeditions into the far west of America; and it is quite clear, if you read the memoirs of Captain Singleton, or any books of that kind, that active young men went into those seas and plundered everybody, but especially the Indian merchants, almost without any sense that they were doing wrong. It was only when the trade had got to be almost entirely confined to large ships that piracy came to be less profitable. Of late years this trade has revived, and judging from all analogy, there can be no doubt that if it were properly dealt with, and not impeded, as it is impeded, by the slave trade, it would increase very rapidly. I may mention that almost all of what we may call the banking business at those ports is done by natives of India, who have their homes in Scinde, Kurrachee, Kutch, Kattewar, and Bombay, and some as far south as Cananore and Cochin. They never take their families to Africa; the head of the house of business always remains in India, and their books are balanced periodically in India. The house in Africa is merely a branch house, though many of those people will assure you, and they give very good evidence of the fact, that they have had branches in Africa for 300 years, and possibly for much more. When you have that kind of network of indigenous activity existing as a mercantile agency, it is impossible to believe but that the traders will be as ready to push legitimate trade as they have proved themselves to be in India.

454. What is your view of the comparative importance of those African traders to England and India?—I should say the trade is equally important to both.

455. But I mean with regard to the amount?—With regard to the amount of it, the trade used to be almost all carried on through Bombay. The first change was that a portion of it was taken to the *entrepôt* at Aden; but latterly a great deal of it has come direct from Europe to Africa. There is a considerable and increasing American trade; or rather there was before the American war, and the German and French trade is very rapidly increasing. The German trade has become a matter of very great interest to all German mercantile men and political economists.

and German attention has been very much directed to that coast. But notwithstanding the large direct trade that has grown up, the Indian trade continues to increase almost as much as the English trade, and there seems to be an almost inexhaustible field for trade on that coast. I had the advantage of having Dr. Livingstone living with me for some time, between two of his expeditions to Africa, and he is, as the Committee are aware, one of the most keen and careful observers that one could possibly meet with. He was extremely struck when he had travelled a little in Western India; he made two or three journeys to a short distance from Bombay, and he was extremely struck with the immense apparent facility for a very large mutual trade being carried on between the two continents. Dr. Livingstone pointed out that there was an almost unlimited power of producing food in Africa. We had been in the habit of supposing that in India we should never have to import food from anywhere else; but it so happened, during the time he was with me, that in one province of India famine was threatened, and the prices were at once lowered by importation from the Persian Gulf. He remarked the fact immediately, and pointed out that the grain that was imported, was grain that could be produced to any extent in some of the high lands at a little distance from the coast of Africa, and that grain of different kinds, suited to the Indian taste, could be laid down on the coast at a rate which would render its transit to India a matter of commercial certainty.

456. Sir John Hay.] The grain being cultivated by free labour, I suppose?—There was very little free labour known then, but he spoke rather of the capabilities of the coast; he spoke particularly of the coast round Mombaza, where there are a few Englishmen settled, I think, who belong to the Church Missionary Society.

457. Chairman.] How are the liberated slaves disposed of at Bombay and Aden?—When there were very few of them, I think it must be about 20 years ago, they were made over to the police in Bombay, and the chief magistrate of police was charged with the duty of finding employment for them. It was not difficult to do so as long as they were very few, and as long as they were chiefly adults, but after a while a very large number of children were brought; they quite exceeded the power of natural absorption by any means at the command of the police, and there were some very painful cases, some of the men being kidnapped, and others, women, being found in a state of prostitution in the bazaars. The Government of the time took the advice of some of the Missionary Societies, and the Missionaries, at the suggestion of the Government, took some of the children, who were made over to them, and gradually there grew up at Nassick, not far from Bombay, about 70 or 80 miles from Bombay, where there is a station of the Church Missionary Society, an African colony, and the children were all taught industrial occupations of different kinds. They trained the boys as bricklayers, carpenters, and smiths, and so on, and as servants fitted to earn their own livelihood in India. Dr. Livingstone took from that institution nine boys, I think, who went with him to Africa, and I believe they are the African boys who are supposed to be with him still. In the last letter I got from Dr. Livingstone, about two years ago, there was an allusion to those boys

and there can be no doubt that boys brought up in the way they have been are quite able to earn their livelihood, either in India or if they go back to Africa.

458. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] I think that you are of opinion that rather an unwise economy has been exercised somewhere, which has prevented this policy which you have indicated being carried out?—Yes, I think an economy has been exercised which, as far as I can judge, is very unwise, if the Government really wishes to put a stop to slavery.

459. Has that proceeded from the Indian Department of the Government?—No, not from the Indian Department of the Government, I think. The general feeling of the Indian Government has, I think, been this; that the suppression of the slave trade was pre-eminently an imperial work, which had been undertaken and almost carried out by Her Majesty's Government, and that, as a purely anti-slavery question, India was not bound to take any action, or to go to any expense in the matter; but they were willing to go, and they would have gone, much further than they have ever gone, in the way of meeting Her Majesty's Government half way, to carry out what they were told was a matter of imperial moment; and, I have no doubt that if the feeling which actuated Her Majesty's Government some years ago actuated them still, and if the matter were put before the financial authorities of the Indian Government, the Indian Government would not hang back in any way from doing what they were told the Cabinet considered their duty to do in the matter. But when they saw that Her Majesty's Government appeared to be half-hearted in the matter and inclined to curtail every expense, they naturally said, "If that is the case with regard to their own efforts, *a fortiori*, it is our duty to save everything we possibly can, and not to attempt in a quixotic spirit that which has been found too much for Her Majesty's Government to effect."

460. In your communication with the Indian and with the Foreign Office, did you find any impediments?—None whatever; the Foreign Office appeared to hold the same views that they have always held.

461. You have no doubt that it proceeds from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's over watchful care, I suppose?—I have no doubt it proceeds from some general view of financial policy which is more apparent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer than it is to the public or to me.

462. From the evidence you have given, you think it is clear that as a very lucrative trade would probably spring up, it is a penny wise and pound foolish policy?—I feel as convinced as I can be of anything theoretical, that that is the case.

463. Then with regard to the steam communication that you have alluded to, have any of the companies ever offered to open a trade and carry the mails to Zanzibar?—Yes; I believe there have been two or three offers, but it has always been found that the Post Office has dealt with it as a purely Post Office question. At present, of course, when some three months elapse without an opportunity of receiving or sending a letter, the letters are as few as they would have been in the days of Richard the First, between London and York; but there cannot be a doubt that there would be a very large postal communication, if a proper and regular system were

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established; and no doubt, as has been the case everywhere else in those seas, there would ultimately be a very large steam traffic.

464. Could not the Indian Post Office undertake that in itself?—I have no doubt they would do their share, as they have done with regard to the Peninsular Company, and other companies, whenever they saw that the Government at home did their share, and pointed out what they thought India might reasonably be expected to do.

465. Suppose a liberal and judicious offer was made by the Indian Government, would the Post Office here be disposed to refuse it, do you think?—I presume they would look at it as a mere Post Office question, and, departmentally, no doubt they would be right. They would say, "It is not our business to look after possible profitable routes. Somebody else must do that; the number of letters that we get stamped at the Zanzibar post office is such that a steam line would not pay." But it seems to me a Cabinet question, which should be dealt with as a matter of general policy, in which the Post Office, as well as the India Office, and every other department of the Government, should be required to do what is considered necessary by the head of the Government to carry out the great national work of putting a final stop to slave trade by sea.

466. In India the Indian Government and its Post Office acts in a very different spirit; it endeavours to develop, by means of the Post Office, the countries through which it can possibly communicate, does it not?—Undoubtedly it has been very successful in that way. I may mention cases, like the communication between Bombay and Scinde, where, originally, a rather heavy subsidy was required, but at each renewal of the term the subsidy was reduced until now little is paid for that particular voyage. The same would no doubt be the case elsewhere, and you might always make sure of reducing your subsidy to just that point which is necessary to allow the Government to have an opportunity to say something with respect to punctuality of arrival and departure.

467. With regard to Rangoon, has there not been a very marvellous development of trade with Rangoon?—There has been an enormous development of trade with Rangoon, but I think that the circumstances of this East African Coast are still more favourable, inasmuch as there is a long line of coast with very few harbours, and with very strong currents and persistent winds for a great portion of the year. Those are just the circumstances under which sailing vessels are shy of making the coast, and you can never expect much to be done by sailing coasters; but steam coasting vessels can always either be sure of making the port, or keeping from not exposing themselves to danger.

468. It is steam communication which may be said to have developed that Rangoon trade, or very materially developed it, at all events?—Certainly; the development has been most important since steam communication commenced.

469. It is almost in that way a considerable supply of food is obtained from Rangoon, is it not?—There is a great exportation of rice.

470. With regard to the evidence you gave us on that old connection of so many centuries between Africa and India, have those points been fairly brought before the English Government; is there no department of the English Govern-

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Sir *B. Frere*, ment who is cognizant of those facts?—They are matters of historical certainty.

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471. At Bombay you were not required to give to the Foreign Office or the Post Office any information, were you?—The facts were no doubt embodied in a report, but they are buried, like many other things, in the official reports. The case in which India received a very important supply of food from Persia, was an instance in point; there was a sudden failure of the monsoon, and of the periodical rains in Guzerat; and all the local officers and the grain dealers were convinced that famine was impending. This was telegraphed in all directions, and, among other places, it was telegraphed to Persia and Bassora; and the result was that a steamer which was then due from the Persian Gulf brought down a large importation of wheat, which immediately reduced the prices, the grain dealers saw that there were means of supplying it; and in that particular instance the grain was reduced in price at once by the combined operation of the telegraphic and steam communication in a way that would have been quite impossible 10 years ago.

472. You think that, under those circumstances, subsidies wisely given are of incalculable benefit in developing the trade of a country?—Yes, given with what I will call frugal liberality. That would be quite the best way of developing that commerce which would bring slavery to a natural end. I might mention that when the Zanzibar envoys were in England two or three years ago, one of them said in terms (I forget the exact words), that they found, on the main land now, it was more profitable to employ natives in growing sésamom seed for export to Marseilles, than to hunt them down as slaves. That is the kind of operation which, I think, would promote the due development of a legitimate commerce.

473. It would materially help the American, German, and French trades, if they had a regular mail; would they not, then, very much use our telegraphic and postal communication?—Enormously, no doubt; as much as we should.

474. So that there is almost a certainty of a very great trade developing itself?—It seems so to me.

475. And that would most effectually stop the slave trade, would it not?—It seems to me the only thing. You can stop it by force, but you cannot keep it stopped by anything but the growth of such a commerce as would grow up on the East, as it has done on the West Coast.

476. Did you say that Dr. Livingstone was very strongly of that opinion?—Entirely so. That was after seeing more than most casual travellers have seen of Western India.

477. You spoke of the want of additional consuls; would there be any difficulty in obtaining the services of very efficient men there?—Not the least; if you required commissioned officers, such as our military and political officers in India, and those of the regular civil service of the Government there, they could be spared. But you might have a great deal of agency which has only grown up of late years, that is to say, educated native agency. I have met young Mahomedan and young Hindoo men of those particular castes, who go out to that coast, and who engage in trade there; I have met them able to speak and write as good English as we do ourselves, and quite able to pick up any languages of the people they are among.

478. Would there not be an indirect advantage in finding occupation for our own Indian subjects in that way?—Of course there would be, though that would be only in a few cases, but I would leave the matter as much as possible in the hands of our head consular authority; and if he said, "I have a place for which I can only ask you to give 50 l. or 100 l., and that is not enough for an Englishman, but I think it would be enough for a Mahomedan or Hindoo, and there is such a person there;" I would leave it to him very much to select his own agents and give every weight to his recommendations with regard to payment.

479. Had the consul applied to you when you were Governor of Bombay you would have had no difficulty, I suppose?—I could have found the agents but not the money.

480. I suppose the same remark applies with regard to interpreters; there is no difficulty in finding competent interpreters; is there?—None whatever, only they should be regularly paid, and be, as far as possible, in regular service.

481. Do you know instances in which the admiral had alleged, or had reason to believe, that an efficient force was not sent in response to his application?—I think, whenever he applied in India, we were able to give him some one who was efficient. We did all that he required; but I have known that, from want of opportunity of applying, the captains have been very badly served in the matter of interpreters; they have been obliged to take up men with a mere smattering of Hindoostanee, and who were not fitted, from their imperfect understanding of the language, to interpret between the captain and the chiefs.

482. It must be an immense detriment to the service having no direct or constant mail communication with Zanzibar, must it not?—It is a most serious detriment.

483. Sir *R. Anstruther*.] With regard to the compensation for the expenditure of 8,000 l., which you have recommended that the English Government, conjointly with the Indian Government, should undertake; how would the Exchequer be compensated for the outlay?—In the first place, I should rather demur to their requiring direct compensation. I should regard it rather as a portion of the sum which England has been paying for the last two generations, to carry out this great national object of suppressing slave trade; but I have not the least doubt that, like a subsidy to the line of steamers, ample compensation would be found in the very large commerce, which must follow anything like settled Government, and the suppression of the slave trade. Such commerce, as does exist at Zanzibar, has grown up, or has revived rather, since it was conquered by the late Imaum of Muscat. He was a man of very great ability; he reigned for a very long time, and in his early days he had the conduct of negotiations with Lord Wellesley, and had helped to keep the French out of those seas in the revolutionary war; and he ended by conducting the anti-slavery negotiations of the Governments in our own time. Nobody can watch his career without feeling certain that if his descendant would go on in the same course, building up a considerable marine, as he did, and giving protection to all the people that he obtained influence over or conquered, we should be having our work

work done in these latitudes much better than we could do it ourselves.

484. It might materially assist us, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if we could show a certain saving on the *per contra* side of the account. Have you anything to say of the depôt for liberated slaves at Aden?—I would take that depôt as an instance; the slaves were necessarily released there, for they could not be sent back, and could not be sent on to Bombay, and there was nothing for it but to release them there; of course in a place like that there is very limited power of absorption for such labour as those slaves could furnish, and such a wapt was very quickly filled up. There remained then an overplus of a particular kind of labour at Aden. Why? because there were no steamers in which they could be sent to such a depôt as it has been proposed to establish at Zanzibar, where there would have been an unlimited power of absorption, and you could not trust them to go anywhere else; they would have been made slaves immediately, if you had sent them to one of the neighbouring ports of the Red Sea.

485. You have recommended, I think, that the colony of the liberated slaves at Zanzibar should be under the flag of the Sultan of Zanzibar?—Yes, for this reason; that in the first place, if it was done in good faith it would greatly disarm the Sultan of Zanzibar's objections to anything of the kind, if we proved to him, as we have proved before to his predecessors, that we did not want to seize his kingdom, and oust him; we should then carry him with us; instead of having him against us. It would get rid of all the jealousies which would certainly be created, among other European powers by our establishing a colony of our own there, because they never would believe that it was done merely for the purpose of putting a stop to slavery, and we should have sullenness and intrigues, and probably a good deal of underhanded attempts to undo what we were doing there; whereas, if we merely had it on the same footing as our missionary establishments, and as the missionary establishments of the French are on there, you get rid at once of all local, as well as all European, jealousies.

486. It was mentioned to the Committee that the Sultan of Zanzibar was not able to enforce the decrees which he had issued; would he be able to protect this colony, do you think, if it was under his flag?—He would be backed by our own power. He would know that the consul's flag, and the naval force at our command, were there to protect our subjects and his authority; the two would be bound up together. The northern Arabs would set him, at defiance, possibly, of whom he would certainly be very much afraid; but they would think twice before they meddled with an English establishment which was supported, not only by the Sultan of Zanzibar, but any insult to which would certainly be avenged by our own force in those seas.

487. Sir J. Hay. I gathered from you that your impression was that if the blockade on the East Coast of Africa were maintained as strongly as that on the West Coast of Africa was maintained in former years, by that means you would anticipate a speedy stoppage of the slave trade?—Yes.

488. Have you considered that the successful termination of the slave trade on the West Coast of Africa is considered by many to have been

more due to the closing of the places at which slaves could be received, than even to the vigorous prosecution of the blockade on the coast itself; I allude to the fact that when the Brazilian Government carried out most loyally their treaties, and when the places at which slaves could be received were limited to the coast of Cuba, the operations of the navy became successful rather by a rigid blockade of the coast of Cuba, than by watching with strict vigour, and large numbers of ships, the various ports from which slaves could be shipped?—Certainly; I meant to include in the operations of the squadron the whole of the Persian Gulf also, and I think I mentioned in one of my answers that it was quite necessary that those ports should be watched carefully, by an agency on shore, in the shape of an efficient consular agency maintained in correspondence with our political agent and consul at Muscat, and also by an efficient squadron at sea.

489. Are the places at which the foreign slave trade from the East Coast of Africa is at present actively carried on limited to such points as could be conveniently watched; or rather, is it not a very great extent of coast, so that if you stopped the trade, and entirely stopped it at one place, it would spring up at another, and make it very difficult to complete the arrangement without treaties with Persia and other places on the Persian Gulf?—Yes, certainly. You cannot limit your operations to Zanzibar and Muscat; you must extend your operations to the independent tribes with whom you have already treaties, which, if they were properly enforced, would do all that you required; and I think the matter should be pressed on the Persian Government. I see the minister at Teheran objected to take any action with respect to the Persian Government, on the ground that we might lose the footing that we already have. I have no doubt he knows the bearings of the case much better than I do; otherwise I should have been very much disposed to doubt that. I believe it is one of those points in which you can succeed by persistent and perpetual pressing on a court, without hectoring or bullying; if you do not convert them by reason, they come to regard it as a concession to a very importunate person, whom it is not desirable to thwart, or refuse a small concession to. I think that if pressure had been applied to the Government of Persia in that way, without presuming to dictate to them, that we should have carried our point, as we have done elsewhere.

490. The operation that is contemplated (I speak navally) is a blockade of some 4,000 miles of coast; 2,000 miles of Africa, and 2,000 miles of Asia?—Probably it might amount to that.

491. That would require a squadron of 30 or 40 ships, instead of from three to seven ships, would it not?—You would take into account that it is only during certain seasons, and if you have good information of what is going on at the ports along the coast you may very much limit the number of ships employed. I may mention that very recently, one of the principal persons who was intended to give information to our agent in the Persian Gulf on this subject, and on whose information he relied, was very broadly accused of being a very great slave importer himself; our agent was unable for want of means to employ anyone else, but if he had had a trustworthy person in the shape of a consular agent on

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Sir B. Frere, on the spot, no doubt he would have made very short work of his faithless correspondent; that kind of information accurately given, and given with rapidity to the head quarters of a squadron, would, I should think, enable the naval officers to diminish the number of ships employed.

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492. Do you think that the Persian Government would accede to a seizure by our ships on our own investigation, by their authority, of a laden slaver in their own ports?—They are just now rather sore on such subjects, but I have no doubt they would do, in the long run, what is reasonable.

493. At present I think the Indian subsidy to the Royal Navy is 70,000 £ in addition to the transport service?—Yes.

494. Do you think that they would be inclined to increase that amount very considerably for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, supposing the diplomatic arrangements could be made?—I think they would do whatever was reasonable, and whatever Her Majesty's Government said, might fairly be expected of India, though, no doubt, they would be unwilling to take any additional expense upon themselves, unless they saw it was part of a general imperial policy.

495. Is it your opinion that the Royal Navy could best perform the service, or a local force, such as the Indian Navy formerly was?—That is a large question, but I have no doubt that the Royal Navy could perform the service very efficiently if the Admiralty were a little less strict in the enforcement of some of the rules which they have laid down for themselves. I think, if they allowed us to deal with their officers, and ships, more in the way in which the Horse Guards allow us to deal with their battalions and brigades, the Royal Navy could perform the duty just as efficiently as any other.

496. You would place them under the direction of the Governor of Bombay, rather than that of the Admiral on the station?—They should be always under the direction of the Admiral on the station. So far as my experience goes, the Governor of Bombay will never have any difficulty in getting done whatever is necessary. But I allude rather to that special devotion to that particular service. It is a peculiar service, in which the men get more efficient after having been four or five years on the coast; and, under the present system they are removed just as they are getting to know their business thoroughly.

497. You do contemplate, then, that even with the ships of the Royal Navy, the officers of that particular service should be continued there for a much longer period than the period for which the officers of the Royal Navy continue, for any given service?—Yes.

498. And that they should become locally qualified for the service?—Yes, and that would obviate most of the arguments for a local naval force.

499. Mr. Kennaway. One of your suggestions was that we should have the right to seize slavers within the three-mile limit, was it not?—Yes.

500. Is it the fact that we have not the right to seize slavers in Zanzibar and Muscat by the declaration of the Imam of Muscat, dated 6th May 1850?—I do not recollect that; I was thinking more particularly of the African coast.

501. But in the year 1850 would not Zanzibar

have been under the Imam of Muscat?—Yes; I may state that I know, as a matter of practice, that unless a vessel has been without the three mile limit she is rarely captured; if she is chased on shore then they follow her; but otherwise they leave alone vessels hugging the land.

502. Then, what further stipulations would you suggest should be added to the treaty with Persia, we having the power to search vessels if we have a Persian officer on board, and having prohibited also the import of slaves?—That is rather an inconvenient restriction, but I would get, if I could, the same facilities from them that we have from any other power; the greatest facilities.

503. You would propose additions to that treaty; an amended treaty, in fact?—Certainly. I would keep the subject always before the Persian Government, and press it on their attention, until I obtained the utmost facilities I thought possible.

504. Dr. Kirk writes, on the 14th of April: "I had no reason whatever to think that, on the subject of the slave trade, he had in any way changed, or was prepared to grant what was asked through Mr. Churchill;" you think that if we were willing to relieve him of this subsidy, his objections to curtailing the slave trade would be done away with?—Yes.

505. Would you propose that we should pay a subsidy to Muscat?—Yes; that we should relieve Zanzibar from all concern in the payment.

506. Then we should be at the mercy of the Sultan of Zanzibar if he did not carry out the treaty, should we not?—Hardly. A man in his position, who is really at our mercy the whole of the time, is not in a position to say that he had forgotten a treaty in which that was a stipulation binding on him.

507. But his successors might not consider themselves bound by that treaty?—I think they would be as careful to observe any arrangement that they had entered into, as we should be. I do not agree with the view that is taken by many people, that there is always a disposition on their parts to recede from their engagements.

508. In addition to the expense of the liberated slaves at Aden, is there not a sum paid in bounties to cruisers?—Yes.

509. We pay a considerable sum in bounties, do we not?—Yes.

510. If the slave trade was diminished, of course we should save considerably in that respect, should we not?—Yes.

511. Have you calculated at all what would be the whole expense of carrying out your plan?—No. It would be a matter of very easy calculation; but it would be increasing in one way and decreasing in another. If your vessels were as effective as they ought to be, I think you would then very speedily reduce the amount expended on your squadron, reduce the amount of the bounty, and the head-money, and so on. But on the other hand, I think you ought to be prepared for some increase in the consular services.

512. Taking it on the Persian Gulf, would your propose that this should be shared between the Indian and Imperial Governments?—Yes.

513. In the Persian Gulf, are not the interests rather more Indian than Imperial?—I think not; and I think that the interests are almost equally shared. It may be a doubt as to which division

division of the general government the care of those interests should be entrusted to.

514. In general, is not a divided control, such as you propose, of the Indian and Foreign Office, rather inexpedient?—Certainly; and if we could arrive at any other division which would not involve a divided control, I should say it would be an improvement.

515. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] You have stated that you thought that the Sultan of Zanzibar would be satisfied with an acknowledgement of the 8,500*l.*, but that would only be a portion of the revenue that he obtains from the slave trade, which has been put at 22,000*l.*; is not that so?—You must, to some extent, bring him over to your view, that this matter of slave trading is a bad one for him. I have no doubt that in time he could be brought to see it in that light; at all events, I think he would be willing to make a great sacrifice to gain your good will.

516. That would involve a sacrifice of 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.*, which is an important thing, is it not?—I hardly think that it would involve as much as that, because he would certainly not anticipate our being able to stop it at once.

517. How many consuls would you think it would require on the coast?—I cannot say. Mr. Churchill would give the Committee better information on that point than I can. I should be inclined to deal liberally in that matter, and let the consuls either have a European or native vice-consul or consular agent, or whatever he might ask for; and then you would be able to judge, after a year or two, whether he was doing any real good or not.

518. Mr. *J. Talbot*.] There is an establishment at Zanzibar for freed slaves, is there not?—There is a very large French mission, which takes a few, I believe; and there may be some subsisting there; but there is no regular establishment for maintaining freed slaves, or employing them in any way.

519. Not connected with any European country?—I believe not.

520. Lord *F. Cavendish*.] If we relieve the Sultan of Zanzibar of the payment of the subsidy to the Imaum of Muscat, and if we made him really wish to put down this trade, would the Sultan of Zanzibar have the power to control the northern Arabs?—I have no doubt he would, being backed by us. We do coerce them now with regard to their gradually, in defiance of his orders, assembling a very considerable naval force at Zanzibar. As long as it is merely a matter between him and those with whom we have no concern, our officers are unable to interfere, but they would make very short work of the northern Arabs if they were once allowed to aid him.

521. We should be forced to keep a small force off the coast in his support in that case, should we not?—Yes.

522. Would the Indian Government consider it fair that half this subsidy to Muscat should be paid out of the Indian Revenues?—I can hardly say what their view would be. The Government in India has altered its view very considerably from time to time. Regarding its own interests at Zanzibar, in Lord Canning's time, they were

looked upon as very important; but latterly they have been looked upon, I think, without due reference to the facts, as of less importance. The Government of India being also further removed from the ports which trade with Zanzibar is not, perhaps, so strongly impressed with the value of the trade, and its capabilities of supplying the Government of Bombay.

523. Is the East Coast of Africa an unhealthy coast?—The lower parts, at the mouths of the rivers, are, I believe, very unhealthy, but directly you get through Deltas, and the low country on the coast, you get to a country which has been described to me as remarkably healthy; you rise up a kind of steppe into a table land, and you find that is healthy.

524. With regard to the recommendation of increasing our fleet off this coast, would the service be an unhealthy one for the crews?—I should say not, because you would not be much in the River Deltas; they would be mostly at sea, which is not more unhealthy than the tropical service at sea generally.

525. With regard to subsidising a line of steamers, between what ports should such steamers ply, do you think?—I should say they might diverge from Aden or Maculla, which is a port between Muscat and Aden. They should run down the coast as far south as there is any English trade, and they should possibly include in that tour some of the islands, such as Seychelles, that communicate between Zanzibar and the Seychelles Islands.

526. Have you any knowledge what kind of subsidy the merchants would require to start such a line of steamers; would it be 10,000*l.* or 50,000*l.*, or what?—No; I should say it would not be very expensive. Besides there is known to be a considerable trade, and I think they would be content with a very short term, probably, at first starting.

527. The high price of coals on that coast would make the service an expensive one, would it not?—The coals would probably be supplied direct from England. Vessels would go out ballasted with coals, and return with cotton or sugar or other produce as they now do.

528. You would have to go by the Suez Canal, would you not?—They would join in with the Suez line at Aden.

529. *Chairman*.] In No. 65 of the Report addressed to the Earl of Clarendon by the Committee on the East-African Slave Trade, there is a suggestion with regard to freed slaves, that "the greatest care should be taken to provide efficient protection for the freed slaves, and to prevent their being ill-used by their employers, or kidnapped by the slave-dealers. They should be under the special protection of Her Majesty's Consul, although amenable to the laws of Zanzibar; a register should be kept of them at the British Consulate; they should be provided with printed certificates of freedom, and, as we have already suggested, the Sultan should declare his intention to punish severely any attempt to molest them;" should you concur in those recommendations?—Those are exactly the kind of regulations that I would propose.

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Thursday, 20th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Sir Robert Anstruther.
Lord Frederick Cavendish.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Gilpin.
Mr. Russell Gurney.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Kinnaird.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. John Talbot.

RIGHT HONOURABLE RUSSELL GURNEY, IN THE CHAIR.

20 July
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Mr. Vivian read a letter received from Dr. Kirk on the 10th of June 1871—(Vide Appendix).

Major General CHRISTOPHER PALMER RIGBY, called in; and Examined.

Maj. Gen.
C. P. Rigby.

530. *Chairman.*] WERE you at one time Consul at Zanzibar?—I was Her Majesty's Consul and Political Agent for the Indian Government nearly four years; from 1858 to the end of 1861.

531. Had you previously to that been acting in any capacity which gave you a knowledge of the affairs of that district?—I had been stationed at Aden for four years, where I studied Arabic and Persian, and the language of the African Coast, the Somali language; and I had also been nearly two years up the Persian Gulf; I was the magistrate at Bushire, superintendent of police, and Persian interpreter to the general commanding during the Persian War.

532. Had you any opportunity of becoming acquainted with the proceedings of the slave-traders previously to your being appointed Consul at Zanzibar?—I had heard a good deal of the trade when I was up the Persian Gulf, being very much thrown amongst officers of the Indian Navy.

533. At that time, that is before the year 1858, was there any considerable slave trade carried on up the Red Sea?—I think very few slaves indeed were carried up the Red Sea. There were always one or two vessels of the Indian Navy stationed at Aden, and they operated almost as a complete check to any slaves passing into the Red Sea.

534. In 1858, who was the reigning sovereign at Zanzibar?—Syed Majid, the late Sultan.

535. Had you much communication with him?—The British Consulate at Zanzibar had been closed 18 months before I went there on account of the death of my predecessor, Colonel Hamerton. I was the only Englishman there, and of course it took me some time to become acquainted with the slave trade; every individual on the island was interested in keeping me in ignorance of it as much as possible, and it was only gradually that I became aware of the vast extent of it.

536. I suppose it has existed there for a long time?—It has grown gradually from year to year; but it is within the last 20 years that it has become developed to what it now is.

537. You found it prevailing to a great extent

in 1858, as soon as you were able to become acquainted with what going on?—Yes; at that time the slave trade to the Persian Gulf and to the Red Sea, was not so active as it is now, because the chief number of the slaves, particularly the adults, were taken away by the French. When I went there I found a most active slave trade carried on at Zanzibar itself, and along the coast by the French vessels, and at that time the French slave vessels went escorted by French men-of-war.

538. Would those slaves be taken to the Mauritius?—To Réunion and to Mayotta.

539. Did the slave trade increase or decrease during the time you were there?—For sometime after I went there it increased very much. The French Government encouraged the trade; the French Admiral used to say, we want labourers for our colonies, and we are determined to have them; the French consul also gave his active support to it; not only was encouragement given to slavers under the French flag, but also to slavers under the Spanish flag.

540. Has that state of things continued up to the present time?—I brought this to the notice of the Foreign Office, and I followed the subject up as much as I possibly could, but it continued till Prince Napoleon came into office as Foreign Minister in France, and he issued very stringent orders prohibiting this slave trade, which did check it very much for a time, but afterwards they carried it on under the free engagées system.

541. Have you reason to suppose that that has been continued to the present time?—It was checked afterwards by our Government entering into an arrangement with the French, by which they were allowed to take labourers from India.

542. Was the principal part of the slave trade carried on at that time, that which was carried on under the French flag?—In addition to that, there was a great slave trade to Cuba under the Spanish flag.

543. That I suppose has ceased before now?—I think that has entirely ceased. Large houses at Marseilles and Barcelona entered very largely into

into the slave trade; they used to have splendid vessels come out; no expense was spared, and a very large amount of capital was embarked in the trade; that was a great deal checked, and during the last year that I was at Zanzibar, out of six vessels that were sent out from a certain house at Marseilles, five were either lost or captured.

544. Was there at that time any considerable trade carried on by the Arabs?—Yes, but not to such an extent as now, because the French outbid the Arabs very much; they could afford to pay a larger price for the negroes than the Arabs could.

545. What was the price of a slave at that time at Zanzibar?—Whilst the French were buying them, I should say the price of a full grown slave was from 30 to 40 dollars.

546. That gave a very large profit to the seller of the slave to the French, did it not?—Yes.

547. To what extent was the Arab slave trade carried on while you were there?—I think the second year after I was there I got the returns from the Custom House, which showed that it was 19,000.

548. That included all, I suppose?—Those were the slaves which passed the Custom House at Zanzibar, and which were supposed to be kept, if they had obeyed the treaties within the Zanzibar dominions, but probably at the very lowest estimate, three-fourths of those were sold to the northern Arabs.

549. Not to the French?—No; the late Sultan was always very fair; he was himself very anxious to put a stop to this French slave trade in his dominions, and he remonstrated constantly with the French; but he said, what can I do when they send their slave vessels with men-of-war; if I attempt to interfere, the French Consul immediately threatens me with the interference of his Government.

550. Did the Sultan derive the same profits from the slaves carried by French vessels, as from the others?—He derived no profit at all from them.

551. His only profit was from those carried by the northern Arabs?—Yes, those that passed the Custom House at Zanzibar.

552. Where did the French take them from?—All parts of the coast. They used to send agents to the Island of Zanzibar also, and have them collected and taken to the back side of the island which is almost uninhabited; where there are no roads and no huts, and have them shipped off secretly from there.

553. Was the Sultan equally honest with respect to the slaves carried by the northern Arabs?—No; he was afraid of the northern Arabs, they being of his own race; I have intercepted letters from his own nearest relatives sending orders to Zanzibar, describing the exact number and sexes of the slaves they required, just as if they were sending orders for horses to be shipped.

554. Besides any fear he might have of the northern Arabs, he would be deprived of the profits on the slaves by putting down the trade?—Yes; because a tax is paid upon the slaves passing the Custom House. At that time it was a dollar per head, and I think in 1860 he increased the tax to two dollars. On all slaves imported by his own family no tax is paid, so that the Sultan does not get a revenue upon the whole number.

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555. Were you called upon to remonstrate much with the Sultan as to the continuance of the trade notwithstanding our treaties with him?

—During the whole of the four years I was there I was perpetually remonstrating with him. His attitude towards us depended a great deal upon the state of circumstances in which he happened to be in at the time. When he was in want of our assistance he would act very fairly, and do anything I wished, at other times, when he thought there was no danger of rebellion, he would not.

556. What was the sort of assistance which he expected to obtain from us?—Whilst I was there, his brother, the present Sultan, Syed Burghash, rebelled against him, and no doubt the Sultan would have lost his life and the whole of his dominions would have been in a state of anarchy, had not he given me sole authority over the town to do what I liked. Fortunately I got assistance from a man-of-war which happened to be at the time in the harbour, and I went and seized the present Sultan, who had hidden himself in his house in the town, and I made him prisoner, and sent him to Bombay. At that time the Sultan would do anything; but after the danger had passed he gradually relaxed; he became very much annoyed by the more active proceedings of our cruisers, and at last he got into a very bad temper, and would not assist us in any way.

557. At that time was it your opinion that he had some reason to complain of the proceedings of our cruisers?—In very few instances. Great complaints were made, but, when investigated, it turned out in almost every case that the Arabs were instigated by the French or other foreigners who viewed our interference with the slave trade with the greatest dislike and jealousy.

558. We had no assistance from the French ships?—Quite the reverse. Previous to my arrival in Zanzibar, I had not known of any instance of a slaver being captured in the Zanzibar territories by any of our cruisers; certainly no captures took place for six years before that. After that our cruisers were very active indeed, and a great many slavers were taken, particularly northern Arab dhows. As nothing had been done previously to my arrival, of course the Sultan and all the Arabs considered that the activity of our cruisers was owing to my personal action, and they had the idea that when I left the whole thing would drop.

559. Did the seizures by our cruisers give any considerable check to the trade?—Very great; so much so, that I found, when I was leaving Zanzibar in October 1861, that on the coast north of Zanzibar slaves were selling for five dollars a piece; the sale of them had become so difficult then that the men who had bought them at Zanzibar and taken them north, with a view to shipping them to Persia and Arabia, were glad almost to give them away; they found such difficulty in getting rid of them.

560. Is the profit of the trader who buys slaves at Zanzibar and on the coast adjoining Zanzibar, and exports them to the Red Sea, very large?—Apparently it is very large; that is to say, a slave sold in the market at Zanzibar for, say 20 dollars, would be resold in Muscat for 60 to 100 dollars, but the mortality during the sea passage is so very great that it very much reduces the profit.

561. What occasions that very great mortality?—The way they pack the slaves in those small dhows; the want of proper food; the state of filth they are in; the want of water; and if they happen

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happen to sight an English steamer at sea the slavers frequently cut the throats of the whole number of the slaves on board and throw them overboard.

562. Then the sufferings of the slaves on board are rather increased by our cruisers being stationed on the coast?—Very much indeed; there is no doubt of it. I remember the case of a dhow that was captured in the harbour of Zanzibar by the ship "Lyra." I had had information that that dhow had got slaves on board, and just before she sailed I went with Captain Oldfield of the "Lyra," and boarded the dhow. There were 112 girls on board her, evidently selected to be sold at a high price for the harems of Arabia and Persia. The dhow was taken alongside the "Lyra," and these slaves were taken out. A fatigue party from the "Lyra" was sent into the dhow to take out the provisions, but each man as he went into the hold of the dhow fainted away; the doctor then gave orders that the vessel was to be towed out and scuttled, and he said from the frightful stench, and the state the dhow was in, if she had gone to sea, there could be no doubt that in a week the whole of those slaves would have died; that I think is a very common case. They go to sea so ill provided, that the sufferings of the slaves are very great, and particularly if they have put off their departure to the last, or if the northern winds, set in earlier than usual, and they cannot beat up against them; then the sufferings are frightful.

563. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] What is the average length of the voyage to Muscat?—Thirty to 35 days; if they have any slaves on board, they have to put in at two or three ports for water; and that circumstance gives great facility to our cruisers to check the trade, because they have only to watch a few ports on the coast to the north, and they are sure to catch a great many of those dhows.

564. Chairman.] Do you think by active exertions on the part of our cruisers, the trade could be prevented, looking at the large profit there is on the slaves?—I have not the slightest doubt that within five years it could be entirely stopped; but to stop it, we want what we have never yet had, viz., system; one year you get an active officer on the coast, who enters into the spirit of the thing, and checks the trade a good deal; then he goes away, and another man comes with quite different opinions; or you get a captain of a cruiser who takes the advice of the Consul and pulls with him, and he does a great deal of good; and then, perhaps just as he has become acquainted with the secrets of the trade, and begins to know where the slaves are shipped, and where the dhows put in for water, and can distinguish between a legitimate trader and a slave dhow, which it takes a long time to do, he is ordered away and never goes back again.

565. If one slave dhow in five arrived at its destination in safety, would it pay for the loss of four?—No; I do not think it would. I should say that the loss of one would take the profits upon four; because, when you take the price of provisions and all together, there is not so much profit.

566. So that if the cruisers succeeded in capturing one out of five, you think it would be sufficient to destroy the trade?—Yes; I do not think they have hitherto captured anything like that proportion.

567. What force has there been on that coast?—There has never been any regular squadron kept up. When I was there, the squadron that the Admiralty sent out was a common cause of joking amongst the French, and the Americans, and the Germans. That such a squadron should be sent out to check the slave trade was an absurdity. There was the "Sidon," an old tub, that any dhow on the coast could beat; there was the "Gorgon," that took 40 days to do 800 miles, and vessels of that class, perfectly useless for any other service.

568. You think that the cruisers alone could put a stop to the trade; but does it occur to you that any means might be taken to make it the interest of the Zanzibar people to put a stop to the trade?—I think the Zanzibar Arabs are now fully aware that it will be stopped, and their ideas are very different now as to their own interests to what they were a few years ago. The late Sultan of Zanzibar sent his brother-in-law and a cousin on a mission to the Queen two years ago, and at the Sultan's particular request I was appointed to take charge of the mission. The person who acted as secretary is now the minister to the present Sultan, Syed Burgash, and in talking with him daily on the subject, he said that the Arabs are now beginning to find out that the English are quite right, that there is far more money to be made by keeping the labourers in the country and cultivating the rich valleys by their labour, than by selling them out of the country.

569. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] Would they be employed as slaves in the country?—There would always be a certain form of slavery on the coast, but it is not attended with any cruelty. Arabs are passionate and hot tempered, but they are not cruel to their slaves; they are nothing like the French or the Portuguese in their treatment of slaves.

570. (Chairman.) They would have the power of stopping it altogether without our cruisers if they were really in earnest, and if they were satisfied that it would be to their interest to keep the slaves in their own country as labourers?—The difficulty is that the Zanzibar Arabs are so much afraid of these piratical tribes from the north, that come down with the north winds in great numbers.

571. Who make expeditions into the interior, and capture the slaves?—No, those are men of a different class, those are half castes, who organise those expeditions, and plunder slaves from the interior.

572. They are the men who provide the slaves for the northern Arabs?—Yes.

573. Have you any suggestion to make with regard to what might be done in the way of putting a pressure upon the Sultan to induce him to put a stop to the trade?—We have tried all sorts of means through treaties, through remonstrances, and through advice, and they have all done very little good. From what I know of Syed Burgash, I do not think he would be so much inclined to meet our views as the late Sultan was, but I have always been of opinion that our Government should put down the slave trade with a strong hand.

574. In what way?—I wrote out a short extract from one of Lord Palmerton's letters to my predecessor, and I often used to read a translation of it in the "Durbar" to the Sultan, and I often gave copies of it in Arabic to the principal chiefs

chiefs. Lord Palmerston instructed Colonel Hamerton to inform the Imaum, "that the traffic in slaves carried on by his subjects was doomed to destruction; that Great Britain was the chief instrument in the hands of Providence for the accomplishment of this object; that it is useless for these Arabs to oppose what is written in the Book of Fate; that if they persisted in the continuance of this traffic it would involve them in trouble and lossess; that they had better therefore submit to the will of Providence, and abandon this traffic, cultivate their soil, and engage in lawful commerce." I have always been of opinion that that was the proper view to take of it.

575. Nothing having been done to carry that out for a good many years, do you think it would still have the same effect?—We might well say to the Sultan we have left it to you to act up to the treaties, and to abolish this horrible man stealing; you have not done it, we do not say you are wilfully and knowingly keeping up this slave trade, but it has been, chiefly through the instrumentality of the English Government, suppressed in every other country in the world, and we will no longer allow you Arabs to be an exception.

576. We have no treaties with them which prohibit man-stealing altogether?—No, but we should simply say we will not allow this; I think the Arabs quite understand that way of putting it. I often said to the Sultan, You Arabs come down here because you find a very pleasant and fertile country preferable to your own barren deserts, but that does not give you any right to depopulate half Africa, and to go and steal the population and sell them.

577. You consider we should be justified in interfering with a strong arm in the interior of Africa to prevent the stealing of the natives?—By means of an efficient squadron you would be able so to check the trade that in a few years it would be given up; we could not interfere in the interior.

578. We cannot interfere with anything except the foreign slave trade?—No.

579. They are entitled to take any number of slaves necessary for their own use under our treaty?—Yes, as long as that treaty is in existence the slave trade will be carried on to a certain extent.

580. You think it is absolutely necessary to get a new treaty?—Yes; I think there could be no more favourable occasion for proposing a new treaty than the present; we are under no obligations to Syed Burgash. It may be said that he is under obligations to us, for I sent him under British protection to Bombay; he certainly was kept there as a state prisoner, but he was well treated, and probably by his being sent there I saved his life. The Arabs now see that slavery is abolished throughout the United States of America; the Portuguese, their own nearest neighbours, who carried it on in a most shameful and cruel way, have abolished it now by law, and I think we might very well say to the Sultan, as Lord Palmerston says here, "Great Britain is the instrument of Providence, and it is written in the Book of Fate that the slave trade shall stop, and we will be the means of stopping it."

581. We have been told that there is a much greater trade between other countries and Zanzibar than there used to be; the trade is principally with the Germans and the French, is it not?—

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I think the French trade has died out very much; the Germans have a large trade, and so have the United States; I think, if possible, the best course to adopt would be to induce all the foreign nations that have consuls there to join our Government in putting down the slave trade; I do not see why they should not, and I think it most likely that they would.

582. Would not it be almost necessary to get them to join with us?—Yes; very great mischief has been done, and very great mistrust has been instilled into the minds of the Arabs by foreign merchants; they are all very jealous of our interference with the slave trade.

583. Do you think the Sultan could hold his own now without the profits which he derives from the exportation of slaves?—His profits on slaves, compared with his other means, are the merest trifle. The means of the present Sultan are very much greater than what his father and his brother had. Old Syed Saeed had to keep up his territories in India and in the Persian Gulf, in addition to Zanzibar, and he always had to be on his guard against the encroachments of the Wahabahs. The commander of Her Majesty's ship "Imogene," which visited Zanzibar in 1834, stated that up to that time there was no trade at all scarcely. It only came to be anything like a place of trade after the late Imaum transferred his own residence there, accompanied by the British consul. It was the presence of the British consul there, and the feeling that there was always justice to be had where there was a British consul, that induced a large number of our Indian fellow-subjects to go and settle at Zanzibar, and they have created the trade. I think, up to the year 1838 or 1840, the revenue the Sultan derived from customs at Zanzibar was only 50,000 crowns a year. In 1859, the farm of the customs was 196,000 dollars. In 1870, in the latest return from Dr. Kirk, it is 310,000. Therefore, in 10 years, the revenue which the Sultan got from his customs was increased by 114,000 dollars, or, in English money, about 24,000*l*.

584. Mr. Kennaway.] Does that include slaves?—I never could understand whether the customs master included the slaves; I do not think he did, because the profits from the slaves went into the private purse, as it were, of the Sultan. At any rate, the trade is so greatly increased that, at the lowest estimate, he is getting now 24,000*l*. more per annum from the customs revenue than he did in 1859-60. In the previous 10 years the increase was quite as much. The customs are farmed to an Indian Banyan for five years at a time, and almost every five years there is an increase in the same ratio. Notwithstanding that the customs master pays over this large amount, I happened to make the will of the old customs master, and he left 3,000,000 dollars in hard cash. Old Syed Saeed, the father of the late Sultan and the present Sultan, though he had an immense establishment, and a family of over 20 children, left, I do not know the exact amount; but it must have been several millions of dollars. As far as the resources of the Sultan go, they are ample to keep up the Government there.

585. You think he is not at all dependent on the sum he receives from slaves?—Not in the slightest degree; he has large estates in Zanzibar which are becoming every year more productive. The late Sultan was put to great expense in paying these northern Arabs; he was afraid of them;

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Maj. Gen. he thought if his brother rebelled he would want
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 — 40,000 dollars as bribes in point of fact. The
 20 July present Sultan, having a friendly brother at
 1871. Muscat, will be under no obligation of that sort.

586. As I understand, the only means which you suggest, with a view of suppressing the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, are, increased activity on the part of our squadron, and requiring the Sultan to enter into a new treaty with us so as to put a stop to the internal slave trade?—Yes; the chief point with regard to the squadron is to have an experienced naval officer in a permanent appointment there, who should have a command or supervision over the whole east coast, embracing the Mozambique and Madagascar coast, where there is a very large and increasing slave trade going on now. He should not be always required to reside at any one place, but to go about in the cruisers. In a short time he would have a thorough knowledge of where the slave trade was carried on in all its branches, and as each new cruiser came on to the ground, the commander would not be perfectly in the dark as he has been hitherto, sometimes taking vessels that are not slavers. All that would be avoided, and the mere fact of having an officer there acquainted with the coast and able to give instructions to the officers coming out, would certainly save the expense of two vessels there.

587. Do you know anything of the expense which is now incurred in the support of liberated slaves?—I have no recent knowledge upon that point. When I was at Zanzibar I emancipated about 6,000 slaves who had been held in slavery by British Indian subjects. I never had the slightest trouble in providing for them, and they never cost the Government a shilling.

588. Did you obtain labour for them, or did they find it for themselves?—They found it for themselves. There was always a great demand for labour, not only in the plantations, but in the service of American and German and French houses. There is a great trade in cowries, which employs a great many people; then labourers are required in sifting and washing the gum copal, and in husking the cocoa-nuts; it constantly occurred that I discovered slaves in the employment of those foreign merchants whose masters were British subjects. I sent for them and had them emancipated by the Arab judge, and they took their certificates of emancipation and went back to their work, the only difference being that instead of handing over all the pay to their masters, they kept the pay themselves.

589. Do you attach importance to having consuls or vice consuls at other ports on the coast besides Zanzibar itself?—I do not think it would be possible. I know Mr. Churchill has recommended that, but I do not think you would get a respectable class of men to undertake the office; and if you could get them I do not think, on the average the men would live three months, the climate is so very unhealthy. I never knew a white man go there yet without getting one of the deadly fevers. I was on the coast myself, and I very nearly died. I caught a fever that lasted for eight months.

590. Is Zanzibar itself unhealthy?—The town is not, but it is almost certain death for any white man to sleep in the plantation. Some years ago the commodore went with several officers and a boat's crew to one of the Sultan's country houses in the interior of the island, a distance of about

15 miles; they only slept one night in the interior, and a few days afterwards the only one of the whole party alive was one who had slept in the boat, the vegetation is so dense and rank.

591. Do the natives suffer from the climate?—Not in the same degree, the Arabs do, very much; I think very few Arabs of pure race reach manhood.

592. Have you kept up your acquaintance with what has been going on in Zanzibar since 1861, when you left?—Yes; I have been in constant correspondence with people out there, Mr. Churchill and Dr. Kirk, and natives. I happen to have received last Monday some very interesting letters, one of which was from the customs master complaining bitterly of the want of postal communication.

593. Was your attention directed to that subject while you were there?—It was a constant subject of correspondence with me the whole time I was there.

594. Was there not at one time a suggestion made that tenders should be advertised for for a subsidised line of steamers?—I made a report on the matter to the Government of Bombay. I had constantly represented the desirability of having a subsidised line, and when I came home on leave I had an interview with Sir Charles Wood, who was then the Minister for India, but nothing was done. When I went back to India I found that the subject had been noticed by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in consequence of a good deal of trade which used to find its way to Bombay being intercepted by foreign merchants, and taken to Zanzibar; for instance, Germans and Americans now send their ships to Muscat and to Bussorah for gums and hides, and to the coast of Mekran for wool, thereby cutting off very nearly all the wool trade and the gum and hide trade from Kurrachee and Bombay; that is all brought to Zanzibar, and sent away in German and American ships.

595. Lord F. Cavendish.] Round the Cape?—Yes, since the opening of the Suez Canal, another change has taken place, and I think a good deal of trade is coming back to this country.

596. Chairman.] Is that diversion of trade to which you have referred, attributable in any way to the want of postal communication?—I consider it entirely due to that; perhaps I may be allowed to read a few remarks from the report which I made to the Government at the time, which express my views at the present moment. The Government of Bombay had been in communication with the Postmaster General upon this subject, and happening to be at Bombay at the time on my way to England, they referred the matter to me; and this is my memorandum, dated the 3rd March 1867: "During my residence at Zanzibar, I had many occasions of observing how very desirable a regular postal communication would be between that port and Bombay; and on my return to England, I brought this subject to the consideration of Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, pointing out how the rapidly increasing commerce of Zanzibar was being monopolised by foreigners, and the trade of Aden, Muscat, Bussorah, and the coast of Mekran being gradually diverted from Kurrachee and Bombay into foreign bottoms, owing to the German and American merchants at Zanzibar intercepting it, and carrying the coffee, gums, hides, &c., from Aden and Mocha; the dates, hides, &c., from Muscat, and the wool from Mekran,

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Mekran direct to Zanzibar. Zanzibar is also becoming the emporium for the sea-borne trade of Madagascar, the Mozambique, the Comoro Islands, and the whole of the East Coast of Africa. It is now the chief market in the world for the supply of ivory, gum, copal, cloves, and cowrees, and has a rapidly increasing export trade in hides, oil, seeds, dyes, &c., whilst sugar and cotton promise to figure largely amongst its future exports. The foreign trade of Madagascar has increased with extraordinary rapidity since the ports of this island have been opened to commerce. It is impossible to foresee what may be its extent in a few years. As one example of this increase, I was informed by the United States Consul at Zanzibar, that during the north-west monsoon of 1865, upwards of 60 large bugalows and dhows proceeded from Zanzibar to the western ports of Madagascar, to load rice for Kutch and Kattiwar, in consequence of the deficient harvest in those provinces. All this valuable trade is at present lost to British merchants, because until there is a postal communication with Zanzibar it is impossible for them to compete with the foreigners, who at present have it all in their hands, and whose vessels, arriving with the latest state of the markets, they are thus enabled to regulate their purchases and sales. Nearly the whole of the local trade of Zanzibar is in the hands of British-Indian subjects, viz., Banians, Khojahs, and Borahs, some of whom are very wealthy. The American, French, and German merchants conduct nearly all their business through these natives of India, who would however much prefer trading with English merchants, as they know that all disputes arising would then be settled by the British Consul, and according to the same law for both parties. The way in which the want of postal communication operates to prevent any of the trade being carried on by merchants at Bombay, may be illustrated by the following example of what several times occurred during my residence at Zanzibar:—A wealthy native firm at Bombay chartered a large British ship to proceed from Bombay to Zanzibar to load a cargo for London; the letter of advice to their agent at Zanzibar to purchase a cargo being duly sent by the mail steamer to Aden. There being no postal communication between Aden and Zanzibar, the letter does not reach the latter port for several months. In the meantime, the ship arrives at Zanzibar; the agent, having no advice, has no cargo ready; the foreign merchants acting on an agreement existing between them for the purpose of excluding British merchants from any participation in the trade, run up the price of all produce in the market 40 per cent., sharing whatever loss there may be amongst each other. The ship, after waiting in vain for a cargo, comes on demurrage, and is finally dispatched to London in ballast, entailing a heavy loss on the charterers in Bombay, who give up in consequence any intention of establishing a trade with Zanzibar. The expense of establishing a monthly communication between Zanzibar and the Seychelle Islands in correspondence with the French mail steamers running between Aden and La Reunion, and which call at Port Victoria, Island of Mahi, would be inconsiderable. The distance between Zanzibar and the Seychelle Islands is about 800 miles, almost due east from Zanzibar. Both monsoons are a fair wind, but there are frequent long calms, and the navigation on the Seychelles Bank is tedious and dangerous for sailing

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vessels, owing to the very strong currents. A small steamer would consequently be preferable to a sailing vessel. I think that if a regular communication were established with the Seychelles, a considerable trade would soon arise; natives of India residing at Zanzibar would be attracted to those lovely and salubrious islands, and the expense of keeping up a small vessel would be in part or entirely covered by freight and passage.

597. You would look to the increase of commercial intercourse as having considerable effect in diminishing the interest which the natives have in the slave trade?—I would; it is impossible to calculate what the trade of that coast might become in a few years if the slave trade were once abolished.

598. In what way does the existence of the slave trade prevent the growth of a legitimate commercial trade?—The great export of able-bodied labourers from the country, deters free labourers from coming to settle at Zanzibar or along the coast, because they know that as long as the slave trade is going on they are not safe for a day.

599. Were any of the 6,000 you emancipated retaken, and sold again as slaves?—They were not interfered with. When I was at Mandavie, the principal port of Kutch, where I was staying for a considerable time investigating the revenue accounts of the port for 60 years, many of those men came to me evidently very proud of the passes they had received from me.

600. Seeing that those 6,000 remained untouched, why should not free labourers be safe from capture?—Those slaves that I emancipated were all registered at the British Consulate; they were emancipated legally according to the law of the land by the Kazi; they then brought their certificate of emancipation to me, and I signed it, and affixed the seal of the Consulate to it; I registered every particular regarding them in a book kept at the Consulate; most of those men afterwards had their certificate of emancipation tied round their necks in a silver box or wore it on their arms; and I heard afterwards, from naval officers, of those men being met with in many other ports in Mozambique, and on the coast of Madagascar.

601. Was anything done upon that memorandum which you have read?—The resolution of the Government of Bombay was that a copy of the papers should be forwarded to the Secretary of State and the Government of India, with a recommendation that tenders be invited for the conveyance of a monthly mail.

602. Were tenders invited?—I left Bombay shortly afterwards, but I believe nothing has been done.

603. No tenders have been invited?—I never heard of any.

604. Do you suppose that a line could be established with a moderate amount of subsidy?—I have no doubt it could. Hearing the subject mentioned on Monday, I went to one of the directors of the British India Steam Navigation Company, and he sent me a memorandum this morning, showing all the lines which their Company at present work with a subsidy from the Government, and he says, in a note, that his Company are very anxious indeed to tender for a line from Aden to Zanzibar, which would form a continuation of the communication with the Persian Gulf and the whole of the west coast of India and Ceylon.

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605. Can you tell us for what amount of subsidy such a line could be established?—I think, most likely, since the opening of the Suez Canal, the trade is taking a different course, and I think that so much trade would be attracted that a very small subsidy would suffice. My idea formerly was, that a steamer should go across to Seychelles, and there should meet the French, giving thereby direct monthly communication.

606. What do you propose now?—There is a Mr. Wiseman, who has entered into the Zanzibar trade very largely, which he carries on by steamers through the canal; he is anxious to tender for the establishment of a regular line to Zanzibar; he sends his steamers now to Zanzibar, but not with any regularity, as he would if there was a subsidy. In the note which I received from the customs master at Zanzibar on Monday, he says, "I only hope your endeavours will prove successful in regard to the postal communication with Zanzibar; if you do succeed you will have the hearty thanks of the Zanzibar community, native and European. At the time of writing, our mails for March, April, and May are lying at Seychelles; nothing to bring them over. Admiral Cockburn in flagship "Forte," left yesterday for Seychelles, he has promised to send these with the June mail from Mahé next month; yet a month to wait."

607. The French steamers touch at Seychelles?—Yes, on their way to Mauritius and Réunion. He complains that the Post Office will persist in sending his letters to Seychelles. Seeing that there are only chance opportunities of forwarding letters from Seychelles to Zanzibar, it amounts to denying British subjects at Zanzibar all postal communication.

608. Lord F. Cavendish.] You have read the Report of the Slave Trade Committee of 1869, which sat at the Foreign Office?—Yes.

609. What do you think of the terms of the treaty which it recommends should be negotiated with the Sultan of Zanzibar?—I do not think any treaty would have the slightest effect; treaties with Arabs are mere waste paper.

610. You think we should get rid of our present treaty?—We can easily do it, by saying, "This treaty has never been observed by the subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar or of the Imaum of Muscat, and it is no use having a treaty in force that is never observed."

611. Would you at once forbid all export of slaves to the island of Zanzibar?—The worst part of the slave trade is that from Lake Nyassa to the south, Kilwa being the port of shipment. The whole of that vast and rich country is becoming depopulated. Banyans who have been for years at Zanzibar have told me that they remember, when they first came to the coast, the whole country was densely populated down to the sea coast, and now you have to go 18 days' journey inland before you come upon a village almost. That is fully confirmed by Baron Van der Decken and Dr. Roscher, who travelled that route. Baron Van der Decken talks of miles and miles of ruined towns and villages the whole way up towards Lake Nyassa, where there is now no population at all. Every year this slave trade is extending further and further inland. A great number of the slaves are now brought from the western side of Lake Nyassa; the Arabs have got dhows in the lake on purpose to convey their slaves across. I had a proof at Zanzibar of how the slave trade extends from nation to nation in Africa. I found, in

registering all the slaves I emancipated, that amongst the recent arrivals most of them gave the names of their tribe as Manganga. I could not at that time exactly fix the position of their country; however, shortly afterwards I saw a letter of Dr. Livingstone in the paper, saying that he had recently travelled through the Manganga country, where the whole population was engaged in the cultivation and working up of cotton, and he said that he had never seen such a wonderful cotton country in his life, or such a fertile country. I think, a year or two afterwards, he went through the same country, and found it entirely depopulated, all the huts being full of dead bodies. The children had been carried away, and most of the adults slain. That is one of the worst features of the slave trade in that country. When the slave traders go into a district, they kill all the men and women, and burn the villages, and carry off the children. The reason they give for taking the children only is, that the children are driven more easily, like flocks of sheep, or they are tied with ropes and chains; the men they lose more by desertion on the way.

612. My question was whether you would prohibit the present trade which we allow between the main land and Zanzibar for the purposes of Zanzibar itself?—Unless the Government choose to do what I think is the proper course, viz., to stop it with a high hand at once, and say we will not have this trade go on, it might for the sake of the Arabs in Zanzibar be permitted for a short time between Mirama and the Island, or coast opposite Zanzibar; there is not the same atrocity in that traffic, because it is not carried on on the organised system that the other trade is; probably from what is called Mirama, 4,000 slaves are annually brought to the Island of Zanzibar; that would be sufficient to keep up the supply in Zanzibar and Pemba; they are men and children who have been kidnapped. The slavers do not burn towns and villages, and murder the grown-up people to get those slaves.

613. Sir J. Hay.] Are they exported from Dar Seelam?—Mirama is the coast district opposite the Island of Zanzibar; Dar Seelam is quite a recent creation of the late Sultan of Zanzibar, and it is now going to ruin again.

614. Lord F. Cavendish.] When you speak of stopping the slave trade with a high hand, do you mean by a squadron, or by any interference on land?—By a squadron; I do not think the squadron need be very strong; but it would be ineffective without an experienced naval officer, an officer whose heart would be in the work.

615. If the trade were allowed from one port only to the Island of Zanzibar, would not there be a danger of slaves being taken overland, even from Lake Nyassa to that port?—That could be checked, because there is such a marked difference in the tribes; I would severely punish any man who should export natives of those southern tribes; you could easily stop that.

616. What do you think of the recommendation of the Slave Trade Committee, that freed slaves should be landed by our cruisers on the Island of Zanzibar, and left there?—I think it the very best destination for them; I have thought a good deal about it, and I do not think any other plan would be satisfactory. The climate of the Mauritius does not suit them at all; they die there like rotten sheep in the cold weather. Seychelles suits them exactly; they get there the food they are used to, cassava and fish,

but it appears that Seychelles does not want them.

617. Would not there be a danger of their being kidnapped by the northern Arabs, if they were landed at Zanzibar?—Our squadron must stop all that; I found no difficulty with the 6,000 I emancipated; each slave had his own certificate of emancipation; I watched them pretty well; I used to send my guard about the island to find if they had been kidnapped, and no complaints ever reached me.

618. In fact you think precautions might be taken to prevent any danger of kidnapping?—Yes; when the northern Arabs came down, and were prowling about, the slaves whom I had liberated, without any hint from me, formed amongst themselves a vigilance committee, who used to patrol the town all night to protect the emancipated slaves; and they very often used to wake me up in the night if the Arabs had attempted to take any of their children.

619. Whose subjects are the northern Arabs, who chiefly carry on this trade?—They are chiefly the piratical tribes; the tribes who in former years gave us a great deal of trouble.

620. Are they subject to any power?—That is the difficulty in dealing with the slave trade; a great many of them are nominally under the jurisdiction of the Imaum of Muscat, but in reality the Imaum of Muscat has no power at all over them; he can do nothing effective.

621. To what ports do those northern Arabs chiefly take the slaves?—A great many now go Mocullah and Ras al Had, and other ports in Arabia, and a great many go to ports in Persia.

622. You think that the chiefs having control over those ports, would not have sufficient power to stop the import of slaves, if they wished it?—In dealing with them I should send an English man-of-war round with proclamations in Arabic, which I would have read out by the sheikhs and elders of the tribes, giving them distinct notice that after a certain date the provisions of our treaties with all those chiefs, declaring the slave trade piracy, would be rigidly enforced, and that the commander of every dhow found with slaves on board would be hanged.

623. The slave trade to Cuba was first efficaciously stopped when we were able to station a squadron round Cuba; do you think this trade might be more easily stopped if our ships cruised off the ports of entry instead of cruising off the ports of export?—We should do both, and it could be more easily done in this case on account of the prevailing winds. The Committee which sat at the Foreign Office suggests that one vessel could easily watch the entrance of the Persian Gulf; one stationed at Aden could easily watch the entrance of the Red Sea. It is during the months when the southern monsoon prevails that the slaves are carried north, and one vessel in addition cruising off Socotra would intercept most of those. Of course, the northern Arabs would persist for some time, but they would very soon find that it was a losing trade.

624. Do you know whether cruising off the east coast is unhealthy for the men?—Not at all; the climate is nothing like so bad as that on the west coast, but it is an enervating climate; the men ought not to be kept too long on the coast.

625. For a short period the climate does not affect the men?—No; at the time when they would not be required on service they have got a place to go to which has one of the finest climates in the world, viz, the Seychelles Islands.

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where they can get fruits and vegetables and fresh meat in the greatest abundance.

626. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] You mentioned that, at one time, a considerable trade in slaves was carried on with the French Islands; is that entirely given up now?—We have no recent information, I believe, about that. Two or three years ago Lord Campbell carried a motion in the House of Lords for an Address to Her Majesty, to appoint a consul at Mozambique. I think it is a most unfortunate circumstance that that has never been acted on. Not only have we no consul at Mozambique, but the consulate at the Comoro Islands has been abolished, so that from Zanzibar to our own territories in Port Natal, there is nobody to watch British interests, or to interfere with the slave trade. In consequence of the ports in Madagascar having been thrown open to foreign trade since the death of the old queen, there is such an immensely increasing trade in the products of Madagascar, that they have begun to import slaves into Madagascar very largely, in order to cultivate their rich land; and, although the Portuguese Government have abolished the slave trade in Mozambique, I must say I do not believe it is abolished, or will be abolished without a British squadron to watch it. Up to recently there was no trade whatever in the Mozambique dominions except the slave trade; the whole business of the Portuguese population was men-stealing and men-selling. At the five chief ports, Ibo, Mozambique, Inhambane, and the mouths of the Zambesi, the only trade was in men. Large parties of half-caste Portuguese, led very often by Portuguese, scoured all the interior, and brought those slaves down to be sold.

627. Do you think that slaves are still taken to Réunion?—I have no recent information about it. We have now a consul at Réunion, and I should think he would be able to state whether they are still importing slaves under the name of free engagés.

628. What are the products of the interior of the country about Lake Nyassa?—All sorts of grains and vegetables. In the valleys of those large rivers opposite Zanzibar, within the Sultan's dominions, they are now cultivating sim-sim, from which most of our fine olive oil is made, which goes very largely to Marseilles. In the last few years a great trade has sprung up in orchilla, which is a purple dye, and sugar is grown to a great extent. I believe very few people know what a fertile country that is. Baron Van der Decken, whose very interesting work has lately been published, speaks in the very highest terms of the fertility of the country, and of the opening there is for trade there. He describes a good deal of the country, a little to the north, as being a mountainous country, very much resembling Switzerland, and he says the chiefs are very anxious to have Europeans come and settle amongst them.

629. *Chairman*.] You mentioned that Dr. Livingstone had found one district near Lake Nyassa where cotton was being cultivated?—Yes, the Manganga country towards Lake Nyassa. He describes the whole country as being a field of cotton, all the people of both sexes being busily engaged in spinning and weaving.

630. Mr. *O'Connell*.] You think it useless to make treaties with the Sultan?—From my knowledge of the Arabs treaties are utterly useless. I understand that some of the witnesses who have been examined have suggested that the

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Sultan might be induced to give up the slave trade if the 40,000 dollars which he annually pays as subsidy to the Imaum of Muscat, were remitted. I am convinced that he would never fall into that arrangement. When the mission was over here that was a point which the secretary urged upon me more than any other; he said the Sultan of Zanzibar would rather give up the country and go to live at Mecca for the rest of his days. I think any negotiation upon that basis would be sure to fail; the Sultan would look upon it as a great humiliation, and it would be so considered by all the Arabs; they would say, there is the Sultan of Zanzibar become a paid servant of the Feringhee, and the chances are that he would lose his life.

631. Would you abolish the trade and give him no compensation?—I would not give him any compensation; I do not see on what ground he can be supposed to be entitled to compensation for giving up this horrible slave trade, which they have carried on for years in defiance of treaties, and in defiance of all laws.

632. You do not agree with the witnesses who have stated that it would cause a revolution in Zanzibar if the slave trade were put down?—No; I think the Arabs are now quite prepared for its suppression; it has been dinned into their ears for so many years, and they have seen slaves emancipated in so many other places, that I think they are quite prepared to see our Government setting to work to put a stop to it.

633. Sir R. Anstruther.] Do you agree with the statement in the paragraph at page 4 of the Foreign Office Report, that "the commerce of Zanzibar might be ruined if it were at once deprived of the slave labour on which it has hitherto relied, before proper provision is made for supplying free labour in its stead?"—I do not think it would interfere with the commerce of Zanzibar in the slightest degree; I think the Arabs would find their slaves more valuable; they would take more care of them, and there would be less mortality amongst them; and if the slave trade was prohibited so that free men could come and work there, there would be abundance of free labour, because, if the slave trade were abolished, thousands of people from Madagascar, from the Comoro Islands, and from India would come and reside at Zanzibar; but the mere fact of all agricultural labour being done by slaves, deters those people at present from coming and engaging themselves in that work, because they think it degrades them to work side by side with slaves.

634. In a previous part of the Report reference is made to the loss of revenue that would be incurred by the abolition of the trade. Would you propose to abolish the trade without compensating the Sultan in any way for the loss of revenue which he would thereby incur?—As I have already stated, I think the loss of revenue would be very trivial indeed; his revenue from other sources is so rapidly increasing that he would not feel very much the loss of that which he at present receives from slaves.

635. Mr. Kennaway.] You expect him to give up the 20,000 l. which he is supposed to derive from the slave trade; that is a "decree of fate" which a man does not submit to without a struggle, generally?—I think; at the outside, it cannot be more than 8,000 l. which he gets from the duty on slaves. Mr. Churchill, I think, takes the whole number of slaves landed, including the

slaves belonging to members of the Sultan's family which do not pay any duty, and there are a great many branches of the Sultan's family, the members of which are the chief slave dealers.

636. Do you think that the British Indian subjects in Zanzibar are in any way supporters of the slave trade?—They were very large supporters of the slave trade till I put a stop to it by putting up a notice at the Custom House and on the gates of the Consulate, that whereas I had discovered that British subjects were holding slaves in violation of the laws, they would be allowed one month from that date to emancipate them legally, and, failing to do so, the provisions of the Act 5 Geo. 4 would be applied to them. At the end of the month many of them did not emancipate their slaves, and they were fined and imprisoned; and gradually I forced them all to emancipate their slaves; but after I left, the officer who succeeded me took a different view of it, and he held that we had no right to do this with regard to native Indians who belonged to protected States; and they have been allowed, unfortunately, to become slave holders again.

637. By taking the protection of other states?—No, merely on the ground that they were not directly British subjects, but only subjects of British protected states like Kutch.

638. Would they, in claiming to hold slaves, deprive themselves of the protection of the British Consulate?—I do not know on what terms it was done, but I suppose those who declared themselves subjects of Kutch or Kattywar were allowed to throw off their allegiance.

639. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] They then became entitled to hold slaves?—Yes; I put a stop to their holding slaves, on this ground, that those men in their own country would not be allowed to hold slaves, for they would be prohibited by the British as the superior power, and it was not right that the subjects of those very states going to Zanzibar should be permitted to hold slaves.

640. Now, if a man wishes to hold slaves, all he has to do is to change his nationality?—Yes.

641. Sir J. Hay.] The Naturalisation Act was not in force when you were there?—No, they were prohibited from holding slaves; I understand that the natives of India are going to take advantage of the Naturalisation Act, and to throw off their allegiance to the British Government on purpose to be able to trade in slaves.

642. Mr. Churchill states that they have already done so?—I am sorry to hear it; it will open a new field for slavery; a great proportion of the plantations on the Island of Zanzibar now belong to British subjects; the Arabs are very dissipated and reckless, and they have mortgaged most of their plantations to those wealthy Baniars and Indian Mahomedans.

643. Who, having been British subjects, have now become Zanzibar subjects?—They were obliged, as long as they were British subjects, to cultivate their plantations by free labour; now they will buy slaves and cultivate them with slave labour again.

644. You have no doubt that Mr. Churchill's evidence upon that point is correct?—No; Dr. Kirk has written to the same effect; that is an additional argument why we should stop the whole trade summarily.

645. Mr. Kennaway.] Do you know anything of the slave trade which is carried on between the interior of Africa and Egypt, by Zanzibar?—That has sprung up chiefly since the abolition of

of the Indian navy. No doubt there is now a very considerable traffic in slaves from Zanzibar up the Red Sea to Turkish ports, and also to Suez. In 1867 I brought home three African slaves that I had emancipated at Zanzibar, and we stopped at Suez, and in walking through the town we found it was full of negroes who, no doubt, were quite recent importations, because they could not speak anything but their own language. I visited the Consul and spoke to him about it, and he said he was perfectly aware of it; and he said that the way they were sent to Cairo was in the empty water tanks on the railway trucks.

646. Do you think that still goes on?—I do not know; I have not much faith in anything the Egyptian Government would do to stop it.

647. Mr. *Shaw Lefevre*.] You spoke of the great increase in trade between Zanzibar and France and the United States; do those countries keep any cruisers off the coast?—Till recently the French Government kept a squadron under an admiral; and they made much more naval display than we did.

648. Was that ostensibly for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade?—Quite the contrary; the French naval officers supported it in every way.

649. Were they instructed by their Government to take measures to put a stop to the slave trade?—I do not think the French Government cared anything about putting a stop to it, except for a short time when Prince Napoleon was at the head of the Foreign Office; they certainly were then in earnest in stopping it; the last year I was there I got the chief Arab agent who supplied the French ships to give me information when the French slavers were coming, and in consequence of that, five of the vessels belonging to the principal French house carrying on the trade were taken, and the last ship they had was run ashore by the captain.

650. Latterly the French Government have kept no cruisers there, have they?—I do not know whether they have withdrawn them; I know it was stated that they intended withdrawing their squadron altogether.

651. Do the United States keep any cruisers on the coast?—No, our cruisers are the only cruisers engaged in suppressing the slave trade on that coast.

652. Is the cultivation of the Island of Zanzibar mainly carried on by slaves?—It was when I went there; but, as I have stated, so far as British Indian subjects were concerned, they were not allowed after that to have slaves; amongst those 6,000 slaves that I emancipated, a good many were agricultural labourers, and many of them said we do not know what to do when we are emancipated; and I made an agreement with the Indian planter to give up a part of the land sufficient for the slave to grow provisions for himself and his family on condition that he worked for the master four days in the week, and had the remaining three days to himself.

653. What proportion does free labour bear to slave labour in the Island of Zanzibar?—Up to the time I left I emancipated, 6,000 slaves.

654. How many slaves do you suppose there are in the Island?—It is almost impossible to tell.

655. You spoke of there being an exportation from the mainland to the island of about 4,000 annually?—Yes.

656. That would indicate that there must be 0.116.

a very large number of slaves in the Island of Zanzibar?—But a very small proportion of slaves brought to Zanzibar remain there; they are exported away.

657. Are slaves largely employed in cultivation on the mainland?—They are employed there to a very large extent, and as cultivation increases there is increased demand for slave labour.

658. You said that the Arabs are now beginning to discover that it is more profitable to employ their slaves in cultivation in the Island of Zanzibar and on the mainland than by exporting them to Muscat?—Yes; the present minister of the Sultan spoke to me very strongly upon that point; he said the Arabs were now beginning to see the wisdom of abolishing the slave trade.

659. That is to say, the export trade in slaves?—Yes.

660. Not the employment of slaves on the island or the mainland?—No.

661. Supposing we were able to prevent the export of slaves altogether, there would still be a supply of slaves from the interior for the purpose of cultivation in the Island of Zanzibar and on the mainland?—You cannot stop that; and there is not so much cruelty in that trade as there is in the other.

662. We should not stop the man-stealing in the interior?—A great deal of it would be stopped; it would not be carried on on the organised scale that it is now.

663. There would still be a considerable demand for slaves in the island and on the mainland, and that supply would have to be provided out of the interior?—Yes.

664. Sir *J. Hay*.] I understand you to say that many persons in the Island of Zanzibar, who were formerly British Indian subjects, have changed their allegiance for the purpose of holding slaves; why do those persons prefer slave labour to free labour for the cultivation of their estates?—I account for it in this way. Our British Indian subjects were very savage at having their slaves emancipated, and it has always been a thorn in their side that their former slaves should have a certain amount of liberty; that they should be able to leave their employment when they were not well treated, and that they should only be required to work four days in the week instead of five, as they were obliged to do before they were freed.

665. Mr. *Shaw Lefevre*.] From the communications which you have had with the consuls of other Powers at Zanzibar, do you think they would be prepared to co-operate with us with a view to stopping the export of slaves?—I think the Consul of the Germanic Empire would cordially co-operate with us. The gentleman who was the French Consul when I was there, supported the slave trade.

666. Is not it the case that, in the Mauritius, coolie labour has successfully competed with negro labour, and, in fact, almost driven it out?—I have no doubt of it.

667. Do you think that that is likely to occur in Zanzibar itself?—I think coolie labour, or labour of any description from India would successfully compete with negro labour in Zanzibar, because they would consider that they would be degrading themselves by doing so.

668. Lord *Enfield*.] In what length of time do you

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Maj. Gen. C. P. Rigby. you think the traffic could be entirely suppressed, supposing the views which you have expressed here were carried out?—I think in five years it might be stopped.

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669. Did I rightly gather from the early part of your evidence that you approve of the suggestions of the Committee which sat at the Foreign Office?—Yes, generally; I think they recommend that all slaves should be exported

from Dar Seelam only. Dar Seelam was the creation of the late Sultan, and I hear that the present Sultan will not have anything to do with it, and that it is deserted.

670. Generally, the recommendations of the Committee meet with your approval?—Yes, I think nothing could be better than the recommendations contained in that Report.

Sir LEOPOLD G. HEATH, called in; and Examined.

Sir L. G. Heath. 671. *Chairman.* You had the command of the squadron on the East African Coast?—Yes, I commanded it from the middle of 1867 till November last year.

672. During that time was the slave trade carried on with considerable activity?—With very great activity.

673. What force had you?—I had, generally speaking, seven ships, including my own flagship. During the Abyssinian War I had an addition of ships for that special purpose, which were withdrawn immediately afterwards.

674. Your force was seven ships, including the flagship?—Yes.

675. Did they deserve the character that has been given to some of them by the last witness?—I only imperfectly heard the last witness.

676. Were they ships well adapted for the purpose?—Yes, I think some of them were remarkably well adapted for the purpose. The "Nymph," the "Bullfinch," and the "Teazer" are, more or less, well adapted for that particular service. Those three vessels are types of three new classes of vessels; their accommodation is, generally speaking, better than that in the old class, and they carry a larger proportion of coal, that is to say, they can steam for a longer distance than the old vessels could. Vessels of the class of the "Teazer," which is the smallest of the three, require modifications in the details of their fitting, ventilation, and things of that sort.

677. Were your crew healthy?—On the whole, the squadron was fairly healthy.

678. You did not find any objection to keeping them on that station, on the ground of health?—No; because by sending them to the north when the sun was to the south, and to the south when the sun was to the north, we managed, generally, to get a certain relaxation, but I think ships should not be kept longer than three years on that station.

679. Was the time known at which they would be obliged to leave particular ports?—It is known that during the south-west monsoon they must be somewhere away from the strength of the monsoon; in that way, it depends on the seasons.

680. Were all those vessels employed for the suppression of the slave trade?—No; they were on the East Indian station for any purposes that might be required.

681. What number of ships were really employed for the suppression of the trade?—During the slaving season, speaking generally, they were all employed. I made arrangements for employing them on other work at the time when they could not be upon the East Coast.

682. It is during one particular part of the year that the trade is carried on with any activity?—Yes.

683. The earlier months?—The earlier months

and the latter months, from April to the end of June, and September to the beginning of November.

684. Was much trade carried on which you were not able to prevent?—The official Custom House returns at Zanzibar state, that on the average about 20,000 slaves a year are imported into Zanzibar; besides that, there must be a large number of slaves exported from the mainland which do not pass through the custom house at Zanzibar; Zanzibar cannot want anything like that number, and therefore you must presume that the surplus is carried away for export to foreign countries.

685. What number in the year did you succeed in capturing?—For the year ending December 1867, 18 dhows were captured, and 431 slaves were emancipated; those being the cargoes of the 18 dhows. During that year, the squadron were all employed in Annesley Bay in the expedition against Abyssinia, and the efforts against the slave trade were comparatively small. In the year ending December 1868, the total number of vessels captured was 66; the total tonnage of these dhows was 7,233; and the total number of slaves liberated was 1,097. In the year 1869 the total number of dhows captured was 32; the total tonnage of those dhows was 3,431; and the total number of slaves liberated was 1,117. During the second year's cruise my ships were distributed principally along the coast of Arabia, from Ras-el-Hadd as far as Makallah, one being stationed near Socotra, and two down in the Zanzibar neighbourhood. The vessels boarded during the spring season were upwards of 400 dhows; out of these 400 dhows there were but 11 slavers, and in those 11 slavers there were 958 slaves. I am exceedingly puzzled to know how it is that the enormous number of slaves exported get along the coast without being found out. I believe that very few dhows could have passed the squadron during those months; and though, comparing the wants of Zanzibar with the known importations at Zanzibar, there must have been not many short of 20,000 slaves exported, yet it appears that there were not above 1,000 slaves on board these 400 dhows. This rather shows that naval efforts alone will not put down the trade.

686. As to those 400, were you satisfied that all except the 11 were perfectly free from any complicity in the slave trade?—I think it is morally certain that scarcely any guilty dhows escaped amongst that 400.

687. Sir John Hay.] Do I rightly understand you to say that scarcely any dhows escaped going north with slaves?—I cannot understand how they could have passed us, distributed as we were.

688. When a dhow is captured, have not the ships

ships to leave the cruising ground, and might not many dhows pass then?—No; the number captured was only 11, and the slaves were not in sufficient number to require the ships to leave their ground, except in three of those cases.

689. *Chairman.*] According to that it seems to be utterly hopeless by any efforts of the cruisers to put a stop to the trade?—By any efforts of cruisers in numbers such as we have now, I think it is hopeless.

690. But the number would appear to be sufficient in this case, because you say that you think hardly any guilty dhows escaped?—I think the cruisers should be near the rivers and places of export, at the same time as they are near the places of import. I had not ships enough to do both.

691. Then with an increased squadron you think something more might be done?—I can only say I hope something more might be done.

692. One may collect that you do not anticipate any complete stoppage of the trade by any efforts of the cruisers?—I think we have gone on for 25 years and have done no good whatever.

693. Can you suggest any way in which we could do good by means of the fleet?—I think, before giving up the attempt as hopeless, we must try every possible method that suggests itself for carrying out England's wishes, one of those methods clearly is the increase of the squadron, but the result which I have detailed of my own experience rather shows that the number of slaves sent to foreign countries cannot be as great as the custom-house statistics would show.

694. You think there are not really so many exported?—I think there are not really so many exported; at the same time, I cannot understand what becomes of them; the number reported to be exported is taken from data which seem reliable.

695. *Sir J. Hay.*] Supposing you were appointed again to the East-Indian command, and you were told that you might have for three years, or two years, or till the trade was suppressed, an unlimited number of ships, both for the blockade of the Arabian Coast and the Persian Gulf, and the portions of Africa from which the slaves were exported; will you state for the Committee, what number of ships you would conceive to be necessary to enable you to carry out with certainty the total annihilation of the slave trade?—I do not think any number would suffice with certainty, but I should ask for 10 ships to begin with.

696. *Chairman.*] Ten instead of seven?—Yes.

697. Do you think that would very materially increase the number of captures?—I think the number would be increased.

698. *Sir J. Hay.*] I think you have had considerable experience on the West Coast of Africa?—Yes.

699. Are you aware of the number of ships that were employed on that length of coast, as compared with the number employed along this length of coast; was not the number of ships employed on the West Coast of Africa very much more considerable than that for which you now ask?—Very much more considerable, and the nature of the sea is far more favourable for blockading operations.

700. Not looking to the economical question, or to the probability of the number of ships that you might ask for being given you, assuming

that the country was determined to put down the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa in the same way as on the West Coast; would you say that 10 ships, or anything like 10 ships, would be sufficient to cover the 4,000 miles to be blockaded on the East Coast?—No matter how many ships you have, there will of course always be some vessels which escape being boarded; it is quite possible, that, though we boarded 400 dhows during the season I have spoken of, there may have been 400 others that passed outside us; but when I said that I thought we must have boarded nearly all dhows that came up, I referred to those that passed along the coast; the Arabs have very good information; I do not think that they knew what I intended to do, but it is quite possible that they did.

701. *Chairman.*] Do you think that by having more Consular Agents along the coast, you would have the means of deriving better information upon the subject of the slave trade?—I think the appointment of Vice Consuls along the coast, would be a most valuable thing, not only as regards giving us information, but as regards pushing our political influence.

702. Did you hear the evidence of the last witness with respect to the desirability of appointing a naval officer to be permanently stationed on the coast?—Yes.

703. Do you approve of that suggestion?—It is practically what is now going on; there is the Admiral commanding the whole of the Indian station; he has as his senior officer a captain of some standing generally stationed for a considerable time down at Zanzibar. I do not attach as much importance as General Rigby seemed to do, to prolonged experience; I think the experience of one year is no guide to what will happen the next; if I were there myself, I should take care to vary my tactics annually, because I believe whatever is done in one year would be frustrated by the Arabs the next; if they knew I had adopted one line in one year, they would themselves adopt some other line the next, and I should try and meet them.

704. Was there anything in your instructions that in any way impeded your success; any limitation of your power?—There was nothing whatever in my instructions to limit my action till the issue; by the Admiralty, of a circular dated 6th November 1869, which appears at page 94 of Class B, East Coast of Africa Correspondence from 1st January to 31st December 1869. That circular made an unpleasant impression upon all the officers commanding the ships under my orders. Its manner was accusatory as to the past and threatening as to the future; its matter was, principally the forbidding the capture of dhows for having domestic slaves aboard.

705. Do you think there were many slaves carried in that way in those dhows which were not classed as guilty dhows?—There is no doubt that a very large number of slaves must have been carried in that way. At page 75 of the same Blue Book are extracts from letters found in some of the dhows, being inclosures in my letter to Sir Seymour Fitzgerald replying to a complaint of Sir Edward Russell, the Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court at Aden, as to dhows being captured for having domestic slaves on board. These show that domestic slaves are frequently carried to sea for sale.

706. What I was wanting to arrive at was whether, allowing the dhows to pass with domes-

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tic slaves on board, would in your opinion account for a great number of these at present unaccounted for?—No, I think not; because till November 1869, dhows having domestic slaves on boards had always been captured.

707. In 1868, 66 dhows were captured, while in 1869 only 32 were captured; but if this order did not come till November 1869, it would not have any bearing upon that decrease?—No; the larger number of captures in the earlier year was, because in the previous year the slave dealers had been left alone, owing to the Abyssinian War.

708. There is a large difference between those captured and those who appear from the Custom House returns to have been exported, and which are unaccounted for in any way?—Yes.

709. Sir R. Anstruther:] What means have you of distinguishing domestic slaves on board a dhow from any other slaves?—The Admiralty in that circular have laid down as a definition of what are to be considered domestic slaves, "where the slaves found on board are very few in number, are unconfined, and appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship, or attending upon the master or the passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged in or equipped for the slave trade."

710. I may take it as your view that the action of this circular to which you have referred has been more or less to impede the squadron in the capture of slaves?—If you put it in the future tense it will have that effect very largely, I think. I should like to quote, as illustrating my views on that point, a portion of my annual Report of 22nd January 1870 (it is in the Correspondence for the year 1870): "On the 6th November, their Lordships issued, 'Instructions for the Guidance of Naval Officers employed in the Suppression of the Slave Trade.' Those instructions forbid the detaining of vessels having slaves on board, if there are attendant circumstances showing that the slaves are not being transported for the purpose of being sold as slaves; and there is added, as an example of the nature of those circumstances, 'Where the slaves found on board are very few in number, are unconfined, and appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship, or attending upon the master or the passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged in, or equipped for, the slave trade.' I believe that, just as it is said a drunkard can only be cured by total abstinence, so the slave trade by sea can only be put down, if at all, by a rigid forbidding of the carrying to sea of any slaves of any description. As I have before remarked, even what is called a domestic slave is not only a saleable article, but an article which is very often sold; and the return of those embarked to the port they originally left depends solely upon whether or no a good offer has been made for them at the ports they have visited in the interval."

711. Chairman:] Seeing that the fleet you have had under your command is not sufficient to prevent the escape of a very large proportion of the slaves exported, has your attention been directed to any measures which might be adopted to prevent the continuance of the slave trade?—In answer to your question, I will quote part of my letter dated 1st March 1869, addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, in the Blue Book, containing the correspondence of 1869: "I observe that it is not unusual to close these reports with an expression of hope that the heavy blows

which have been dealt at the trade during the past year, will go far to check it for the future. I can express no such hope. The trade is far too profitable, and will not be affected by a risk so small as that incurred by the proceedings of Her Majesty's ships. It supplies a want which has not been left unsatisfied for many centuries past; a want which, sanctioned by the religion of the country, has grown almost into an instinct. To put down this trade, requires far more effort, and far more energy than England has yet shown in the matter. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the first treaty with Muscat, and all that time we have been contented with the capture of a very small per-centage of the total exports; a per-centage large enough to irritate the legal traders, who are harassed and annoyed by the visits of our cruisers, but too small to affect materially the illegitimate trade. We must do far more than this to insure success. We must double or treble our squadron. We must establish vice consulates at the ports of export, but above all, we must force the Government of Zanzibar into active acquiescence in our views, and, if necessary, purchase or take possession of that island." In subsequent letters urging the same view, I have altered this last sentence, and said, "purchase the sovereignty of the island."

712. Is that the only thing that occurs to you as a means of putting a stop to the trade?—I think that if a treaty is made in the sense of Lord Clarendon's proposals to Mr. Churchill (page 30, Correspondence of 1870), if that part of the existing treaty which is supposed to allow domestic slavery afloat is abrogated, and if the squadron is increased so as to make it difficult to evade that treaty when made, we shall have a chance of success; but I still hold that the only radical cure will be the making Zanzibar a centre from which British civilisation can radiate into that part of Africa.

713. You mean becoming actually possessed of it as being a colony of Great Britain?—Yes.

714. Or a protected state?—That is a matter for the Foreign Office to determine.

715. Zanzibar is not a very healthy place, is it?—Zanzibar is undoubtedly an unhealthy place, but I do not know that it is more so than many other tropical colonies or English settlements.

716. We heard of its being impossible to sleep out of the town?—Bishop Tozer has a sort of missionary school superintended by two or three English ladies, and he has two or three clergymen with him. I know he has a farm-house three miles outside Zanzibar, and my belief is that that is considered a sort of sanatorium. Captain Fraser, an Englishman, who has a large sugar manufactory, goes out to his estate as a sort of change, when he wants fresh air, and I was surprised to hear the accounts given by General Bigby of the extreme deadliness of the climate.

717. Are you able to give us any information as to the healthiness of those parts of the coast where it is proposed that vice consuls should be stationed?—The only fact I know as to that is, that a Mr. Heale, an Englishman, engaged in the purchase of hides at Brava, lived there for some months, and I never heard that he was seriously affected by the climate.

718. Have you read the Report of the Committee which sat at the Foreign Office?—Yes, I read it, and I was called upon officially to report upon it.

719. Is

719. Is your Report published?—My letter on it is in the Blue Book for 1871, at page 64. The Report, as laid before Parliament, is not the same Report as was submitted to me. The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th paragraphs have been altered in accordance with my suggestions.

720. Taking it as it stands now, how far do you agree with the recommendations of the Report?—As it now stands I agree with the recommendations of the Report in a general way.

721. Do you think if those were carried out, a very material effect might be produced even without the British Government becoming possessed of Zanzibar?—The proposals made by Lord Clarendon for a new treaty, which I have referred to before, practically embody the greater part of the recommendations of the Committee, and I agree with them in a general way.

722. And you think they might produce a material effect?—I think so, provided also, that the transport of domestic slaves by sea is forbidden.

723. And the squadron increased?—And the squadron increased.

724. I hardly know how to reconcile that with the statement you made before, that you thought hardly any guilty dhows escaped?—I quite admit the difficulty; it is as much present to myself as to you. I know that during the three-months of the height of the slaving season we boarded 400 dhows, and only captured 11 of them with 958 slaves; I cannot account for it. It is supposed, and apparently with good reason, that 20,000 slaves are exported for sale, and I do not know how they go. If any large number of guilty dhows passed my ships during that season, they must have gone by an outside route, and with more ships that route could be watched.

725. Sir J. Hay.] Do you think that the slave traders ever send out vessels as decoys to mislead the squadron?—No, I think not.

726. Chairman.] Were you succeeded by Admiral Coburn?—Yes.

727. Have you seen the proposals which he has made?—No, I have seen none of his correspondence.

728. Do you agree with General Rigby as to the uselessness of treaties with Arab chiefs?—I am hardly able to give an opinion upon that which would be of any use to the Committee; General Rigby has great local experience; the treaties must at any rate be of value as justifying us in taking aggressive measures when the treaty has been broken.

729. Lord F. Cavendish.] You said you were for some time on the west coast of Africa?—I commanded a ship for some time on the west coast of Africa.

730. That fleet was very much larger than any fleet which it has ever been proposed to establish on the east coast?—Very much larger.

731. Was not it the case that all the efforts of the fleet on the west coast of Africa were really useless, and that the trade went on till we were able to station our fleet off Cuba?—No, I think the suppression of the trade was not due to that, I think the efforts of the squadron by themselves would, perhaps, never have put down the west coast slave trade, though they had a very strong repressive influence, and considerably diminished the exports; the ultimate putting down of that trade was due, I think, partly to political pressure, and partly to the growth of humane feelings in the Spaniards and Brazilians. Public opinion

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in those countries eventually stopped the demand for slaves, and then the supply ceased.

732. Was not it the case that the stationing of her fleet off Cuba, after the agreement which we came to with the United States, had a very great effect?—I was not on that station; I never knew that it had.

733. At the same time we obtained possession of the port of Lagos, did we not?—Yes; I was there at that time.

734. Had that a great effect?—I think that it has had a very great effect indeed; it has been a great encouragement to legitimate trade, and I should anticipate the same sort of result from taking possession of the government of Zanzibar.

735. You think no efforts of our cruisers are likely to be productive of great success till the transport of domestic slaves is prohibited?—That is my opinion.

736. What probability is there of the Sultan agreeing to such a prohibition?—The Sultan has never, that I know of, objected to it; but if he has, his objections have been overruled. It is the interpretation of the treaties by either our Foreign Office or our Admiralty, of which I speak.

737. Do you think the Sultan would consent to the entire prohibition of all movement of slaves between the coast and the island of Zanzibar?—He certainly would not do so willingly.

738. You think pressure might be applied to him that might oblige him to consent?—I think you have only got to say what you want and you will have it done. I think it would be very hard upon him to make the trade cease immediately. I think the proposal to make it cease by degrees a much wiser one. I think the annual importation should be limited, and that the number allowed to be imported should be decreased for a certain number of years till it was finally stopped.

739. Sir J. Hay.] Do you contemplate the application of force to obtain that concession from the Sultan?—Moral force, I think, would be quite enough.

740. Lord F. Cavendish.] Would moral force also enable us to obtain possession of the Island of Zanzibar?—With a certain amount of money; I think that amount would probably be less than what you are now paying in abortive and ineffectual efforts.

741. Mr. J. Talbot.] As to the number of slaves exported in the year, did you say that about 20,000 were exported annually?—I know that the custom-house importation returns at Zanzibar show, generally speaking, an importation into Zanzibar of 20,000. I know that a large number are exported from the main land who do not pass through the custom-house, and since the wants of Zanzibar itself cannot exceed 3,000 or 4,000 a year for making up the deficiencies of its population, I assume that there must be an export of something like 20,000 a year.

742. The number captured by your cruisers was about 1,000 a year?—About 1,000 a year is the maximum number captured by the cruisers.

743. Nineteen thousand, in round numbers, escape?—Nineteen thousand are unaccounted for.

744. You regard that as an unsatisfactory result of all our national efforts for the suppression of the slave trade?—Very unsatisfactory.

745. Passing from that to the question of the healthiness

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healthiness of Zanzibar, do you know Dr. Steer, who lived in Zanzibar for four years?—I made his acquaintance; he is one of Bishop Tozer's party.

746. Would he, do you think, be able to give valuable information to the Committee with reference to the healthiness of the climate?—Any Englishman who has lived there four years would be able to give you information on that point.

747. Viscount *Enfield*.] As to the Report of the Slave Trade Committee which sat at the Foreign Office, do you agree with the recommendations of that Committee as to the amount of naval force required on the east coast?—No.

748. Generally, you do not agree with the Report as to the number and the distribution of the naval force?—No; I think the number proposed is a great deal too small. In my official report on that paper I suggested 10 ships besides the flag ship. I suggested also that the vessels which were stationed there should, as far as possible, be provided with steam launches, because though the launches are unfit for distant cruising, they are very valuable to cruise in the offing, the ship being anchored near at hand. The vessels being small would require special fittings; their big guns would be removed, and possibly the position of the funnels would have to be altered also.

749. Putting that aside, on the whole you are not inclined to disagree with the majority of the recommendations of the Committee?—No; there is one small point as to the jurisdiction of the courts in which I think the Committee have made a mistake as to localities. They recommend that dhows captured near Zanzibar should be judged at Zanzibar, and that dhows taken near Muscat should be judged. I think, at Aden. Now, the object of the Committee, I presume, was to insure a fair hearing, and this would not be attained by the Committee's proposal. A Zanzibar dhow captured off Mokullah, in the Gulf of Aden, would be judged at Aden. Similarly, a Muscat dhow captured in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar would, under the Committee's recommendation, be judged at Zanzibar. In neither case would the Committee's object, of having the adjudication at the place where the owner lived, be attained.

750. What is the time in which you think the slave trade could be virtually abolished in that district, supposing the recommendations of the

Committee were carried out, and there were no financial obstacles in the way?—I doubt whether you will ever stop the trade completely, even by adopting the Committee's recommendations.

751. Yet you approve of the recommendations of the Committee as far as they go?—I approve of them as far as they go.

752. You do not think they would be effectual in abolishing the traffic altogether?—I have said, in the letter to which I have referred, in which I make observations on the Committee's Report, that "so long as the existing domestic habits in slave-receiving countries remain unchanged, so long will there be more or less of slave trade. Those habits can only be changed by completely stopping the supply of slaves for a very long period, probably for a whole generation, and any system which stops short of that will fail of complete success. The trade will be scotched but not killed, and will revive whenever the pressure is taken off. I recommend therefore, that at least ten vessels besides the flagship should be appropriated to this service, and since the tactics of the dealers vary with the information they receive as to the position of the cruisers, I would leave the officer commanding entirely unfettered in his disposal of them." I think the Committee's recommendations would partially check the trade; but, as I have said before, you must have a complete stoppage for a long period to produce a good result.

753. Mr. *J. Talbot*.] With regard to guilty dhows escaping, do you think you always know a guilty dhow when you board it?—I think the vigilance of the officers can be completely trusted in that respect.

754. Are the signs unmistakeable?—There are signs unmistakeable when the dhow is carrying a large number of slaves; sometimes domestic slaves might be on board without your finding them out; but, under existing regulations, having domestic slaves on board does not constitute a guilty dhow.

755. Slaves for sale cannot be concealed without your knowing it?—In small numbers they might be. This regulation permitting the carrying of domestic slaves will make it still more difficult to ascertain with certainty the character of a dhow which is carrying 10 or 12 or 14 slaves for sale.

Monday, 24th July, 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Sir Robert Anstruther.
Lord Frederick Cavendish.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Viscount Enfield.
Mr. Robert Fowler.
Mr. Gilpin.
Mr. Russell Gurney.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Kinnaid.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. John Talbot.
Mr. Percy Wyndham.

RIGHT HONOURABLE RUSSELL GURNEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Sir LEOPOLD HEATH, K.C.B., called in; and further Examined.

756. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] You were for three years yourself on the station?—Yes.

757. During the whole of that time had you seven vessels under your command?—Yes; in the early part of the time I had more, but they were engaged in the Abyssinian Expedition.

758. Were they during the whole of the year on the Zanzibar coast?—No; they did the general duties of the Indian station as well.

759. So that during the greater part of the year they were on the Indian coast?—They were on the Indian coast during those months of the year when the dhows did not run.

760. During only three months of the year they were on the African coast?—I should say more nearly five months.

761. You found that they were ineffective in preventing the slave trade?—They captured on the average 1,100 slaves a year; and there is good reason for supposing that 20,000 slaves are exported.

762. Every year?—Every year.

763. You agree with that?—I agree with that; but I do not think that those 20,000 can all go by sea to the Persian Gulf or that neighbourhood; and I say so, because, though I have no statistics to prove the number of dhows on that coast, still, I can hardly fancy there would be tonnage enough available for carrying those 20,000 every year.

764. You state that the vessels under your command, boarded no less than 400 dhows in the course of the year?—They boarded a great many more than 400 during the year, but that was the number boarded in those particular three months to which I referred in my last day's evidence; and I mentioned that particularly, because it was rather a new disposition of the squadron which I had adopted.

765. Will you explain what that disposition was?—The disposition was attempting to blockade the ports of Arabia as had been previously recommended in the reports of Colonel Playfair, Colonel Pelly, and other gentlemen, who had paid great attention to the subject of the slave trade.

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766. What ports of Arabia?—My eastern vessel was off Ras-el-Hadd; the western one was off Macullah, and there was one between those two; one vessel was just south of Cape Guardafin, which is on the African coast, and two were left to act as the senior officers in command of them, thought best in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar. My own ship, the flag-ship, was cruising from Ras-el-Hadd up to Macullah; there were thus four stationed along the coast of Arabia; one near Cape Guardafin, and two at Zanzibar.

767. Sir R. Anstruther.] Was it with the view of blockading the ports of imports as well as the ports of export that you made that disposition of the fleet?—It was with a view of blockading the ports of import which had not been previously attempted on so large a scale, but I did not think it right to leave the ports of export quite clear, or to leave the consul at Zanzibar; and the British community, quite unprotected.

768. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] By which ships were the greatest number of captures made during that disposition of the fleet?—By the ship, or ships, south of Cape Guardafin.

769. Not by the vessels watching the Arabian coast?—There were seven full slavers captured during that season; of these one was in Zanzibar harbour; two were off Ras-madraka; one off Cape Fertaka; three south of Socotra, the others had but a small number of slaves on board.

770. Notwithstanding that disposition of the fleet, it is probable that only one dhow out of ten was captured, according to the calculation which have been made?—I would not say one dhow out of ten. I would say only one slave out of 20 reported to be exported was captured.

771. You expressed the opinion in your evidence on Thursday that it would be necessary to maintain ten vessels on the coast, with the view of stopping the trade entirely; what disposition of the fleet would you make, supposing you had ten vessels?—I named ten vessels as the very least that should be sent there, if an earnest effort would be made. I look on the naval proceeding as only auxiliary to others. I look upon them as quite necessary, but still only auxiliary.

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I should leave the disposition of those ten vessels entirely in the hands of the officer commanding them. The tactics of the slave dealers vary each year, and each year the officer commanding must vary his disposition of the fleet also.

772. If the seven vessels under your command only succeeded in capturing one slave out of 20, what reason have you to suppose that 10 vessels would entirely put a stop to the trade?—I have never said that that was my opinion.

773. You do not think that 10 vessels would put a stop to the trade?—No.

774. In the evidence you gave on Thursday last, you complained of the Admiralty regulations, with reference to the capture of vessels carrying domestic slaves, and I think you expressed an opinion that that rather tended to prevent the squadron exercising due vigilance in the capture of slave dhows?—Yes.

775. Are you aware that complaints had been made to our Government of the capture by our squadron of vessels which were really carrying only a limited number of domestic slaves, not for sale?—So far as I am aware, the first complaint that was made was by Sir Edward Russell, the Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court at Aden; his complaint was made in a letter, which will be found in the Blue Book for 1870, at page 73, a letter dated 29th January 1869. So far as I am aware, up to that time it had been the universal custom to consider that naval officers had nothing to do with the particular sort of slavery, for which the slaves found in the dhows were intended; their printed instructions are very distinct. You will find at page 22 of those instructions, that an officer is justified in concluding that a vessel is engaged in, and equipped for the slave trade; if you find any slaves on board. There is no limitation as to the status of the slaves, and up to the date of that letter, all judges had condemned dhows for having domestic slaves on board. I may instance, Mr. Churchill, a Member of the recent Committee, having condemned a dhow whilst I was in Zanzibar, merely because there was one single slave on board. Mr. Churchill asked my opinion about it, not officially, and I said that it had been the universal practice to condemn dhows for having domestic slaves on board, and I thought that the instructions would not justify an officer in not taking a dhow in which he found domestic slaves. I should have to lengthen my answer very considerably if the Committee wish me to argue the point as to whether under our treaties domestic slavery at sea is allowed.

776. I think it is unnecessary to enter upon any justification in the matter; I only want to know whether, as a matter of fact, complaints were made of dhows being captured which were carrying domestic slaves not for sale?—It can hardly be called a complaint, because it was the universal practice to forbid slaves being carried at sea whether domestic slaves or others.

777. Up to the time when the new regulations were made by the Admiralty, it had been the universal practice to capture dhows even when they had a limited number of domestic slaves on board not expressly for exportation?—Yes; the reason probably was that a domestic slave is a saleable article, and is very often sold, as shown by extracts from correspondence and from reports, which will be found at page 75 of the same Blue Book.

778. Is it not the fact that many of the vessels

engaged in ordinary trade are manned by slaves?—Many of them are manned partly by slaves, probably taken to sea with the view of selling them if a good price was found for them.

779. Was it the practice to capture those vessels equally with others?—Yes.

780. *Chairman.*] Is there anything you wish to add to the evidence you have given?—I should like to give the Committee my opinion about the Muscat subsidy, if the Committee wish to hear it. I should like, in the first place, to read a letter which I addressed to the Governor of Bombay, dated 12th February 1869; that was at a time when the question of stopping the subsidy was being agitated: "My Dear Sir Seymour,—Although I am neither your political Secretary nor a member of your Council, I hope you will not object to my offering an opinion upon the Muscat subsidy question, in which I naturally take a considerable interest. I understand that the Secretary of State is willing to release Zanzibar, provided India will make the payment out of Indian funds, or, as an alternative, that he will allow the payment to cease altogether if you should report that Muscat can do without it. I take for granted that India will not pay this subsidy, and I am afraid that, if you should say the money is essential to the strength of Muscat, the Secretary of State will leave the matter in *statu quo*. I cannot think that the power of Muscat in the Persian Gulf depends upon the receipt of this annual sum. Its vessels, its forts, its guns, its troops, are all perfectly contemptible even with the subsidy, and its superiority over its neighbours rests really upon the known friendship of the Indian Government. I should doubt the policy of much strengthening its military position; but if it were desirable to do so, the loan of an engineer officer, and the expenditure of 1,000 £ in properly mounting and arranging one or two of our old guns, would, I think, be more effective than the annual 10,000 £ (this should have been 8,500 £) now paid into native hands. I have never seen the papers connected with our guarantee, but however loosely they may have been worded, it never could have been intended that we should be bound for ever, and under all possible contingencies. The present opportunity seems a fair one for shaking off our obligation. The throne is no longer in the possession of a descendant of Saed Saed, and Toorkee might be distinctly told, that if he accepts any help whatever from us in establishing himself at Muscat, he must remember that we have withdrawn our guarantee, and that, practically, the Zanzibar subsidy will never again be paid. I have a strong impression that the time has come for either withdrawing from all attempts at putting down the East African slave trade, or for prosecuting our assaults upon it with far greater vigour than heretofore. The Sultan of Zanzibar declares, that so long as he has to pay this large annual sum, so long must he continue to encourage this slave trade, on account of the revenue he derives from it, and England's guarantee thus becomes an active incentive to the continuance of the traffic.—Yours, very truly, L. G. Heath." Though the circumstances have changed since that letter was written; though the present rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar are now again both sons of Saed Saed, still we have the same opprobrium hanging over us. England's guarantee is still put forward as being a direct incentive to carrying on the slave trade at Zanzibar; I think the proper

proper way to deal with this question will be to release Zanzibar from paying this subsidy, on the ground that we are going to insist upon the cessation of all sea slave trading by Zanzibar, and that since this insistence on our part will diminish the revenue of Zanzibar, the grounds of our original arbitration, namely, the greater wealth of Zanzibar, as compared with Muscat, will no longer exist. With respect to Muscat, I think that as we guaranteed this annual payment to that state by Zanzibar solely in order to stop a maritime war which would have disturbed our commerce, we should ourselves pay the cost of our withdrawal from that guarantee, but as Saed Toorkee knows perfectly well that there is much doubt as to whether our award was between persons or between states, and whether it has not already legally ceased, I think it would be quite fair to deal with him on the footing of that doubt, and to agree with him to pay him during his reign, say 5,000 £ a year, and that we should not be bound in any way to his successor.

781. *Mr. Shaw Lefevre.* During the time you were off the coast were there other cruisers belonging to other powers there?—There were French men-of-war, but they took no part in suppressing the slave trade.

782. Does the French Government permanently keep cruisers off that coast?—The French Government have settlements there, and they keep their ships there to protect those settlements and to push their commerce.

783. If the French cruisers co-operated with the English cruisers in endeavouring to prevent the slave trade, do you think it would tend very much to facilitate its suppression?—It would be like all joint operations, liable to disturbance, though of course it would be well to gain their goodwill.

784. *Mr. P. Wyndham.* Do you think the Imaum of Muscat would have reason to complain, on the score of equity, if the subsidy were withdrawn; might he not say, that he could have enforced it by force of arms if we had not originally interfered and made this settlement between him and the Sultan of Zanzibar?—The present Imaum of Muscat has only been on the throne a few months; our policy towards him has been one of the most hesitating and uncer-

tain nature. One of the first duties I was called on to perform in India was to go to Muscat and prevent the present sovereign, viz., Toorkee, from taking possession of Muscat. I took him over with me to Bombay, having signed, in conjunction with the Political Agent, a treaty, granting him 1,200 £ a year out of the Zanzibar subsidy, so long as he chose to remain in India. I became, during the cruise to Bombay, great friends with him, and I think he is perfectly aware that there are two opinions about that subsidy; that some think the guarantee was a guarantee only as regards the two first occupants of the two thrones, when the kingdom was divided, while others think that it is to continue, but I do not suppose that Toorkee has any idea that the guarantee will go on in perpetuity. There have been on the throne, since the guarantee was entered into, two sovereigns, besides the one there at that time; Toorkee is the third in succession to Syed Thowaynee, who was the man on the throne when we entered into the guarantee.

785. Was it in your view in the nature of a guarantee to him personally, or to the throne he occupied?—That is a question which is disputed; I have never myself seen the papers.

786. Was it a guarantee of the Indian Government, or of the Imperial Government?—I am almost sure it was by the Indian Government. I think it was the Governor General who guaranteed it.

787. *Chairman.* Are you aware whether any large number of slaves are held by English subjects?—In the Island of Mohilla is a sugar planting estate, owned by an Englishman, who was for a long time our consul. I think that rather than give up his slaves he gave up his consulate. I know of no other case.

788. *Mr. Crum-Ewing.* Where is Captain Fraser, is he in Zanzibar?—Captain Fraser was at Zanzibar at the time I was there. I think I have heard that he has since come home; I am not sure.

789. He had a considerable number of slaves, I think?—He had at one time a large number of slaves; but by some arrangement with the Sultan, I believe, their name was changed; they were no longer called slaves.

Mr. H. C. ROTHERY, called in; and Examined.

790. *Chairman.* You are legal adviser to the Treasury in all matters relating to the slave trade?—Yes.

791. How long have you filled that office?—Since the beginning of 1860.

792. I suppose, in the course of that time your attention has been a good deal directed to the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa?—Since the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa has been brought to our notice by the capture of vessels there.

793. About when was it first brought to your notice?—I should think about the year 1864.

794. How have the present Admiralty Courts at Zanzibar and Aden worked?—I think that the establishment of a Vice Admiralty Court at Zanzibar has been attended with very great advantage.

795. When was that established?—It was 0.116.

established by Order in Council bearing date 9th August 1866.

796. Was that in consequence of there being no Court within a great distance of Zanzibar to which djows could be taken for condemnation?—Yes; it was considered to be a great injustice to the Arabs that the condemnation could only take place at very distant places, as the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, or Bombay; and, in consequence, a Vice Admiralty Court was first established at Aden; but even Aden was found to be too far, and accordingly the Order in Council of the 9th August 1866 was passed, establishing a Vice Admiralty Court at Zanzibar.

797. Do you think there is any necessity for any additional Courts now?—No; but I think it very desirable that the Court at Zanzibar should be kept up.

798. And that at Aden too?—Yes.

799. Has your attention been called at all to the

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the disposal of the liberated slaves?—Yes; as a member of the committee that sat at the Foreign Office, our attention was a good deal called to that point.

800. What is your opinion upon that subject?—We thought it very desirable to make Zanzibar the receptacle for the liberated slaves; hitherto they had been taken to Aden or Seychelles, and the Seychelles it appeared had as many slaves as they required.

801. One advantage in having a depôt of liberated slaves at Zanzibar would be that the labour which is wanted in Zanzibar could by that means be easily obtained?—We thought that that would be so.

802. That would tend to remove the objection of the Sultan to the repression of the slave trade?—We thought it would supply the want that would be felt in the event of the slave trade between the main land and the island being put a stop to.

803. You spoke of the Seychelles having as many slaves as they could accommodate now; are not a large number of those who are captured children?—I have a difficulty in answering that question correctly; I do not speak from any personal experience on the coast, but I am inclined to think that on the East Coast of Africa the number of children captured in proportion to the adults is not so great as it used to be on the West Coast of Africa. I have the number of males and of females captured; and that is the only classification which the Returns at the present time give.

804. The Seychelles would be a good place in which to dispose of the children, schools having been established there?—It would, and I believe many children have been sent to the Seychelles.

805. Has your attention been called to the effect of the bounties?—I have to report to the Treasury whether bounties are due and payable.

806. Have any difficult questions arisen as to whether bounties should be paid or not?—The question was discussed before the Foreign Office Committee whether it was desirable to continue the system of bounties, or whether it would be better to give the officers and seamen rather larger pay when they were engaged in suppressing the slave trade.

807. Did you form any opinion upon that point?—We referred to that subject in our Report, but I confess that I have formed no very strong opinion upon the point; it seems to me that the advantages and disadvantages are pretty nearly equally balanced. It is very much the same question as arises with regard to prize in time of war; there have been always two opinions on the subject; one, of those who hold that higher pay should be given to those from whom additional services are required, and the other, of those who hold that it is better that the captors should have the benefit of any captures they might make, as they would thus have an incentive to greater exertions.

808. Is there any want of interpreters on the East Coast of Africa?—We were informed that there was a great want of interpreters on the East Coast of Africa, and that they were very untrustworthy persons.

809. How can that evil be remedied, in your opinion?—I cannot answer that from any personal knowledge; I understand that there has been evidence given before you to the effect

that there would be no difficulty whatever in supplying the want of good interpreters. We thought one means of doing it was by paying them more highly, and at the same time not allowing them to share in the bounties.

810. So as not to have an interest in misinterpreting the evidence?—Yes.

811. With respect to the recent instructions from the Admiralty, probably you had something to do with advising upon that matter?—Yes.

812. What has been the effect of those instructions?—I think it has been to introduce more regularity into the captures than previously existed.

813. And to remove any ground of objection on the part either of the Arabs, or of the Sultan?—I think so.

814. Have they had any material effect in diminishing the number of captures of guilty dhows?—That I can hardly say, for I do not know how many ships there are at the present time on the East Coast of Africa; but certainly there have been fewer captures of late.

815. Have you learnt whether there is any difficulty in distinguishing a legal trader from a dhow?—I have always understood that there is very little difficulty in distinguishing between them, except in the case of legal traders, who do sometimes take a few slaves on board. There is no distinction in appearance, I am told, between legal and illegal traders, but when a slaver has a cargo of slaves on board, there is no difficulty in distinguishing whether they are domestic slaves, or whether they are slaves carried for sale.

816. Have you been able to learn from any papers that have come before you, whether domestic slaves are often taken to sea for sale?—I should have thought not; I should have thought it exceptional; the captain of the dhow, perhaps might, if he had a good offer for a slave, sell him; but I should have thought, generally, that the slaves he had on board would be so valuable to him, as hardly to make it worth his while to sell them.

817. If they are trained for mariners at all, they would be much more valuable on the ship than on the main land?—Many of these dhows have perhaps half their crews composed of slaves, and, if they sold them, I should have thought a master would have great difficulty in navigating his dhow home again.

818. How do you know a domestic slave from a slave intended for exportation?—I have always understood that the slaves when they got to Zanzibar were well treated, that they became more civilised, and got into better condition; whereas the slaves exported from Kilwa, which is the chief port of exportation, are generally in a state of the greatest emaciation.

819. Are the two descriptions of slaves differently guarded?—I should have thought so.

820. Are the slaves for exportation in the hold?—Not always, I believe; when they have only small cargoes of slaves that would not be necessary.

821. Can you give us any assistance in suggesting means for the suppression of the slave trade?—No other suggestions occur to me than those which we made in the Foreign Office Committee Report.

822. From any information you have obtained subsequently, have you had reason to change your opinion at all?—Not on any point.

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823-4. With respect to the subsidy paid to the Imaum of Muscat, have you any reason to suppose that the Imaum of Muscat would consent to the discontinuance of the payment to him of that 8,000 l.?—I can give no information upon that point.

825. Is the income of the Sultan of Zanzibar so large that that subsidy of 8,000 l., which he pays to the Imaum of Muscat, forms only a small proportion of it?—The information we had before us with respect to the income of the Sultan of Zanzibar was, I think, of a very loose character; we estimated the whole of his income, I think, at about 80,000 l.

826. Did that include the receipts from slaves?—Yes.

827. Sir R. Anstruther.] As to the children, have you any means of ascertaining what proportion of the captured slaves are adults and what proportion are children?—No, not now; formerly the returns used to state the numbers of the "men, women, and children," now they only state the numbers of "males" and "females."

828. Since when was the column of "children" discontinued?—It used to be given in the Return from the West Coast of Africa, but in the Returns from the East Coast it has not generally been continued.

829. Would it not be desirable, in your opinion, to reinstate that column in the Return?—I think it would. The officers on the East Coast are, for the most part, not legal gentlemen, and the Returns, therefore, are not quite so perfect as they might otherwise be.

830. To what officers do you refer?—To the superintendent at Aden, and the Consul at Zanzibar, who are not legal officers.

831. They have not been called on to specify how many children are captured?—No.

832. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] The Admiralty instructions issued in 1879 were drawn up in consequence of reports made by you?—Yes.

833. Those reports being made upon representations by the Sultan of Zanzibar to our Government, I think?—Certainly; and also upon representations from the Consul at Zanzibar, Dr. Kirk, and Mr. Churchill.

834. They had reference to the destruction of dhows engaged in commerce, but which had domestic slaves on board?—Partly to that, and partly to vessels that had been destroyed, which were undoubtedly legitimate traders.

835. Without any domestic slaves on board?—Without any domestic slaves on board.

836. Take the first case; it had come to your knowledge that a considerable number of dhows were captured which had comparatively few domestic slaves on board?—Yes.

837. And you come to the opinion that such captures were quite illegal?—Yes.

838. And the Government were so advised by their law officers also?—Yes.

839. In consequence of that, it became necessary to issue fresh regulations forbidding that practice?—Yes.

840. The Vice Consular Court has held such captures to be illegal?—Yes. We had no idea that the officer commanding could have so misapprehended his instructions. The instructions are entitled, instructions for the suppression of the slave trade, and not of slavery.

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841. The instructions issued by the Admiralty were really for the purpose of carrying out the law?—Yes.

842. And preventing this illegal course being followed by our cruisers?—That was the object.

843. As to the destruction of vessels previous to condemnation, have several cases come to your knowledge where that had operated very harshly on native vessels?—Many. There is one that occurs to me at the present moment; the "Petrel" on her way south to the Cape of Good Hope, met with a valuable dhow, having 42 passengers and crew altogether on board, and a valuable cargo. She detained the dhow on the ground that there were six domestic slaves on board. The whole of the cargo was transferred to the "Petrel," the dhow was burnt, and the passengers were sent back to Zanzibar, together with those six alleged domestic slaves which were the ground of destroying her; and having arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, the officer obtained her condemnation there. That was one instance; I have 13 or 14 others.

844. Instances of illegal capture of the same kind?—Yes.

845. And causing great complaints on the part of the traders in Zanzibar?—Yes; and great terror.

846. And stopping the legitimate trade?—Yes.

847. I presume it is, to the increase of legitimate trade that we may look, more than anything else, for the suppression of the slave trade?—I should have thought entirely.

848. There is a considerable legitimate trade growing up, is there not?—Yes; the accounts are that the East Coast of Africa might produce an enormous trade.

849. With reference to bounties for the destruction of vessels previous to condemnation, have you formed any opinion upon that point?—My very strong opinion is, that where a dhow is destroyed at sea, the bounty of 1 l. 10 s. a ton ought not to be granted. Previous to my appointment to the office which I now hold, it had been the habit for a very great number of years to grant this bounty. I called the attention of the Treasury to the subject, and pointed out that under the terms of the several Acts, I did not think that the bounties were, strictly speaking, payable; the Treasury, however, thought that after so long a usage they could hardly refuse the bounty, and in that opinion I concur. At the same time, I think it very desirable that an Act should be passed that the bounty of 1 l. 10 s. a ton should not be granted, except where the vessel has been brought into port and there destroyed, or under other exceptional circumstances.

850. You think the practice of giving bounties for vessels destroyed on the alleged ground of unseaworthiness before condemnation, has led to a very loose practice of destroying vessels in order to prevent the question of their true character being raised?—I may as well state to the Committee the history of this 1 l. 10 s. bounty. Formerly when the slave trade was carried on on the West Coast of Africa, the vessels engaged in it were very fast sailers and very valuable; they were brought into port, and were there sold, and the slave traders competed with one another for the purchase, sometimes giving very extravagant prices

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prices for them; the result was, that the same vessel was captured over and over again. I believe there are instances of the same vessel having been captured five and six times over. I should here state that the proceeds of the vessels were given to the captors, as well as the bounties upon the slaves captured in them. It was accordingly decided that the slave vessels should be broken up, but the naval officers then complained that this was depriving them of a great portion of their reward, and accordingly, as a compensation to them, it was ordered that, where a vessel was broken up and sold in separate pieces, a bounty of 1 l. 10 s. additional should be granted to the captors to make up to them for the loss sustained by the destruction of the vessels. That rule has been applied to the case of dhows captured on the East Coast of Africa, which are of very little value.

851. You think 1 l. 10 s. a ton a very high compensation to pay in the case of those vessels?—Certainly, in those cases.

852. Then the Admiralty regulations were, in fact, to put a stop to those two illegal practices, that is to say, to stop the condemnation of vessels having domestic slaves on board, and, if possible, to put a stop to the improper destruction of vessels previous to condemnation?—Yes.

853. Where there is no real ground for supposing that they are slavers?—Yes; I may mention another instance which led to the issue of those instructions; one of our officers captured a vessel, and brought the slaves (the slaves being domestic slaves) to Zanzibar; Dr. Kirk or Mr. Churchill said that the vessel was undoubtedly a legitimate trader, but that officer, notwithstanding that the vessel was restored, carried off the slaves to the Seychelles.

854. Our Government has been compelled to pay heavy damages in respect of that and in respect of another vessel also improperly captured and destroyed?—Yes.

855. In your opinion, is it exceedingly important that every protection should be given to honest trade there?—I think it should be encouraged in every possible way.

856. And great care should be exercised with regard to the condemnation of slavers?—Yes, I think so.

857. Mr. Gilpin.] You mentioned just now the case of the "Petrel," and the capture she made, and which, I, think, was taken to the Cape of Good Hope; do you recollect whether that prize was condemned?—Yes, it was condemned.

858. Then the capture itself was not illegal, was it?—Yes, it was in my opinion illegal, but the dhow was condemned on an *ex parte* statement.

859. Who was the judge?—The judge of the Vice Admiralty Court at the Cape of Good Hope; a *prima facie* case was laid before the Court but on the evidence of the captors only.

860. By whom was the treaty made by which the Imaum of Muscat receives 8,000 l. or 9,000 l. a year; I presume by the Indian Government?—I believe so.

861. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] Do you think now that there is a Prize Court both at Aden and Zanzibar there would be any difficulty in requiring that all vessels should be sent for condemnation to a Prize Court?—I am very strongly of opinion that vessels ought not to be destroyed except

under very great emergencies, and that, in the event of their not being able to be taken to Zanzibar, Aden, or Muscat, that they should be left in some port belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar, under the charge of his officials, before being destroyed.

862. Mr. Kinnaird.] The port of Aden is not convenient for a Prize Court, is it; has not it been found highly inconvenient?—Highly inconvenient in some cases, but not in all. Some vessels have been captured by Socotra, and then it is very convenient, if the wind is blowing in a particular direction, to run with them to Aden.

863. You stated, in answer to Mr. Lefevre, that you looked to the establishment of commerce entirely to put a stop to the slave trade; you did not, I presume, intend to imply that the naval force was of no use?—Most certainly not.

864. You meant in conjunction with the naval force?—Yes.

865. You quite admit the great value of the squadron?—Yes, but for the ultimate extinction of the slave trade I look entirely to legal commerce.

866. Chairman.] The existence of the slave trade very much prevents the extension of legitimate commerce?—Yes; the accounts by Dr. Livingstone are that the whole coast for a considerable distance inland is almost utterly depopulated, and that the area is increasing year by year.

867. Sir J. Hay.] I think I understood you to say, that except under very exceptional cases, where it was absolutely necessary, captured dhows should be brought to one of the Prize courts?—I think it very desirable that they should be.

868. Looking to the strength of the monsoon, and to the considerable distance that they have to be towed, and the time it would occupy, is it your opinion that in general cases it is possible to tow the captured dhows into port against the monsoon?—Possibly not; but in such a case I should say that the dhow should be left in one of the ports in charge of the Sultan's officers.

869. Then supposing that course were taken, and the captured dhow were to be taken to one of the ports, how would you propose that the crew should be dealt with during their detention?—I should leave the dhow in charge of the authorities at the particular port, and I should take the captain and two or three of the principal persons on board the dhow to the port of adjudication to obtain the condemnation. Then when the vessel was condemned, orders should be sent to have the vessel destroyed.

870. Chairman.] What would you do with the slaves?—Just exactly as they are now disposed of; they are generally taken on board Her Majesty's ships to the port of adjudication.

871. Sir J. Hay.] Would not there be a difficulty in carrying a considerable number of slaves on board one of Her Majesty's ships?—Yes; I know there is a difficulty about that, but they do it now; they do not leave the slaves behind them, but carry them to the port of adjudication, often very much to their inconvenience.

872. Supposing a captured dhow with a certain proportion of the crew were left in charge of the Sultan of Zanzibar's officers at a distant port, would not it be something like two seasons before the official condemnation could be obtained?—

tained?—I should have thought not; supposing that there were a delay, I do not know that there would be any great inconvenience in that. I do not see the inconvenience; if it is left in charge of the Sultan's officer, he would be responsible, and the Sultan would punish him in the event of his allowing any malpractice.

873. Are there any ports on that coast in which it would be convenient to treat captured slaves in that way?—I should have thought there were several ports where they could be left without much difficulty; the dhows themselves do not require an important port, they are not like ships of war.

874. Are you under the impression that the Sultan of Zanzibar and his officers would be willing to be responsible for the ships and cargoes?—The recommendation of the Committee was, that an arrangement should be entered into with the Sultan to do that, and we had no doubt whatever that the late Sultan would have done it; whether the present Sultan would enter into such an arrangement, I do not know.

875. The coast over which these operations would extend, would be a length of 4,000 miles, besides the Red Sea?—I have been told that, as far as regards the export trade, the captures

are principally made between Kilwa and Brava, and when they are captured beyond that, they are captured close to Socotra.

876. It has been stated in evidence before the Committee, that it would be necessary to intercept slave dhows on the coast on which they landed the slaves, as well as the coast from which the slaves were exported; in that case it would be something like 4,000 miles over which the operations would be extended?—You might say that, but you would not require to blockade every portion of that coast of 4,000 miles.

877. It would have to be left to the naval officer in command of the station to determine whether having regard to the strength of the monsoon and the power of Her Majesty's ships, it would be advisable to take the dhows into any particular port?—Yes, many have been captured in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, and they have been destroyed at once; where a vessel can readily be taken into a port we think that it should be done. There are circumstances in which it is impossible almost to do that, and then naturally the vessel would have to be destroyed; it would be of course on the responsibility of the commanding officer.

SIR WILLIAM COGHLAN, called in; and Examined.

878. *Chairman.* What position have you held which enables you to give the Committee any information with reference to the slave trade?—I was about nine years Political Resident and Commandant at Aden, and during that time I was employed as agent of the Viceroy of India to settle the question between the two sons of Syed Saed, the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the Sultan of Muscat.

879. You negotiated that treaty which led to the payment of that subsidy?—Yes.

880. The Indian Government attached considerable importance to the prevention of hostilities in that part of the world?—Yes; they were sending their ships against each other.

881. Was your attention drawn to the liberated slaves who were sent to Aden?—I have myself on several occasions liberated slaves.

882. Under what authority was that?—I was also appointed the Judge of the Admiralty Court.

883. What was done with the slaves liberated at Aden?—If they had been in any large number there would have been a difficulty; I found no difficulty because the numbers were few. I released the men, and let them take their chance as free labourers, and the women I apportioned amongst the respectable families; that would not work on a large scale.

884. Was there any difficulty in finding employment for the men?—None whatever. In one case I sent a number of children to Bombay; several girls to one of the mission schools there.

885. Was any considerable expense incurred by the British Government connected with them?—None; I do not remember to have incurred any.

886. Have you made a report to the Foreign Office, or to the Indian Government upon the subject of this trade?—Yes; I made a very careful report upon the subject a long time ago; 0.116.

it was as far back as the 1st of November 1860.

887. Have you had no further information upon the subject since that time?—No; I found that my figures were discredited, and I did not say anything more about it.

888. That report has never been published?—Not to my knowledge.

889. Subsequent to 1860 you say you have received no fresh information on the subject of slave trade?—No, I have had nothing to do with the slave trade since. In 1863 I was at Aden, and some representations were made to me by the merchants at that place, but I have made no report since 1860.

890. You have no doubt as to the correctness of what you state in your report?—No; it was prepared under great advantages. I had very able assistance in preparing it. I had also the assistance of General Rigby, who was at that time the consul at Zanzibar, and I had personal access to both the Sultans. I was at Muscat, where I saw Sultan Thowaynee, and discussed the slave question with him.

891. Mr. P. Wyndham.] You negotiated the settlement of the difficulty between Muscat and Zanzibar?—Yes.

892. What is your view of the subsidy; do you regard it as an award to the Sovereign of Muscat individually?—No; I regard it as a dynastic arrangement.

893. Do you think we could with propriety withdraw from our position with respect to that subsidy?—I think not. I think the only opportunity we ever had of withdrawing from it was missed. That was when the young man Sultan Salim killed his father; that would have been a fair opportunity to have freed Zanzibar from the subsidy, because the Sultan represented that it was a hard case that he should pay it to his nephew, a parricide, who had murdered his (the Sultan's) brother.

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894. Supposing

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894. Supposing its reconsideration came before the Imperial or the Indian Government, do you think it should be decided on its own merits or mixed up with the slave question?—On its own merits, I think; though I was reporting on the slave traffic, my principal business was the adjustment of affairs between the two Sultans. The slave traffic was merely a matter thrown in.

895. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] It was not for want of representation, I think, from the Indian Government that that opportunity was missed; it was the Home Government who neglected the opportunity?—I understand (in fact, some papers were sent to me on the subject) that the Governor General decided that it must be paid.

896. His view being that it was a dynastic arrangement?—Yes.

897. When you returned to Aden, in 1863, three years subsequent to your report, did any additional evidence come before you at all to alter your report?—Nothing at all; in fact, the only way in which the question of the slave trade was mentioned to me on that occasion was by a complaint from some of the native merchants, who said that their traffic was interfered with by the cruisers; they did not complain of the operation of the law; they did not complain of vessels being interfered with which really carried slaves; but they said, in some cases, vessels which carried no slaves were condemned, and with them all evidence of their character; therefore, they said we are afraid to send our ships to sea.

898. Do you believe, from your residence in the East, that a very large legitimate trade would grow up, if the slave trade was put down?—I have no doubt that there would be a large development of trade on that coast.

899. Have you any suggestions apart from your report to make, as to the best mode of suppressing the slave trade?—Obviously the first would be to get the Sultan of Zanzibar to cancel the treaty by which he is allowed to carry slaves within his own dominions.

900. If he agreed only to have one port of export, which could be watched, would not that greatly facilitate the suppression of the trade?—It would be still better to have none; Sultan Majid, the one who died a few months ago, agreed with me that it should be so; he said, I will do anything you please, only I request you to remember that this forms a sixth part of my revenue.

901. If our Government undertook to free him from that liability to pay 8,000 £ a year, would he agree to the treaty being altered, and abolish the slave trade?—I should think he would for less than that; he said to me that this formed one-sixth part of his revenue; say that 19,000 slaves were imported into Zanzibar; upon that 19,000 he got two dollars a head, that is 38,000 dollars, that would be 7,000 £ or 8,000 £.

902. Would that, in your opinion, be a very good mode of stopping the slave trade?—I think so; General Rigby is a better authority upon that subject than I am.

903. Would not the relieving him from the payment of the amount of the subsidy be much cheaper than keeping a large squadron on the coast?—Yes.

904. Mr. *J. Talbot*.] Would it prevent the necessity of keeping a squadron on the coast?—Perhaps not altogether, because people would be found to break the law; in fact, Europeans

would do it. One of the greatest slave traffickers of my day was a Spaniard; I saw his vessel captured with 860 slaves on board.

905. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Where was he taking them to?—I saw the vessel just after she was captured at the Mauritius.

906. Were they taking them to Cuba?—Yes.

907. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] What date was that?—About August or September 1860; she was a large ship, captured by the "Brisk."

908. Have you any reason to believe that there is even now a trade in slaves from the East Coast of Africa to Cuba?—I have no means of forming an opinion upon that.

909. Sir *J. Hay*.] Is not the great difficulty in stopping the slave trade there more than in any other place; the difficulty in distinguishing between domestic slaves and slaves intended for sale in foreign ports?—That would be a difficulty to naval officers, but during the time that I was at Aden there was no difficulty of that sort; almost all the country craft that came into the harbour were navigated by slaves; we never thought of interfering with them; but if a vessel had come in with slaves for sale, we should at once have seized her.

910. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] You are of opinion that we cannot terminate the subsidy now paid to the Imaum of Muscat?—I think not.

911. Is there no termination to it at all?—When I made the award, I looked to a period when the two Governments would fall into one hand as before, under the father; that was always looked to as a possible contingency. That, of course, would have smoothed the difficulty at once.

912. Mr. *P. Wyndham*.] Do you think that the Sultan of Zanzibar is likely now to be satisfied with the same sum that you think would have satisfied him previously as a compensation for giving up the slave trade?—I think so. I found him tractable.

913. You have no reason to believe that the trade is more valuable to him now?—No.

914. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] The Imaum of Muscat would look to the Sultan of Zanzibar in the first instance for the payment of his subsidy?—Yes; there is no longer an Imaum of Muscat; he is the Sultan of Muscat; of course he would look to his brother, but it is morally guaranteed by the British Government.

915. Mr. *Kennaway*.] Did the Sultan of Zanzibar, in any conversation he had with you with reference to the slave trade, contemplate the possibility of its being put down?—Yes; I put the question to him, and you will find a reference to it in my report.

916. Did he see any difficulty in its being put down?—No; he said I will do whatever you please, only give me your support, by which of course I understood he meant money.

917. *Chairman*.] Not merely moral support?—No; I quite understood he meant by that, that he wanted to be indemnified.

918. Mr. *Kennaway*.] Would he have been satisfied with a few old guns?—No, he had plenty of them.

919. *Chairman*.] Is there anything you wish to add to the evidence you have given?—I may mention that, so far as the native chiefs within the Gulf of Aden are concerned, I made a treaty with, I think, every one of them; I visited every port

port on both sides of the Gulf of Aden, and I think I failed only in one; that was at Tajura; I was politely received, but the governor intimated to me that the Sultan of Constantinople was his master.

920. Did those treaties give us authority to seize ships having slaves on board?—Yes; those treaties are all printed (see pp. 184-186 in No. XLIX., New Series, Bombay Government Records, 1859).

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Rev. HORACE WALLER, called in; and Examined.

921. *Chairman.*] I BELIEVE you are now a Clergyman in England?—I am.

922. Have you been on the East Coast of Africa?—I joined the Universities' Mission to Central Africa at the end of the year 1860, and I was there till the year 1864, when I returned to this country and took Holy orders.

923. In what part of Africa were you?—On the River Zambezi and in the neighbourhood of Lake Shirwa.

924. You remained there for four years?—In that part very nearly three years.

925. What distance were you from Zanzibar?—A very considerable distance to the southward of it.

926. Towards Nyassa?—To the south of Lake Nyassa, within 100 miles of Lake Nyassa, in the part of the country from which slaves were principally collected to be sent down to the coast, and also down the River Zambezi into the Portuguese dominions.

927. Were there very large exports of slaves from that part of the country?—At that time the exports were very large, perhaps they had never been so large before in that part of Africa. The whole of the country to the north of the Zambezi was for the first time invaded by slave traders, who took advantage of Dr. Livingstone's previous explorations, using his good name and fair fame amongst the natives, and saying that they were the same sort of white people that they had previously seen; and in that way the natives allowed them to come into their country. Before that time no Portuguese had ever been into that part of the country. I may state that the slave trade that was opened out there was of two descriptions. In the first place, the Kaffir tribes to the south of the River Zambezi had been fighting for a great number of years amongst themselves. No slaves are taken from the Kaffir tribes for the slave trade which we have under consideration, but owing to the hardships of warfare nearly all the women and children had disappeared from those tribes, and the Kaffirs were most anxious to replenish and strengthen the tribes, and therefore they told the Portuguese that they no longer wanted muskets which burst, and with which they were very much cheated, but they would prefer to have women and children sent to them. The Portuguese thereupon collected all the women and children they could in the highlands bordering on the River Shiré, and sent them down to Tette, which is the principal Portuguese port on the River Zambezi, whence they were sent to the Kaffir tribes in the interior of the country, and traded away for ivory and gold dust. Then again there was at that time another very large export of slaves to the mouth of the River Zambezi, to Quillimane, another of the Portuguese settlements. The French *engagées* system was then in full force, and a large export of slaves was going on from Quillimane. Besides those there was also a trade carried on to the north by Arabs, the slaves for which trade were taken

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from this part of the country to Kilwa to be exported to Zanzibar, and they were also taken in very large numbers to Mozambique, whence they were exported to the Comoro Islands and to Madagascar, and some of them to Réunion.

928. Sir J. Hay.] Slaves of all sexes?—Of all sexes.

929. Sir R. Anstruther.] And of all ages?—In a gang of 84 slaves that Dr. Livingstone and two or three of us liberated, there may have been seven women of 21 years of age; there may have been 10 men of 19 years of age, and the rest were boys and girls of from 17 down to six or seven. I must explain that for those Kaffirs the Portuguese collected women and children only; it was useless sending them young men of 18 or 20; the Kaffirs wished for women and children only. The slaves collected for the French *engagées* system would be principally of the age of 18 to 25, because they could be put on the plantations at once, but in all slave gangs by far the largest proportion consists of children. The slave dealers prefer children because they are not so troublesome to drive, they are much easier caught if they attempt to escape, and they very soon settle down in their occupations, and they do not pine as slaves of greater age would.

930. *Chairman.*] When you say children what age do you mean?—From seven years of age upwards; you will find in every slave gang a great many children of seven to 10 years of age; they are, perhaps, the most valuable slaves that can be captured.

931. Sir R. Anstruther.] Can you form any idea of the proportion of children that have been exported lately?—I know from letters which I have received from Dr. Livingstone, and which I would have brought had I known I was going to be examined to-day, that the same devastation is going on up to the latest dates; he has been through an immense tract of country which is now entirely depopulated; on all sides there are signs of this slave trade having swept away the whole of the population.

932. *Chairman.*] Where is that?—The country between the East of Lake Nyassa and the coast.

933. How far is Nyassa from the coast?—I should say 300 or 350 miles.

934. Do you mean that all the country, from the coast to Lake Nyassa, is depopulated?—It is depopulated to within a short distance of Lake Nyassa.

935. You referred just now to slaves collected for the purpose of being employed on the French *engagées* system; that has entirely ceased now, has not it?—The French *engagées* system has entirely ceased, but it was so profitable a trade that the Portuguese on the River Zambezi sold off nearly all the slaves they had on their farms to supply it, and therefore during the latter part of the time that I was in the country they were getting fresh slaves down for the cultivation of their farms; and the whole of the country in which we were was depopulated for their trade.

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936. That was not for export?—Not for export at that time, but if the opportunity offered they would have exported those slaves.

937. If they could have got for them such a price as would have compensated them for the loss of their labour on their estates?—Yes.

938. Our attention is rather directed to that portion of the trade which you have described as being carried on by the Northern Arabs?—If you will allow me I should very much like to avail myself of the opportunity of describing the cruelties I have seen connected with the collecting of the slaves. I think I am not asking too much to be allowed to state this, because I know that many of the slaves taken from the part of the country we were in find their way to Mozambique, and that many of them find their way to Zanzibar. Dr. Livingstone recognised slaves at Zanzibar that had been brought from that part of the country, and I have recognised at Mozambique some who had recently been taken from the highlands, and indeed the slaves themselves told us where they had seen us, so that we could at once identify them as having been drawn from the country we had been in. I think that attention should be prominently called to the condition of those unfortunate people in their transit from the interior, because, though I can quite see that one's mouth is rather closed as to the status of a slave when he gets to an Arab master, that has nothing to do with the sufferings connected with his capture. It is true that a slave is well treated by his Arab master; as has been well observed, a man will not ill-treat his slave so as to hurt him, any more than he will his horse, but life is so cheap in the interior of the country that this rule does not hold good at all, as far as regards what takes place before the slave is finally sold. When I first went there in 1861 (and the state of things was even worse when I left in 1864), the ordinary price of a slave was two yards of calico; that is to say, for a boy 10 years of age; a woman would fetch something more if she was likely to be sold to the Kaffirs, or if she was likely to go on to one of the Portuguese farms, or to go to any of the Portuguese in Mozambique; she might have fetched eight yards of calico; but the price varied very much. The process of catching the slaves is this: the slave dealer goes into the country with so many muskets, and so many pieces of calico, and he finds out the most powerful chief, and he gives him spirits and keeps him in a state of semi-drunkenness the whole time, and tells him he must have more slaves; he gives him muskets and powder on account, and the man immediately finds out an opportunity to settle some old outstanding quarrel with some other chief, and therefore a war breaks out. As soon as war breaks out, favourable conditions are created for the carrying on of the slave trade, because famine is sure to follow in a country where the people are dependent on one wet season for tilling the ground, for it is only during the wet season that corn can be sown. Then a chief without food and without the means of buying food, will sell off his people very cheaply indeed. Captures are made in war. Kidnapping is prevalent all over the country; which leads again to all sorts of petty disputes and retaliation, and the more disturbed the country is, the cheaper slaves become; so cheap do they at last become, that I have known children

of the age of from eight to 10 years bought for less corn than would go into one of our hats, and you may easily imagine where they are bought so cheaply, and where they fetch so large a price on the coast, it pays the slave dealer very well to collect as many as he can, knowing that he must lose a certain proportion on the way, but also knowing that the remnant he saves will pay him a very large profit. It is like sending up for a large block of ice to London in the hot weather; you know that a certain amount will melt away before it reaches you in the country as it travels down; but that which remains will be quite sufficient for your wants.

939. *Chairman.*] Can you give us any idea of the comparative price of a slave on the coast, and in the interior where they are bought?—I ascertained the price of slaves at Mozambique, and I found they were worth there about eight dollars, the same slaves having been bought in the interior for a few yards of calico.

940. *Sir R. Anstruther.*] What is the proportion of waste of life in the transit?—It is very difficult to say what is the waste of life in the transit without having travelled with a slave caravan the whole way. Sickness may break out; they may cross a part of the country where there is very little food, and then many die of famine. Then, again, if there is anything like insubordination in the slave gang, the axe and knife are used very freely indeed, and an indiscriminate slaughter takes place amongst all those who are strong enough to be at all obstreperous. We liberated a gang of 84 slaves one morning, and within a few miles of the place where we liberated them we were shown places in the bush where slaves had been killed only that morning; one poor woman had a child on her back which she had recently given birth to, and which she was too weak to carry further, and the slave dealer took it by the heels and dashed its brains against a tree; another woman was ill herself, and could not keep in the line, and the slave dealer dashed her brains out with the axe, and she was cut out of the slave throng. They are all united in a long string, the men being yoked in heavy forked sticks, which are kept on their necks from the time they are captured till the time they are delivered to the slave shipper, sometimes for six weeks and sometimes even three months at a time.

941. *Chairman.*] What is the time generally occupied in the transit to the coast?—It varies; the slave gang is made up as the dealers travel about; they do not collect all the slaves at one place and go straight to the coast, the slaves are marched to and fro in the country, to a chief here and to another there, wherever the dealers hear that slaves are to be sold, and then they are all eventually taken to the coast. The travelling is very slow; I should say it is no uncommon thing for a slave gang to be some three months from the time it is first formed to the time it reaches the coast. The loss of life is very terrible indeed, owing to the hardships of the transit, and owing to the brutality of the drivers.

942. Dr. Livingstone, in one of his letters, estimates that about one-fifth reach the coast; do you think that that would be a fair average?—I should say that one-fifth do reach the coast, perhaps more; but I would also state this, that the Doctor believes that for every slave that comes to the coast perhaps 10 lives are lost in the interior,

interior, and I would have that distinctly borne in mind; that is my own opinion and the opinion of many others who have the best means of forming a judgment on the matter.

943. That is to say, taking into account the lives lost in warfare?—Taking into account the lives lost in warfare, and in the famine that succeeds, and those that are lost from the disease which always accompanies famine there; I never saw cholera break out, but I have seen a species of dysentery sweep off whole villages at a time.

944. Brought about by want of proper food?—Yes, and the want of proper food has originated in the disturbed state of the country; drought will very often prevail for a long time in the country, which, of course, aggravates the state of things very much; the Nyassa or Mañanja tribe are very timid, and they suffer exceedingly.

945. Dr. Livingstone mentions one part of the country which at one time he found well cultivated, and where a great quantity of cotton was grown, and which on a subsequent visit he found entirely depopulated?—Yes, that is the country I am speaking of in which so great a change took place. Many of the Doctor's statements have been discredited, but he is not a man to exaggerate in any respect; I know that contrary opinions about the country have been stated, and it has been hinted that he has coloured things rather too highly, but when I was there I had opportunities of seeing the remains of villages in all directions, the population of which had been entirely swept away; I have seen as many as three villages burning in one morning within two hours, and I have seen hundreds of captives carried away from those villages.

946. The villages are set on fire, and, in the confusion, the men, women, and children are captured?—Yes.

947. Within what time did that change take place from its being a flourishing cotton-growing country to its being depopulated?—In about two years.

948. Do you remember in what year Dr. Livingstone saw it in its flourishing condition?—I think the Doctor came home to England and represented the flourishing state of affairs in 1859; and we found the altered state of things in 1861; the inhabitants of that district were a very industrious and intelligent race; they had an immense quantity of iron all through the country; coal also was found there, and gold; and copper was taken away to the coast in the form of malachite.

949. They have been swept away?—Entirely swept away. I may say that the country was formerly so thickly populated that you might have travelled for 70 or 80 miles, and have come to a village at every two miles; in many places you would have found a village at every half mile. It is thoroughly well watered, and it is hardly necessary in any case to take any precaution about water. Another proof of the great population in the hill country is this: that there was no game to be found at all, with the exception of a few guinea fowl.

950. Sir R. Anstruther.] The consequence of this depopulation is that all this land is lying waste?—The Doctor, in one of his last letters to me, speaks of having to cross a tract of 120 miles where they found not a human being of any kind.

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All this land that I am speaking of is perfectly swept of its inhabitants, and I have no hesitation in saying that every bit of this damage and misery has been caused by the slave trade.

951. *Chairman.*] Where are the slaves obtained from now?—The slaves are now brought from great distances in the interior. The belt of country between the Lakes and the East Coast is denuded of its inhabitants, and, therefore, they have to be brought from the west side of Lake Nyassa; they are transferred across the lake in Arab dhows; there are settlements of Arabs on both sides of the lake, and the Doctor in his travels has given very accurate accounts of the slave trade crossing the lake.

952. To what power are those Arabs subject?—They are not subject to any one; they are perfectly lawless; they have no master at all; the greater part of the slaves that go to Zanzibar now are brought from the vicinity of that lake, the great proportion of them from the west side of the lake, simply because the rest of the country is depopulated.

953. Of course the further the slave dealers have to go inland for the slaves, the greater the waste of life?—The cheaper they are to buy, and the greater the loss of life there is in bringing them down to the coast.

954. You do not know anything as to what is going on now, I presume, except from the letters of Dr. Livingstone?—I am in constant correspondence with Dr. Kirk; and I may state that Mr. Young, who went up to search for Dr. Livingstone in 1867, went through the greater part of the country I am speaking of, as far as the middle of Lake Nyassa, and according to his account the same state of things was going on at that time. I have since heard from more recent accounts that it is still going on, and, in fact, it must go on as long as slaves are exported from the East Coast.

955. Sir J. Hay.] Are those slave dealers of whom you are speaking Portuguese subjects, or Arabs?—Most of them are Portuguese subjects; some of them are Arabs.

956. Have the Portuguese Government no means of restraining them?—I speak of things as they were; I can only say that the Portuguese who were sent out there, were sent out to shift for themselves; the Home Government did not wish to hear anything more of them, and the slave trade was never interfered with in any way except on paper.

957. Mr. J. Talbot.] Did you accompany Dr. Livingstone on any part of his travels?—Not as one of his expedition, I went out with Bishop Mackenzie, but I was with Dr. Livingstone, off and on, for nearly four years; I joined him because we wished to save the lives of a great many of those poor men and children who had been liberated by us, and the Doctor and myself were working together for that purpose for some time; eventually he sent me down to the Cape with them, and a great many of them are there at the present time.

958. *Chairman.*] Have you any suggestion to offer to the Committee with the view of suppressing the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa?—Having listened with much interest to the evidence which has been given here, I should like to suggest that which seems to me to be one very good plan, and which I think might be adopted. The suggestion has been made that vice consuls

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should be placed at different parts of the coast to watch the slave trade, and to aid the fleet, as they certainly would be able to do in a most valuable way. General Rigby thinks that it would be difficult to get men to undertake that office, on account of the unhealthiness of the coast, but I think that difficulty might be removed in a measure, by having what I have heard called a "Floating-consul;" that is a consul who should have a yacht at his command, and who should ply between, say, Zanzibar and Madagascar; he might spend some part of his time at Kilwa, and some part of his time in Mozambique harbour; he might cross to Johanna, where a large slave trade is going on, and he might cruise along the coast of Madagascar if need be, though, perhaps that would be too large a field. At all events, I think the danger to a man's life would be obviated by his being able to move about. To put a man in a very unhealthy place is not only likely to kill him in a short time, but it makes him non-efficient very quickly indeed. The result of two or three attacks of fever is very serious; if the man is not moved away, he, in some cases, becomes morbid in his ideas, and, in other cases, he becomes exceedingly nervous. In some cases I have known men become really demented as long as they have been within the reach of the malaria that has made them ill. It is necessary, in that country, to be moving about. You may undergo any hardships as long as you move about, and are in active employment; but once be stationary in an unhealthy place (and there is no place so unhealthy as a small Arab town), and your life is very much hazarded. I would add that I think there are also other advantages in such a plan. I think the slave dealers would then never know where to expect this officer; he would be master of his own actions and movements much better than he would if he had to be dependent on calling upon a man-of-war to take him from one place to another. I do not think the expense of such a service would be very great; it would be a popular service, and many men would be found who would enter heart and soul into it.

959. Do not you think the same service could be performed by one of the fleet cruising about in the same way from port to port?—I think not so well, because I attach importance to the vice-consul being enabled to reside on shore for a short time, by which means he would be able to obtain information which he otherwise could not obtain. The floating-consul might go to any of those ports, and remain a short time at them; and then, without the necessity of asking anyone's leave, he might weigh anchor the next morning, and communicate with any of the fleet.

960. Have you any other suggestion to make with a view to putting a stop to this slave trade?—I will simply add this; I have seen a good deal of the Arabs in the Comoro Islands, and other places, and I should certainly advise that we should deal with them with a strong hand in preference to any dallying with them; I would put the utmost pressure upon the Sultan of Zanzibar at once; I should show him that though we might be taking away from him shillings by stopping his slave trade, yet that the vast increase in the legitimate trade that there must be in the course of a few years would be putting back pounds into his pocket. He is now a beggar set upon horseback; he is a man of enormous income;

and from what General Rigby has said, he is a man with whom I think strong action would have more effect than any paper warfare in the way of treaties, and so forth.

961. You have probably seen a great deal to enable you to form an opinion as to what would be the increase of commercial intercourse if the slave trade were abolished?—I know most of the merchants connected with the trade on the East Coast, and I get letters constantly from Dr. Kirk at Zanzibar; I also know Dr. Steere, who has resided there some time, and Mr. Alington who was there; I knew Mr. Thornton who was with Baron Von Der Decken; and I have indirectly had very many opportunities of knowing how the trade of Zanzibar is increasing daily.

962. Do you think that the merchants resident there are anxious to have the slave trade put a stop to?—I think they are certainly. When the northern Arabs come down with the monsoon to carry away the slaves to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, there is no security for the life of Europeans in Zanzibar, and if a better state of things were established, if safety could be ensured, I am sure they would all be very glad. I cannot conceive that Europeans could have two opinions about it.

963. They are not themselves at all connected with the slave trade, are they?—Not at present. I cannot say that such was the case a few years ago. I know that a great commotion existed at Zanzibar, and also in the Comoro Islands, from the fact that Englishmen were very large employers of slave labour, but that has been put a stop to by the Foreign Office.

964. You think now there is a very general feeling among the merchants there that their interests would be promoted by the suppression of the slave trade?—I am sorry I cannot back my opinion by evidence upon that point, but there are gentlemen in this country (one gentleman especially whose house is connected with Zanzibar, a member of the firm of Wiseman and Company, one of the leading merchants there) who, I am sure, could offer you better information on the subject than I can.

965. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] Captain Fraser had a large number of slaves, had he not?—Yes; the fact of Captain Fraser employing slaves led to everlasting murmuring on the part of the natives. One morning they would see us burning the dhows which were engaged in the slave trade, and the next morning they would see an Englishman working factories and plantations with those slaves safely landed; it was a question which puzzled far more acute people than they were. The same thing existed at the Comoro Islands; it was a mere sham and delusion; the poor slaves were hired in gangs from their Arab master; the Arab master was called in by the English employer, who, merely as a matter of form, said "Now mind all these people are to be free labourers on my plantation. I will hand over their wages to you." But, of course, they were not handed over. It was encouraging the slave trade.

966. Sir R. Anstruther.] As far as the slaves were concerned, they were as much slaves after the transaction as before?—Yes.

967. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] After they were manumitted, did not they remain with Colonel Fraser of their own accord?—I am not sure about that; I know at the time it was a great scandal.

968. Sir

968. Sir J. Hay.] That was in the island of Zanzibar?—Yes.

969. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] Does Wiseman's house trade with the interior of Africa?—I am not aware, but I know that a ship has just come home direct from Zanzibar for them; the chief trade between Zanzibar and Europe comes through a Hamburg house.

970. Sir R. Anstruther.] Independently of humane considerations, are not you of opinion that commercially it would be well worth our while to make an outlay for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, and putting a stop to this depopulation of large tracts of country which is now going on?—I cannot speak too strongly upon that point; a great part of the East Coast of Africa is useless for any purposes of commerce at present. Of export you may say there is nothing except a few hides from the northern part, where the Somalis are in power, slaves, ivory, and a little gold dust; nothing else comes from the interior. I have no doubt were the slave trade stopped a very large trade with Europe might spring up at Zanzibar, because the produce from the eastern part of Africa must inevitably come through Zanzibar. Zanzibar would become a second Singapore or Kurrachee for that part of the world, more especially now the Suez Canal is opened; and, I think, it should be our policy on all considerations to try and get a stop put to this horrible loss of life; commercially it would be of the greatest importance to us. According to the accounts of the recent discoveries of Dr. Livingstone and others, we have in the interior of that part of Africa a country equal in resources to any part of India, and I believe more healthy as a rule; the sea-board and the rivers are unhealthy, but when you get some distance from the coast you rise to a lovely table land, and it is a country which, from what I saw, and from what I know from other men who have travelled there, is second in beauty to hardly any in the world, and it is also a most productive country. Iron abounds in all directions; in fact the Portuguese get all their iron from there. Coal is to be found; lead I have seen myself in large quantities, and cotton can be grown to any extent. I have seen very large quantities of cotton there.

971. In fact, apart from all humane considerations, you think it would be for our interest to make an outlay for the suppression of this trade?—Yes; but independently of our interest I think as Englishmen, as a people so blessed as we are, and as a people who profess to put down the slave trade in different parts of the world, our foremost duty is to stop this frightful loss of life, particularly when we consider that there are only a few treaties which have never been abided by in our way. The plainer we make things for the Arabs the better; hitherto there has been a vast amount of confusion; they do not know what we mean, and I candidly confess that such transactions as those I spoke of, in which Englishmen have had to do with the slave trade, give them cause to complain of us, and give rise to complications. I have seen a French ship lying at the Island of Johanna, crammed with slaves, with one of our men-of-war within a cable's length of her, and the poor creatures jumping overboard and swimming to us to protect them; and the Arabs would say to us, there is a Frenchman there full of slaves, if it was one of our ships you would burn her directly; why do not you go and

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take her? All these things lead to complications, and the sooner they are simplified by action *pur et simple* the better.

972. Mr. Gilpin.] Have you yourself seen the dhows going down the river laden with slaves?—Not dhows, but canoes. I have seen 20 or more in a day, laden with slaves, going down the River Shiré into the Portuguese dominions.

973. Sir R. Anstruther.] When was that?—In 1864.

974. As to the healthiness of the coast, does not it depend principally upon the habits of the European settlers there; would not a man who was tolerably sober and correct in his habits have a better chance of keeping himself in health than a man of intemperate habits?—It used to be said on the West Coast that a stock of tombstones should be kept at Sierra Leone for the use of those that died there, and that one sentence would describe all their deaths, "brandy and water." That really has a good deal to do with it, but I must state this, that a man who lives in an unhealthy place very soon becomes demoralised in mind and body, and he is very likely to take to an unwholesome way of living. I think it would not be safe for a man to stay there long; but, in connection with your question, I should like to state from information I have received from Dr. Kirk recently, that he is decidedly of opinion that a station might be found on the mainland near to Zanzibar, where Europeans could live in perfect health, and where, if it were necessary, liberated slaves could be sent to be kept under safe supervision.

975. Chairman.] What place is that?—Near to Dar Seelam; Dr. Steere will be before you to-morrow, and he will be able to give you more information upon that subject than I can.

976. Mr. Gilpin.] To what extent were British subjects and British protected subjects in the habit of holding slaves when you were in Zanzibar?—I was not in Zanzibar, and I am not able to answer that question.

977. You have probably not seen that paper with reference to British protected subjects (*handing to the Witness the Draft Report of the Foreign Office Committee, vide Appendix*)?—I know that the question of the status of British protected subjects at Zanzibar is a very vital question; they are now, owing to our very lax treatment of the question, throwing off their allegiance to the British Government in order that they may claim that of the Arabs, and so engage in the slave trade and be slaveholders.

978. Mr. J. Talbot.] With regard to the depopulated country between the coast and Lake Nyassa, which you say is like a desert, you think it could be again made very productive?—Of course it must take some time for the remnants of those tribes which have been driven north, south, east, and west to come back to their old country.

979. Do you think that there is still population sufficient in that part of Africa to re-inhabit that country and to re-cultivate it?—Without doubt there is population sufficient in the neighbourhood of the lakes; I may state this, as a peculiar feature of the depopulation going on in that part of the country, that when destruction and disturbance come, the natives are obliged to make for either a lake or a river, because, as I have stated, no corn can be sown except during the wet season in the highlands; but

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there is always a certain amount of swamp land available in the neighbourhood of lakes and rivers, in which corn can be grown at all times of the year. When we were in the highlands, in 1863 and 1864, in the neighbourhood of the Shiré, all the population which was not swept off accumulated at the river; and it was a very frightful state of things there, because the people flocked to the river, perfectly famished and perfectly mad with hunger, and they risked their lives for the sake of a few heads of corn. The river all day long was carrying down the dead bodies of those who had been fighting amongst themselves, like starving dogs quarrelling over a bone. The population is very dense indeed on Lake Nyassa at present.

980. Some of that population would, in the course of time, spread over the depopulated district?—Yes, if there was anything like peace.

981. Mr. Fowler.] Is not the water on the coast very dangerous to drink?—I do not believe it has the effect attributed to it; I have drunk the vilest water possible, and yet remained in most perfect health; if a man in bad health drinks bad water, or bad beer, or anything else, it may kill him; I do not believe as some people do, that a draught of bad water will be sure to bring on fever or dysentery.

982. Sir R. Anstruther.] With regard to the probability of the depopulated district becoming again inhabited, the fertility of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, which induced people to go there, and cultivate the soil in time past, would operate as inducements to people to go there again, would they not?—Yes; this part of the country is full of little streams; in fact, it

was some time before I knew what the native word for thirst was, though you may hear the word for hunger from morning to night. I never saw a better watered country in my life (when you get on the low lands, in fact, you have too much water), and where you have water, you are sure to have plenty of cultivation. We hear of African deserts, but that term only applies to the extreme South and the extreme North of Africa; there is not an approach to a desert in the interior at all, it is a very fertile country throughout.

983. Mr. Kinnaird.] You referred just now to the suggestion that a European settlement might be established at some point near the coast?—I referred to a suggestion in a letter I recently received from Dr. Kirk; he found it necessary to make a journey for one or two days into the interior of the country to push on some of the porters who were conveying provisions to Dr. Livingstone, and he then passed through a part of the country, which he found exceedingly healthy and fertile, and which he thought could be very well inhabited by any Europeans.

984. You have no suggestion to make to the Committee further than you have made, as to the policy of establishing a coast settlement for Europeans?—Seeing that it must be obvious to all of us, that it would help us out of a difficulty if we could provide for these liberated slaves, it would be a most important thing if a European settlement could be established near Zanzibar, where they could be carefully looked after; and I consider it most fortunate that Dr. Kirk has, in his opinion, discovered a place recently where such a settlement could be formed.

Tuesday, 25th July 1871.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Sir Robert Anstruther.
Lord Frederick Cavendish.
Mr. Crum-Ewing.
Mr. Robert Fowler.
Mr. Gilpin.
Mr. Russell Gurney.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Kennaway.
Mr. Kinnaid.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. O'Connor.
Mr. John Talbot.

RIGHT HONOURABLE RUSSELL GURNEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. EDWARD STEERE, LL.D., called in; and Examined.

985. Mr. J. Talbot.] I THINK you were resident in Zanzibar for some time?—For four years.

986. You went out with the Universities Mission, did you not?—Yes; immediately after Bishop Mackenzie's death.

987. In what position were you in whilst you were resident in Zanzibar?—I was a missionary chaplain to Bishop Tozer; I was one of the missionaries, in fact.

988. Bishop Tozer succeeded Bishop Mackenzie?—Yes.

989. And he changed the field of the mission from the Zambezi River to the town of Zanzibar?—Yes.

990. Before you went to Zanzibar, you had been in the Portuguese territory?—Yes; we first went to the Zambezi, and then finding that the original title of the mission was desolate, we looked out for the natural centre of the country, and we moved to Zanzibar with the remnant of the mission.

991. How are the slaves obtained which are brought to Zanzibar?—I know very little of the way in which slaves are obtained in the interior, but my impression is, that they are almost always bought, and that the desolation in the interior does not arise directly from the slave trade, nor is it occasioned with the view to supply slaves; but, it is not an uncommon occurrence in Africa to have a marauding tribe sweeping over a large district, and practically destroying the district for the time being. The slaves I have talked to in Zanzibar have almost all been sold by their relations, or by their masters in the interior. The great hardships caused by the trade seem to lie first of all in the march down, and then in the passage at sea. I have been told several times of whole caravans of 200 or 300 having died between the place where they were bought in the interior and the coast; and as regards the passage by sea, even between Kilwa and Zanzibar, there was a dhow very lately lost a third of the slaves on board; there were 90 thrown overboard, either dead or dying, between Kilwa and Zanzibar.

992. Sir R. Anstruther.] How many days voyage is it from Kilwa to Zanzibar?—Between 0.116.

one and three. If a dhow is kept out three days a very large proportion of the slaves invariably die; it is not customary to give any food on the voyage except a little uncooked rice.

993. Mr. J. Talbot.] We have heard some very dreadful descriptions of the sufferings which the slaves undergo in their land journey from the place where they are captured to the port where they are exported; do you confirm those statements?—Yes, entirely. The great difficulty is to get them to the coast at all.

994. I understand that you do not agree entirely with what has been stated by former witnesses, that the country has been depopulated in order to obtain those slaves?—No.

995. But you think that the country has been depopulated by wars, and that the result of those wars has been the capture of slaves?—Sometimes, but not always. Very often the effect of wars has been, that no slaves have come from the country. Till lately more than half the slaves in Zanzibar came from the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa; and since the country has been desolated, no slaves have come from it. When the country was at peace there was a large exportation of slaves, but when the war and desolation began the exportation of slaves ceased.

996. Do you confirm the statement that was made yesterday, that the country between Lake Nyassa and the sea is almost entirely depopulated?—Yes, I have heard that stated over and over again. Marauders, whom Dr. Livingstone calls Mazitu, and the people of Zanzibar call Maviti, have spread over the whole country, one chief only having stood against them. Those marauders came even to Kilwa, upon which the Sultan of Zanzibar sent an armed force to defend Kilwa; a part of the Sultan of Zanzibar's force went out against them, and many were killed, a few only escaping back to Kilwa. Some of the town's people were then sent out to treat with them, and they were sent back without an answer, and with their hands cut off.

997. Are you able to confirm the statements which have been made to us as to the great fertility

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tility of that country between Lake Nyassa and the sea?—I have never traversed the country.

998. With regard to the state of things in Zanzibar itself, which is the part of the country you are most acquainted with, what is the condition of the emancipated slaves who are living at Zanzibar?—They are exactly in the position of free men anywhere; they get their living by trading and work.

999. Is there any attempt made to re-enslave them?—Not generally; they run some risk if they are imprudent and incautious; sometimes a man will sell himself, but, as a rule, they get their living in one way or other, and no one molests them.

1000. Is their condition very much better as freed men than it was as slaves?—As to eating and drinking I should think not much better.

1001. It is only in having their liberty that they are better off?—Only in having their liberty. The greatest evil of the state of slavery is the moral degradation.

1002. With regard to the children, you took some interest in the condition of the slaves in Zanzibar, I believe?—Yes, we had some children handed over to us who had been taken out of a slave dhow. The education of those children was our first work in Zanzibar, seven or eight years ago. We began with five and have now nearly ninety. The first five all came from the borders of Lake Nyassa, and they were very intelligent. Our difficulty at starting was in regard to the language, and it took some time to get over that. We began with the ordinary instruction which is given in a national school in England, and we found them take it with very great rapidity; they were much more acute than our English children would be in a rural school, and their moral character was excellent. Since I have come back I hear that they have gone on acquiring more and more knowledge, and the best possible accounts are given of them; some of them are now 20 years of age.

1003. They have grown up into intelligent men and women, able to take care of themselves and able to earn an honest living?—Yes. We have had one or two cases which turned out badly, but, as a rule, we have been very satisfied with the results.

1004. Is there any demoralisation amongst the young female slaves?—You may say that in Zanzibar morality is unknown, and that, for the most part, the slaves are not married at all.

1005. With regard to those whom you educated, some were girls and some were boys?—Some were girls and some were boys.

1006. With regard to the girls, do you think you instilled into their minds a proper feeling in that respect?—I think so. I think they have a strong moral feeling. I do not think there is in them any lack of original morality, but, I think, owing to the existence of slavery in Zanzibar, the general state of morality among the natives is extremely low, so that if you only look outside your own house you find every kind of evil going on.

1007. You knew the late Sultan of Zanzibar?—Yes; and the present Sultan of Zanzibar also.

1008. The late Sultan was really anxious to put down the slave trade, was he not?—No, I should think not. I should think the present Sultan much more trustworthy than the last was. Seyyid Majid was an effete voluptuary himself, a man entirely given up to his pleasures and worn

out by them, and he was always willing to pay money for the sake of putting an end to any trouble.

1009. You think that the present Sultan, if properly approached, would be willing to co-operate with us in suppressing the slave trade?—I think with regard to the foreign slave trade probably he would.

1010. Is it, or not, the case that a great part of his revenue is derived from the tax on slaves?—The customs duty on slaves forms a material part of the customs duties.

1011. Would you propose to compensate him for the loss of that duty?—He does not ostensibly receive any duty upon slaves going to Arabia, but only upon the slaves carried from place to place within his own dominions.

1012. On the slaves landed in Zanzibar?—On the slaves landed in Zanzibar and on those exported from Zanzibar, exported in a dhow supposed to be going to one of his own ports.

1013. So that he does not openly encourage the slave trade?—Not in the least; he professes to put it down. Every now and then he burns a dhow, and imprisons the master of the dhow, and takes away all the slaves. Seyyid Majid used to divide the slaves so taken amongst his friends.

1014. Had you any opportunity of forming an opinion as to the energy of our naval force with regard to the suppression of the slave trade when you were in Zanzibar?—Yes; there are exceptions, but, generally speaking, I think the navy did all they could, but I do not think they were at all able to do what they might have done; I think large vessels are wholly unfitted for the work of chasing those dhows; then when a young officer is sent out with some seamen in a boat, nobody ever knows exactly what is done, and many tales are told among the natives as to what is done, which are simply incredible, but there is little doubt that when a boat's crew goes away they follow their own devices very much indeed, and, no doubt, they harass legitimate commerce very much.

1015. That is, they take possession of vessels that are in legitimate trade?—Yes; they stop, and search, and detain, and sometimes burnt them.

1016. Under the supposition that they are slave dhows?—Yes.

1017. Could you suggest any means of improving that state of things for the future?—My impression is that small vessels of light draft should be employed, which could follow the dhows into the shallows, and they ought to be very fast sailers, because now the dhows can always outsail our boats; if you could follow them into the shallows with small vessels I have no doubt a great deal of the trade might be stopped.

1018. Generally, do you look forward with hope to the suppression of the slave trade in its worst form on the East Coast of Africa?—I think it may be done if the English Government is minded to do it.

1019. If the English Government is minded to do it, you think no material opposition would be offered by the native princes?—No.

1020. *Chairman.* What would you suggest that the English Government should do, supposing they had a mind to do it?—It is a question for a naval man what means should be taken; I think, probably, the best way would be to watch the Arabian

Arabian coast, and take the slavers as they arrived; then as regards liberated slaves, I think that the slaves that are landed should be landed in Zanzibar rather than any other place, because, if you take a freed slave and put him in any other country, you put him amongst strangers in a country the climate of which will probably not agree with him, and where, at first, he will be utterly useless to those he lands amongst; but if you put him down at Zanzibar you put him where he will find a number of men of his own nation, who understand him and live in the way that he has been used to, and you put him in a place where he will be able to get a living.

1021. As to the disposition of the ships, you say you would have them watch the Arab ports?—I think that would be the best arrangement with a view to suppressing the trade.

1022. Large vessels would do that?—Possibly they would do that better than small ones.

1023. And the small vessels you spoke of would be best adapted for pursuing the dhows in the shallows?—Yes, on the African coast.

1024. Is there anything else which you think might be done by the Government in order to show their determination to put an end to the trade?—It would be a very great thing if the treaty that was talked of at one time, were made with the Sultan to prohibit the export of slaves within the Sultan's dominions, except within a narrow compass; I think between Mombas and Dar Selam, or some such district, because the slaves that go to Arabia, are almost always shipped for Lamoo; a great number are shipped from Zanzibar for Lamoo, and what I understand to be the course is that they pay the customs duty upon the slaves to go to Lamoo, and they get passes, which they show till they reach the latitude of Lamoo, and then they make the best of their way to Arabia.

1025. Under the treaty is there a power of exporting slaves from Zanzibar to Lamoo?—Yes, it was so in my time; it was, generally speaking, the rule that no slave went from anywhere but Zanzibar, and as a rule they had been brought from Kilwa to Zanzibar; some going from Kilwa to Madagascar, and to the Comoro Islands.

1026. What is the change now?—At present Kilwa is not the great port, because the country has been ravaged behind it by the Maviti; they come more from Bagamoyo opposite Zanzibar.

1027. Sir J. Hay.] Do I rightly understand you to say that the slaves from Zanzibar bound for Arabia are cleared at the Zanzibar custom-house as being bound for Lamoo?—Yes.

1028. And with that false destination they evade the cruisers as far north as Lamoo, and then go to the open sea and steer for the coast of Arabia?—Yes.

1029. Chairman.] Do you think the appointment of vice-consuls at one or two of those ports along the coast would tend to facilitate the suppression of the trade?—I think it would be useful; I do not think it is at all a matter of first necessity.

1030. Do you not think that the appointment of those vice-consuls would be very useful as a means of obtaining influence along the coast and as a means of furnishing information to the naval officers?—The difficulty would be as to who should be the vice-consuls. Persons now living in those towns would be more likely to mislead than to help.

1031. If we could get honest and efficient
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vice-consuls, do you think their agency would be very important?—It would be very valuable.

1032. Is there any difficulty with respect to obtaining proper interpreters upon whom naval officers can depend?—The greatest possible difficulty. The interpreters I knew when I was in Zanzibar were all of them men who would not hesitate to take a bribe from the commander of a slave dhow and mislead the cruisers. It was universally said that one man, Juma, who is now dead, and who was one of the chief interpreters, was in the habit of communicating with slave dhows, and arranging that a certain number should be taken and that the rest should escape.

1033. The naval officers are very much dependent on the interpreters?—Entirely, because very few of them understand Arabic, and you may say none of them understand the Suaheli language, the language of the coast.

1034. Does any mode of supplying that want occur to you?—I have published a Suaheli vocabulary by which, perhaps, officers might acquire some knowledge of that dialect.

1035. You have spoken of the depopulation as being caused by war, which has not been originated for the sake of obtaining slaves; have you any reason to doubt the evidence we have had as to wars being provoked by the slave dealers for the purpose of getting those slaves?—I do not know what the evidence is, but I never heard of such a war.

1036. You have not heard of arms being supplied to some of the tribes, in order to give them success in war for that purpose?—This kind of thing will happen, as happened in the Nyamwezi country; there was a dispute there as to the succession, and the Arabs sided with one party; there was then a great desolation of country, but the number of slaves procured by that means was very small; as to supplying muskets, the sale of arms is part of the regular trade of a caravan.

1037. You do not agree with those accounts which we have heard, that the course to which I have referred is the ordinary course by which slaves are obtained?—No, I doubt it very much; when first I went up the Zambezi, I was surprised to find that the direction of the slave trade was into the interior, and not down to the coast, and then, again, I was surprised to find that the slaves found (by Dr. Livingstone) in the hands of the traders during a desolating war did not belong to the conquered tribe, but to the victorious one; they had been in many instances sold by their own relations.

1038. That would not account for the large number of slaves brought to the coast?—There are an enormous number of slaves in the interior; the trade has been going on for a thousand years.

1039. If 20,000 arrive at the coast, something like 100,000 must have been obtained, because it is estimated that about a fifth reach the coast?—There must be a very large number collected. The Turkish slave dealers Sir Samuel Baker met with are talked of in Zanzibar as men who do that, who stir up wars for the sake of carrying off slaves without buying them, and the Zanzibar men express their abhorrence of such proceedings.

1040. I am not referring so much to the Zanzibar men as to the northern Arabs, who come down with the monsoon for slaves?—All the trade goes through Zanzibar hands; the northern
K. Arabs

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Arabs who come in the monsoon time come to Zanzibar, and there stop.

1041. They do not negotiate with the dealers on the mainland?—Not with the people on the mainland; they kidnap slaves in Zanzibar, and sometimes take them off the plantations; they procure them by any means they can, in Zanzibar and immediately on the coast.

1042. What was your experience as to the healthiness of Zanzibar?—I was quite as well myself in Zanzibar as I should have been in England.

1043. You were in the town?—Yes.

1044. Can you speak to the healthiness of the country?—I have no reason to think that the climate of the country is worse; we all thought that the mainland opposite, particularly at Dar Seelam, was likely to be more healthy than Zanzibar itself. I have been at Dar Seelam, which is very finely situated; it has an excellent harbour, and there are some very fine buildings; but I am told that it is now to be abandoned. It was always thought that Seyyid Majid intended it as a place of security against his brother, the Imaum of Muscat, the town not being so accessible from the sea as Zanzibar is.

1045. What proportion of the slaves brought to Zanzibar are children?—Among the slaves I have seen landed from the dhows at Zanzibar there has not been a large proportion of children: I should think, taking one with another, you would get the ordinary proportion of children to grown people.

1046. What is the ordinary proportion?—A sixth, I would say, were children; but almost all the slaves are young people.

1047. I mean between the ages of six and ten?—About a sixth of the slaves I have seen landed in Zanzibar would be under 10, but of the cargoes I have seen taken from vessels going to Arabia, the proportion of children has been very much larger; in some cases they seemed to be almost all children.

1048. Did you see the boats in Zanzibar taking slaves on board for export?—I used to see the dhows coming from Kilwa with slaves; they used to go round our house close to our windows, the deck of the dhow would be entirely covered with slaves squatting side by side, so closely packed that it was impossible for them to move; there would be sometimes 200 to 300 in a large open boat.

1049. Would that be about the ordinary number carried in a dhow?—I think they always aim at getting as many as 200 into the dhow.

1050. Of course then there would be considerable mortality before they reached Arabia?—No doubt the mortality must be enormous.

1051. Did you see those dhows lying in wait in the harbour for a convenient opportunity of escaping our cruisers?—It was all done perfectly openly; the trade was legitimate to Mombaza and Lamoo, and there was not the slightest attempt at interfering with it.

1052. Have you any reason to suppose that any considerable proportion of those slaves that are taken to Lamoo are taken to remain there?—No, I should think a very small proportion indeed go to Lamoo to remain there.

1053. It is a mere blind?—It is a mere blind.

1054. As to nine-tenths would you say?—As to nine-tenths I should think. There is besides this, a slave trade which is illegitimate in the eyes

of the Arabs at Zanzibar; that is conducted chiefly by the northern Arabs that come from the Persian Gulf, who kidnap and steal their slaves, and who avoid paying the customs duties on them. The ordinary slave carriers are from Sur near Ras al Hadd; the northern Arabs or Shemali are Wahabees from Ras al Kheymah, near Cape Mussandum.

1055. How do they get off from Zanzibar?—They generally sail in the night; they have houses in the town; it is notorious in what parts of the town they make their stay while they are collecting their slaves, and in the back parts of those premises they gather the slaves; then when they have a good opportunity they slip them on board the dhows secretly at night and the dhow goes out to sea.

1056. Are there a large number of dhows engaged in that particular trade?—There have been generally a large number of them every season.

1057. Have you any idea of the number of dhows engaged in that trade in the course of a year?—There is so much secrecy about it that I do not think anybody can tell accurately; there is a certain build of dhow one knows, and one used to see eight or ten of them in the harbour at a time. I do not know how many of them there would be in the course of a year.

1058. You saw many dhows in the harbour at a time, which in the night would load their slaves and go away?—Dhows which everybody knew were there for piratical purposes if the opportunity offered.

1059. Would they carry off a great number of slaves?—They would carry as many as they could on board; there was one taken by the "Wasp" that had, I think, 380 on board.

1060. Do you look forward to any considerable increase of commercial intercourse at Zanzibar, supposing the slave trade were put down?—Yes, I think commerce will go on increasing, and I think commerce tends to suppress the slave trade; the legitimate commerce of Zanzibar is so large that the slave trade is being rather squeezed out by it.

1061. Do you think that the export of slaves is now decreasing rather than increasing?—Yes.

1062. For how long has that been the case?—It has been chiefly, I suppose, since cloves began to be planted in Zanzibar.

1063. That has given rise to a great trade?—To a very great trade.

1064. Does not that render it their interest rather to prevent the slave trade?—The Zanzibar people feel, as a rule, that the slave trade is a disreputable occupation; and they say among themselves "money made by the slave trade never prospers."

1065. They think it injurious to the interests of the state?—No, I do not say they think that, because the whole life of an Arab is bound up with the employment of slaves; all their domestic arrangements would be overthrown by the abolition of slavery.

1066. I am speaking of the slave trade, and not slavery?—You always find that the Arabs are anxious to supply their friends and relations with the slaves they want, and they consider it a laudable thing to do so; but they consider the slave trade generally to be disreputable.

1067. Is there any idea growing up in Zanzibar that they want the labour of the negroes themselves,

themselves, and that, therefore, it is inexpedient on that account to export them?—I think the number of slaves that have come into Zanzibar up to within the last few years has been so large, that any considerable want of labour has not been felt; but during the time I was in Zanzibar, the price of labour was constantly rising, and I have been told since I came away that it has increased very much. There has been an immense quantity of building going on in Zanzibar. The town was computed, some 10 years ago, to have 100,000 inhabitants in it, and everything that goes into and out of that part of Africa goes through it, so that the trade is enormous, and the number of men wanted for every kind of occupation is very great.

1068. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Following up the suggestion with regard to the establishment of vice-consuls along the coast, do you think that another good plan would be to purchase the sovereignty of Zanzibar; do you suppose that the Sultan would be disposed to sell the sovereignty?—No, I think not. I think it is possible that the late Seyyid Majid might have been so disposed, but I am certain that Syed Burghash would never entertain the idea for a moment.

1069. You do not think the cruisers do much good on the coast at present?—They certainly check the slave trade to a certain extent.

1070. You do not think they do as much good as they might do?—No; it does not appear to me that the navy has ever seriously given its mind to the suppression of the trade as a great object. I mean to include the authorities at home as well as the officers on the station.

1071. You mentioned that the young officers follow their own devices when they are sent out with the boats; do you mean that they amuse themselves?—They go on shore, and they certainly leave behind them the impression of having insulted the natives. They were accused in one case of carrying off slaves from the plantations, and bringing them down as having been taken out of a dhow; such things as these one does not believe at all; but I have very little doubt that when they land they sometimes get intoxicated, and that they then behave in a very rough and irregular way.

1072. Sir R. *Anstruther*.] Do you state that on hearsay or do you state it from your own knowledge?—I state it as what I was told by the natives; I do not state it as being within my own knowledge.

1073. Is it a statement in which you place any confidence yourself?—Yes, I thoroughly believe it.

1074. Sir J. *Hay*.] That does not apply to the officers?—Not to the officers generally.

1075. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] But to some of the young men?—Midshipmen or young lieutenants; the whole thing is sometimes treated as a lark. I believe that wrong and irregular things are done, partly because I know that leave to go on shore in Zanzibar at one time was forbidden on account of what men had done when on shore on leave.

1076. You lived in the town of Zanzibar?—Yes.

1077. Are there many factories in the island?—No.

1078. Is not there a sugar factory?—There was a large sugar establishment projected by Captain Fraser, who had a very fine plantation and very fine machinery, but up to the time I left they had produced a very small quantity

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of sugar, if any at all; then in the town itself there was a cocoa-nut oil factory with a steam mill, also started by Captain Fraser.

1079. That was a more profitable concern than the other, was it not?—Yes, much more profitable, I think; I think it had every element of success about it, and the natives were found quite equal to working the machinery.

1080. A great many people were employed in those factories, I believe?—Yes, he employed a very large number.

1081. What was the status of those persons?—They were hired, I think; you cannot always tell in Zanzibar whether the labourers that you see in any particular employment are slaves or free men, because it is common for a man to pay his master two dollars a month, and to shift for himself, hiring himself out for whatever employment he can get; there are men every day sitting in the market to let themselves as labourers, a large number being free, and a large number being slaves; but the workmen on the sugar plantation were almost all slaves newly arrived, and there was a considerable question as to the propriety of their being so employed.

1082. Did not some orders go out from this country to manumit them?—I know that a great deal was done and said about them; what exact orders went out, I do not know; I know it was said, that Captain Fraser being in want of labour met some natives in the town, with whom he made a contract for labour, and paid them in advance, whereupon they went to the slave market, and bought slaves, which slaves were sent out to the plantation; I do not myself vouch for the accuracy of that statement.

1083. It is some time since you left Zanzibar?—Two and a half, or three years; I have had letters lately from Bishop Tozer, and also from Dr. Christie, a physician, practising in Zanzibar, in which they say, that they are very anxious that some provision should be made for sick slaves and children after they are liberated, and landed in the town; they think that something more than a certificate of freedom should be given to them. The certificate is a good security if the person is well known, but it is no security for a stranger.

1084. Have not liberated slaves been taken to the Mauritius?—Yes, a large number have been taken to the Mauritius; I know nothing of that myself, but it was commonly reported that they would not have any more there, that they could not employ them; they get much better labourers from India; an untaught savage is useless for years.

1085. Lord F. *Cavendish*.] What security could you give to a freed slave besides his certificate?—His certificate is a very good security if he is a known person.

1086. These freed slaves not being known persons, what security would you suggest in their case?—They might be protected if a kind of barracks or home were established where they could be lodged for a time, so that they might come under the eyes of the people belonging to the consulate, and be recognised.

1087. Would you recommend their being placed under the protection of the British Government?—Yes; they should certainly be under the protection of the British Government.

1088. You think precautions might be taken to provide for the safety of freed slaves in Zanzibar?—Yes; certainly.

1089. Do

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1089. Do you think it practicable for our cruisers to do anything against the foreign slave trade as long as the domestic slave trade is allowed?—I think by watching the Arabian coast, they could do a great deal.

1090. But you do not think they could do much by cruising off the African coast?—I heard just now, that the slave dhows had changed their usual course, but hitherto all the slave dhows used to hug the African coast all the way up from Zanzibar, so that if you watched a moderate section of sea on any part of the coast, you could stop the whole trade; then if you took it north of Lamoo, you could not be baffled by false passes.

1091. We have had two views presented to us of the Arab character; one, that they are men with whom it is possible to negotiate fairly, and who will abide by treaties; the other, that it is only possible to deal with them with a strong hand; what is your opinion upon that subject?—Speaking of the Arabs as the governing body in Zanzibar, I think you can treat with them as you can with any Eastern nation. Syed Burghash is a man who, if he openly pledged himself to anything, would carry it out.

1092. Should you recommend dealing with him on the basis of the remission of the subsidy to the Imaum of Muscat, and so endeavour to induce him to make further engagements against the slave trade, or should you use strong pressure?—I think the Muscat subsidy is felt to be a great hardship, and that he would be willing to co-operate with us if we procured him a remission of it.

1093. *Chairman.*] If we were to undertake to pay it for him as long as he complied with our requisitions and demands?—I should think that if we offered to do that it would be felt as a thing that really did call for *bonâ fide* exertion on his part.

1094. Do you think he would really honestly work in conjunction with us then?—Yes, I think he would; as a rule, the Muscat and Zanzibar governments have not been on good terms; the shipping of slaves to anywhere beyond Ras al Hadd or in the Persian Gulf is reckoned as an advantage to the Muscat people, and therefore the Zanzibar Government are rather inclined to hinder than to promote it.

1095. Lord *F. Cavendish.*] Do you think that the Sultan of Zanzibar could put a stop to the foreign trade if he wished?—Yes.

1096. In spite of the Northern Arabs?—Yes, they are no power to a brave man.

1097. We have been told that the Northern Arabs kidnap the Sultan's own slaves?—Yes. Syed Majid used to pay them a large number of dollars every year to keep quiet.

1098. You think Syed Burgash is not afraid of them?—I think he would not pay them; they do not go in such force that they could be formidable against an energetic opposition.

1099. Mr. *O'Conor.*] Do you know how many slaves are required for Zanzibar itself?—No; I know that the mortality is very large indeed, and the reproduction is almost nothing.

1100. Are those slaves easily obtained?—They used to come from Kilwa in very large numbers. I am told, since the trade from Kilwa has been stopped they are much dearer; they used to cost from 5 dollars to 20 dollars.

1101. You say they are well treated in Zanzibar itself?—As a rule; there are all kinds of

masters; some starve their slaves, and some beat them; but, as a rule, they fare very well.

1102. If there were a greater difficulty in obtaining them would not the masters treat them with greater care?—I do not think it would make much difference; when one sees the utter recklessness there is in merely taking slaves from Kilwa to Zanzibar, one has not much reason to think that any consideration of the value of the slaves would operate on their minds in their treatment of them.

1103. What would be the effect if the slave trade were suddenly abolished in Zanzibar altogether?—I think there would be a disposition to employ something else besides manual labour. I do not think it would have any great immediate effect.

1104. Would they be able to obtain free labourers to carry on their ordinary work?—A large part of the work is done by free labour now.

1105. One of the witnesses said that if the slave trade were suddenly abolished it would cause a revolution?—It would be very likely to cause a revolution in this way: that the leading men would feel that the Sultan was betraying them, and, therefore, probably he would lose his power, because the Sultan has no power as against his great men.

1106. Mr. *Kennaway.*] I see Dr. Livingstone, in a letter dated 11th June, 1866, speaks of the utter powerlessness of the Sultan of Zanzibar to withstand the slaving propensities of the pirates and kidnappers who annually infest his island and seas?—I think that that might apply to Seyyid Majid. I should think it was rather exaggerated even in regard to him, but I do not think it would apply to the present Sultan at all. I think the Sultan of Zanzibar has the power to put a stop to it altogether.

1107. With regard to the depopulation of the district which has been referred to, I see Dr. Livingstone in a letter dated 20th August 1866, says, "that the coast Arabs come up with plenty of ammunition and calico to the tribe called Wayao, or Ajawa, and say that they want slaves. Marauding parties immediately start off to the Manganja or Wanyassa villages, and, having plenty of powder and guns, overpower and bring back the chief portion of the inhabitants?—That is not according to anything I have heard.

1108. Have you any reason to believe that that is not the case?—I have never heard anything to confirm it, and all I have heard has tended to contradict it.

1109. Mr. *J. Talbot.*] With regard to the healthiness of Zanzibar, you think the town itself is not unhealthy?—I think it is not more unhealthy than a low-lying tropical town generally will be.

1110. We have been told that the neighbourhood of the town is exceedingly unhealthy; you do not confirm that?—There are parts of it which are exceedingly unhealthy; if you choose your locality I do not think it is so.

1111. Was not there a sanitarium established a few miles out of Zanzibar, to which some of your missionaries were sent?—No; they were sent to the Seychelles; the Seychelles are the natural sanitarium of that part of the world; several Europeans went to Dari Salaam for the sake of their health, and found great benefit; but in certain stages of the fever any change is a benefit.

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1112. With regard to the freed slaves, you have no difficulty in finding labour for them?—I should think not in moderation. I should think several hundreds could be very well accommodated in the town of Zanzibar itself.

1113. There would be no danger of what is sometimes alleged as one of the difficulties in putting down the slave trade, that if you free a great many slaves you merely liberate them from slavery to something worse in reality, namely, starvation?—No; when a man had time to turn himself round at Zanzibar he would find abundant employment; as the slaves set free by their native masters do now.

1114. You would recommend that those that were freed should be, first of all, put under the protection of the British flag, so that they might have time to turn themselves round and find employment for themselves?—So that they might have an opportunity of seeing what they could do, and so that they might come under the eyes of the people belonging to the British consulate, and who might recognise them.

1115. You think they would have no difficulty in finding occupation for themselves after so remaining for a short time under the protection of the British flag?—I think not; when I was in Zanzibar there were almost always more labourers wanted than could be got.

1116. With regard to the upper classes in the town of Zanzibar, they are very well to do, are they not?—Yes, there are very rich people indeed in Zanzibar.

1117. And their needs are easily satisfied, are not they?—Yes.

1118. A very small income goes a long way?—Two dollars a month used to be said to be the regular pay for a slave to his master, and the master out of that is supposed to furnish him with food and lodging, and to get a profit.

1119. And even the master himself lives at a small cost?—Yes, except as to luxuries.

1120. Provisions are cheap?—Generally, a man has a piece of land in the country on which he grows his own provisions, and which his own slaves cultivate.

1121. His living costs him very little?—Very little.

1122. Mr. Kennaway.] Would not you say that Dr. Livingstone was likely to be correctly

informed on this slave traffic?—Yes, Dr. Livingstone ought to be an authority.

1123. Would not you say that the certainty of obtaining a market for the prisoners made in war tends generally to encourage wars between various tribes?—That would be the case if wars produced slaves, but I do not think that ordinary wars do produce slaves; I think they produce desolation.

1124. How do you think that the slaves that are brought to the coast are obtained?—I think most of them are born slaves; they are sold by their masters, and in some cases by their relations.

1125. Sir R. Anstruther.] How would you account for the depopulation that is admitted to have taken place between Lake Nyassa and the coast. Is it entirely owing to war?—War and plundering; the Maviti have come down and carried off everything eatable from the country, and the inhabitants have either fled or starved.

1126. Chairman.] You spoke of the ease with which some few hundreds of liberated slaves might be provided for in Zanzibar, but suppose the slave trade were to be entirely put down, the liberated slaves for the first year or two would amount to a great many thousands?—Yes; in that case it would be necessary to give them the means of cultivating land and getting a living from the land directly in that way.

1127. In Zanzibar could that be done?—Beyond all doubt. Dar Seelam would probably be the best spot.

1128. Could they be put under the protection of the British Consul there?—As much there as in Zanzibar, the intercourse is easy between the two places; it is about 40 miles from Zanzibar.

1129. It would be necessary to have some resident officer there for their protection, would it not?—There should be a superintendent; it would not be necessary to make a regular British settlement; it would be sufficient to have a superintendent with authority from the Arab Sultan.

1130. Mr. Kennaway.] If you look at page 53 of the Correspondence for 1870, Class B., you will see several statements made by slaves captured by a particular ship, from which it appears that the greater number of those slaves state that they were captured in war?—I should like to know more about those cases, perhaps an unusual proportion happened to have been taken in war

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Rear Admiral CHARLES F. HILLYAR, C.B., called in; and Examined.

1131. Sir J. Hay.] You were for some time Commander-in-Chief of the Squadron on the East Indian Station?—I was.

1132. Between what dates?—From the early part of 1866 to July 1867; about 18 months.

1133. During that time your attention was directed to the suppression of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa?—Almost entirely, so far as the duties of the station were concerned.

1134. You had had previous experience in the same sort of duty on the West Coast of Africa?—Very large experience having been in two successive flagships for a period of four years on the West Coast.

1135. You were at the capture of Lagos, were various strong measures were taken for the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

1136. Looking at the experience you had in the service on the West Coast of Africa, which

was eventually successful in suppressing the slave trade there, can you make any suggestions to the Committee as to the best mode of suppressing the trade on the East Coast, supposing the country were determined to put it down, and the duty were imposed upon you of suppressing it?—Firstly, I should largely increase the naval force on the coast, which was, during the period I commanded the station, quite inadequate for the duties it had to perform.

1137. What number of vessels had you for that special service?—Nominally five or six, besides the flagship; but two of them were under repair part of the time in 1867, so that really there were only from three to four on the coast.

1138. That was for blockading a coast of nearly 4,000 miles?—Yes.

1139. Did you conduct your operations in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar principally, or at the ports

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ports of arrival in the Persian Gulf and Arabia? — The force was so small at my disposal that I stationed the ships where they were most likely to stop the passage of the dhows.

1140. Where were they stationed? — One vessel was off Socotra, and another one along the coast of Arabia.

1141. The other three being near Zanzibar? — Two were in dock at Bombay, so that I had only three disposable vessels during the principal time of the slave trade, which is during March, April, and May.

1142. Have you any recollection of how many captures of dhows you effected? — It might easily be seen by my letters in the Blue Book of 1867; speaking from recollection, I should say we captured about 1,200 slaves in the twelvemonth.

1143. Had you very much difficulty in discriminating between dhows that were legally permitted to convey slaves for the home use of Zanzibar and its dependencies, and those which were bound to Arabia, and which you were entitled to capture? — The difficulty of course arising from our not being entitled to capture vessels employed on the coast within the limits within which the slave trade was allowed to be carried on. Captain Bedingfield wrote a very strong letter on the subject, and so did the senior officer at Zanzibar.

1144. During the part of the year when that trade was allowed it became extremely difficult for naval officers to suppress the illegal trade? — Yes.

1145. Those limits extended from Kilwa to Lamoo? — Yes.

1146. During your command within those waters, dhows may have nominally cleared at the custom house of Zanzibar for those ports, which were really intending to proceed on a longer voyage? — No, I do not think they could have proceeded on a longer voyage without laying in a stock of water or slave fittings on a more extensive scale.

1147. They would touch at the Port of Lamoo as the previous witness has said, and they would then proceed on? — Yes; they could not have proceeded on their voyage without touching at Lamoo or some other port.

1148. Vessels going to Lamoo and intending apparently, according to the custom-house clearance, to land the slaves there, intended really to lay in provisions at Lamoo and evade your squadron and proceed on a longer voyage? — Their great object was to evade the squadron; they are up to every dodge you can think of.

1149. Do you think that many vessels did evade the squadron in that way? — I should say for every one captured seven or eight escaped; I should say more, perhaps.

1150. I suppose, with your experience of the West Coast of Africa, you feel that the export of slaves there could hardly have been stopped by our squadron if it had not been for the treaties with Brazil and the operations on the coast of Cuba at the same time? — Certainly not without the treaty with the Brazils.

1151. Therefore, would it not seem to you that to enter into treaties with Persia and with Muscat would be the course to pursue to stop the slave trade, rather than the imperfect operations now carried on on the coast of Zanzibar? — No, I think the treaties which have been generally entered into have had very little effect in stopping the slave trade. I think the slave trade with

the Brazils has been mainly stopped by the voice of the country, the people disapproving of the importation of slaves; of course the difficulties attending the passage of the slaves and the shipping the slaves on the West Coast had something to do with it. The death blow to the slave trade on the West Coast of Africa was the capture and retention of Lagos.

1152. Looking to that, do you think that the occupation of Zanzibar, or some other arrangement that would give us the control there, would be the proper mode to stop the slave trade on the East Coast? — I have no doubt that the occupation of Zanzibar, or the cession of Zanzibar to the British Government, would very materially tend to suppress the slave trade on the East Coast. I think it is the focus of the slave trade on the East Coast much the same as Lagos was on the West Coast.

1153. You do not anticipate at present that any operations on our part will stop the slave trade so long as it is the interest of the Sultan of Zanzibar to continue it? — As long as the Sultan of Zanzibar derives his main revenue from the slave trade, I think he will encourage it, either openly or under the rose.

1154. With reference to the number of ships you would think it necessary to employ, if you were sent there for the special purpose of stopping the slave trade on the coast of Arabia and on the East Coast of Africa, will you indicate to the Committee what number of ships you would think necessary for that purpose, and the class of ship? — I should say a dozen ships of the class that are at present on the South East Coast, which have been highly reported on as efficient vessels; the same description of vessels that are at present employed.

1155. You think 12 would be enough? — Yes.

1156. Both for the coast of Africa and the coast of Arabia? — Yes, those vessels should be supplied with good boats, and should be specially fitted out for the suppression of the slave trade.

1157. *Chairman.*] With steam launches? — Steam launches are a most valuable auxiliary.

1158. *Sir J. Hay.*] Have you any suggestions to make to the Committee with reference to our future policy in carrying out the desire of this country to suppress the slave trade there? — I have every reason to believe from what I have heard, since I gave up the command of the squadron in the East Indies, that the slave trade has been on the decrease, and that it is not near so active at Zanzibar as it was in 1867, and 1866, when certainly the exportation of slaves could not have been less than 20,000 annually.

1159. Do you attribute that decrease to legitimate commerce, or to the operations of the squadron? — I should say to both, the squadron has been very active; there has been a more efficient force employed, and the vessels have been of a superior description.

1160. *Chairman.*] You spoke as if the receipts from slaves were the main revenue of the Sultan; we have had evidence to show that it is not above a sixth part of his whole revenue? — I am speaking of what it was, four years makes a great difference; there has been a rapid increase in trade, generally, in Zanzibar; I was alluding to my impression of what was the state of things four or five years ago, when I understood it was his principal source of revenue.

1161. *Sir R. Anstruther.*] Evidence was given by the last witness as to the misconduct of men in

in charge of the boats; was that ever brought to your notice as commander of the station?—Certainly not; I should say that the officers in charge of the boats displayed great zeal, and wonderful perseverance in carrying out the duties they had to perform; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the captains under my command, as well as with the state of discipline of the different ships.

1162. It was given in evidence before, that many of those officers are engaged in very arduous duties away from their ships for many days in a severe climate?—Yes, most arduous duties; and they have many difficulties to contend against in the way of currents and breezes, in seas to which they are not accustomed; the monsoons are very strong sometimes on the coast. They certainly as a rule perform their duties very creditably to themselves.

1163. When you were in command did you have many complaints of the conduct of the men when on shore at Zanzibar?—None, to my recollection.

1164. You are not prepared to agree with the statement made by a former witness, that the conduct of the men while on shore at Zanzibar was so bad that they had to be prevented from going ashore at all?—The men were prevented from going ashore in Zanzibar, to the best of my recollection, for fear of their coming in contact with the Northern Arabs, who are a very wild, lawless race; to prevent collisions between the Northern Arabs and the men, it was not thought desirable to give the men leave to land on that coast, and they were sent to the Seychelles to spend their holidays and to have their leave. It was not on account of their misbehaviour on shore at all, but merely to prevent collisions between them and the Northern Arabs.

1165. Sir J. Hay.] The unhealthiness of Zanzibar also had something to do with the prohibition, I presume?—Yes.

1166. Chairman.] The Seychelles are healthy?—Yes.

1167. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] Will you specify a little more particularly the tonnage of the dozen vessels which you think would be requisite?—The new class of corvette, from 1,000 to 1,200 tons.

1168. You would have steam launches attached to those corvettes?—Yes.

1169. Lord F. Cavendish.] Do you consider that the employment of such a fleet as you have recommended would absolutely put an end to the trade, or only diminish it?—It would diminish it so considerably that it would not be worth the while of the Northern Arabs to run the risk of capture. It is a regular trade; and if they were stopped in that way they would give it up.

1170. We have been told that it might be worth while to make a great effort, and that if the trade was once absolutely stopped it might never be renewed; is it your opinion that 12 vessels would so put an end to the trade as to hold out the prospect of this large fleet not being permanently required?—Wherever there is a demand there will always be a supply if the fleet is withdrawn, but I should hope that it would be found it would not be profitable to kidnap the slaves and send them to the beach with no prospect of sending them on.

1171. The present squadron of seven vessels only catch one out of 20; that being so, do you

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think that 12 vessels would be likely to put an end entirely to the trade?—No, it would be impossible entirely to do so with such a large extent of coast.

1172. Was the health of the men under your command good?—The health of the men in the cruisers on the South East Coast was good; but in the flagship, the "Octavia," we suffered very severely from an epidemic of small-pox and fever.

1173. What would be the number of the crew which you would recommend for such a fleet?—About 2,000.

1174. Mr. J. Talbot.] Those steam launches would be able to go into the shallows?—Yes; the steam launches would go into the shallows where there would not be much sea; the steam launches could not be exposed to the severity of the monsoon.

1175. Do you agree with the last witness that large ships by themselves would not be efficacious in stopping the slave trade?—You require small ships; large ships consume more fuel than small ships, and a small ship would do the duty just as well as a large one.

1176. Did you have a proper proportion of those small ships?—They were all small.

1177. Were they small enough to go into shallow water?—No, they sent their boats in; most of their duties were conducted by their boats; I gave very strict orders that boats were on no account to land or to attack barracoons unless they had the support of the ships.

1178. No difficulty arose from your not being able to follow the slavers into shallow water?—We should surprise them in the shallow water if we could; it depended on the captains of the ships and the information they got; their endeavours were to surprise the slavers; if the slavers have the slightest hint of our coming, all the fittings are pitched overboard; it is only by taking them by surprise that we can capture them.

1179. Did you find any difficulty from the fact of your ships being so large that they were unable to leave deep water, in consequence of which the slavers got into shallow water, and so escaped from the large ship?—No, I think, as a rule, the slavers ran on shore; if they were chased by a cruiser along the coast of Arabia there would be a good deal of surf, and the ships could not stand in.

1180. A boat could follow them?—They were followed by the boats.

1181. You had enough boats in proportion to the ships?—Yes, every ship was supplied with her proportion of boats.

1182. Chairman.] Had you any steam launches?—I had one in the "Octavia."

1183. Sir J. Hay.] With regard to the disposition of the captured slaves when liberated, will you state what the process was when dhows were captured?—They were sent to be adjudicated at Aden, principally; some went to the Cape of Good Hope.

1184. And the slaves were sent from Aden to Bombay, were they not?—They were sent to the Seychelles.

1185. Do you think the Seychelles a good place in which to deposit liberated slaves?—Yes; the inhabitants appeared to wish that slaves should be continued to be sent there; they were found very useful labourers.

1186. Chairman.] Could they absorb any very large number of liberated slaves?—No, not a large

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1187. Sir J. Hay.] Had you any difficulties with the French admiral or the officers of foreign nations in carrying on your duties there?—Never, quite the reverse.

1188. Was the French admiral supposed to be engaged in the same service; it has been said that he was rather supporting the slave trade than suppressing it; did you find that to be the case?—No; from the intercourse I had with both the French admiral and the officers, they were evidently bent on carrying out the suppression of the slave trade. I never met with anything approaching to misunderstanding.

1189. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] Does it ever happen that the dhows show fight?—They are a very plucky set indeed; they will fight where there is the slightest prospect of success. In one engagement with the "Highflyer's" boats, they very nearly succeeded in running over the pinnace; and if it had not been for the dash of one of the officers, who cut the halyards and lowered the

sails, it might have fared very badly with the attacking party.

1190. Do not you think that a much smaller class of vessels than corvettes of 1,000 tons would answer the same purpose as the larger ones, and cost much less?—A smaller vessel would not have the advantage of being able to send away boats cruising; small gun-boats would only be able to do the duty themselves, without the assistance of their boats.

1191. Sir J. Hay.] Had your squadron smokeless fuel when you were there?—Whenever we could get it.

1192. Did it make much difference whether you had it or had it not, in betraying the position of the ships?—I should say it would make a very material difference. It was always the object of the cruisers to have coal that would not show smoke. I recollect, in one instance, in the "Centaur," on the West Coast, chasing our own smoke, which had banked with the land breeze before daylight.

Major General CHRISTOPHER PALMER RIGBY, called in; and further Examined.

Major Gen. 1193. Chairman.] You told us that you were four years in Zanzibar?—Yes.
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1194. During that time did you have any complaints made to you respecting the conduct of any of the seamen?—None at all from any native of the country. On one or two occasions complaints, which were proved to be quite frivolous, were made by French shopkeepers there, but there never was one complaint from a native of the country; on the contrary, there was always the most friendly feeling towards the squadron, both in the Island of Zanzibar and on the coast. The natives showed it on many occasions. I remember one of the boats of the "Gorgon" was wrecked on the coast, and two of the crew, natives of the West Coast, were captured and sold into slavery for three bullocks a piece, and one of the native chiefs went and paid the ransom for them out of his own pocket, and took every care of them till the "Gorgon" came on the coast again, when he returned them. On another occasion the "Gorgon's" boats were at Mombaza, and a large number of northern piratical Arabs assembled to attack them, and the natives of the place, Africans and native inhabitants, assembled in such numbers to take the part of the boats' crew, that the piratical Arabs withdrew without attacking them.

1195. You were, from all you saw, perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the seamen on shore?—Yes; under the most trying circumstances the officers and men always behaved in an admirable manner. The officers had unusual hardships to undergo.

1196. Did you ever hear any reports of officers going on shore with their boats and capturing slaves?—Never.

1197. Mr. Kennaway.] Have you any reason to think that the statements made by Dr. Livingstone at various times about the horrors of the slave trade, and the depopulation of the country owing to it, are exaggerated?—Not at all; I have read Dr. Livingstone's letters and works with great interest, and, as far as my knowledge and experience go, I quite agree with all he has stated.

1198. As to the devastation of the country?—

Yes; I do not think he has exaggerated it in the least.

1199. Chairman.] Or as to the cause of the depopulation?—No.

1200. Mr. Kennaway.] Have you ever considered the propriety of establishing depôts of liberated slaves at the Seychelles; do you think that would be a suitable place?—I sent several large captures of slaves from Zanzibar to the Seychelles, and I afterwards visited the Seychelles myself, and found all the emancipated slaves thriving and in good condition; the climate and the food, and everything, seemed to suit them admirably.

1201. Was there room for a larger number?—At that time the inhabitants of the Seychelles were very anxious indeed to have a supply of emancipated slave labour. I went there in the "Gorgon", which took there about 80 emancipated slaves, and application were immediately made for 800; ten times the number we had brought.

1202. Are you aware whether the same demand for the labour of emancipated slaves continues there?—I have no recent information; but I have no doubt the Seychelles could absorb a very considerable number of free slaves; and in every respect it is the best place to send them to; the children could be protected there, and could be educated and brought up as Christians, which would be almost impossible on any part of the mainland of the East Coast of Africa.

1203. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] In what cultivation or manufacture is labour required there?—The Seychelles consist of 37 islands, which are wonderfully fertile; they can grow every variety of tropical produce in the greatest abundance, including tobacco, coffee, sugar, and spices of all kinds. The cloves are double the size they are in Zanzibar. The Seychelles have been very much neglected; they have been a dependency of the Mauritius, and the Mauritius grudges every shilling spent on them. On my first visit to the Seychelles I came from Bombay, and I had a good many Indian servants with me, and they called the islands Paradise; they said they had no idea that there was such a spot in the world.

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1204. Are there any coffee plantations there?—They have been nearly all deserted; since slavery was put a stop to they have had no labour.

1205. *Chairman.* All they want is labour then?—Yes, there are 37 islands of different sizes; some of them are large, and in those they could employ a great many emancipated slaves.

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Captain PHILIP COLOMB, R.N., called in; and Examined.

1206. Sir J. Hay.] You were employed for some considerable time on the East Coast of Africa in the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

1207. Will you state the dates between which you were so employed?—Between November 1868 and May 1870.

1208. Did you visit all the ports along the coast?—Not many ports on the African coast. I was employed on the African coast a little, and also on the Madagascar coast, but chiefly on the coast of Arabia.

1209. Did you capture many slavers?—I captured six.

1210. Where did you capture them?—One I captured in the Persian Gulf, which, I believe, was very rarely done, the remainder I captured on the coast of Arabia, near Ras Madraka, 700 miles from Aden.

1211. Were they all vessels which had come from the neighbourhood of Zanzibar?—All except the one captured in the Persian Gulf.

1212. Where had she come from?—She had come from the south-eastern corner of the gulf, and was crossing to the Persian coast.

1213. She had nothing to do with the East Coast of Africa slave trade?—No, except in so far as she was one of the local slave traders which carry slaves, originally from Africa, from the southern coast of the Persian Gulf to the northern coast.

1214. Have you any suggestions to make to the Committee with regard to the best mode of suppressing the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa?—The slaves come from various points along the coast of Africa, but they are all eventually concentrated at Ras el Hadd, and by having a sufficient force there to intercept them, it seems to me that the trade could be almost entirely stopped; to do that, it would be necessary to have a considerable force, some six or eight ships of probably from 1,000 to 1,200 tons, each ship being well supplied with steam pinnaces or steam launches. Large ships by themselves at that point would be of no avail whatever, because the slave vessels hug the shore as they come along, and long before any boat can reach them they run ashore and succeed in landing their slaves; they care nothing about the destruction of the dhow so long as they land their cargo. It would be necessary in intercepting the trade at that point, to keep your steam launches anchored or under weigh close in shore so as to interpose a belt between the beach and the vessels; then, in such a case, every dhow which appeared would simply lower her sail and give herself up without further trouble. That is the chief point as to the employment of the force, but one great disadvantage which the officers commanding the ships of the squadron labour under is this, that on going to the station they are not supplied with information as to what had gone before; you are placed in command of a ship with orders to suppress the slave trade; and you have no information whatever as to how to suppress it; you might of course have provided yourself with

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some of the Blue Books, but you were not supplied with them; and you were left to gather such hearsay information as you could get from your brother officers; in fact, about the time you were leaving the station you were beginning to acquire a knowledge of what you might do. Then the naval officers are entirely in the hands of their interpreters; they can do nothing without them; and, so far as I understand, the interpreters are not to be depended on; generally speaking, their knowledge of the language is imperfect, and it is only by examining and cross-examining them very diligently that you can really get correct information.

1215. Are better interpreters to be obtained?—I believe not at present, but no doubt in a very short time, if they were properly paid, we could obtain them.

1216. Am I right in taking the result of your evidence to be that you think it desirable that the officers should be employed on the station for a longer period, so that they might gain local experience?—No; because I do not think that most men can stand more than three years of that sort of work in that climate, but I think that they should have supplied to them the information which has been collected by their predecessors.

1217. You do not anticipate that more active measures or a more numerous squadron in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar would have any material effect in reducing the slave trade?—I do not think it would have so material an effect as dealing with the ports of debarkation. I would not say it would have no effect, but it would not have a material effect.

1218. Did you find great difficulty owing to the fact that the home trade in slaves at Zanzibar being legal, the foreign slave trade to the Persian Gulf, was able, under the cover of that, to evade the action of the cruisers?—I think that made the greatest difficulty. I think that threw a great barrier in the way of dealing with the trade about Zanzibar. I think the whole state of things would be altered if all slave trade to and from Zanzibar were made illegal.

1219. Do you think it possible to stop it altogether by naval operations so long as that mode of evading it is open to the Arab dhows?—No; but I should say that I doubt whether it would be possible to stop it altogether by any forcible measures. I think the stoppage of it altogether must be done by dealing with the authorities at the ports of embarkation and at the ports of debarkation by means of treaties.

1220. Would you anticipate any great advantage from treaties?—Yes, because I think when armed with a treaty the naval force can act more efficiently. The treaty does not act so much directly as indirectly by keeping the people in fear. I would not trust altogether to the moral force of treaties in those cases, but treaties give the naval officers a great deal more power than they otherwise would have.

1221. What did you do with those dhows which you captured?—We destroyed them immediately.

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1222. All

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1222. All of them?—All of them.

1223. What did you do with the slaves?—The slaves were landed at Aden.

1224. In your own ship?—In my own ship.

1225. Had you to proceed to Aden on each occasion and leave your cruising ground for the purpose of landing the slaves?—No; I kept them on board till my cruising ground was no longer tenable, owing to the setting in of the monsoon.

1226. How many crews of captured slavers had you on board at once?—Not more than two crews, consisting of about 10 each, but five cargoes of slaves.

1227. Consisting altogether of many persons?—In three of them there was one slave in each, in the other two there were 60 and 113, that would be 176 slaves.

1228. Would it have been possible for you to have continued your active exertions, if you had been obliged to save the dhows?—Certainly not; if I had been obliged to save the dhows, I should simply have had to put a stop to my operations; I could not possibly have taken either of those dhows to the port of adjudication, I must have let her go.

1229. You think that any proposal to prevent the naval officers, engaged in this service, from destroying the captured dhows, would make it impossible for them to continue the service with any great advantage?—As regards dhows, where there was no question about their being slavers, by reason of their being full, you would, in any case, destroy them. But where you have to act on less direct evidence, and are for this reason called on not to destroy the vessel, but to convey her bodily to the port of adjudication, the practical result is that such vessel would be always let go.

1230. The distances to the ports of adjudication are too great?—Yes.

1231. The expenditure of fuel in towing her would make it quite impossible to take her to one of those ports?—Yes, if the dhow herself would stand the towing which she generally would not.

1232. Do you apprehend that difficulty will arise in carrying on the operations of the squadron from dhows being allowed to go free, which have a few slaves on board?—If the Arabs understand that vessels with two or three slaves on board are allowed to go free, they will simply give up carrying full cargoes of slaves, and every lawful trader will carry five or six as part of her cargo.

1233. Full dhows on being pursued would not hesitate to put to death a number of slaves in order to avoid capture?—I should think not.

1234. Mr. Fowler.] By throwing them into the sea?—It would depend on whether they had a valuable cargo besides their slaves; they certainly would sacrifice the slaves to save a valuable cargo, either by throwing them into the sea, or by knocking them on the head.

1235. Mr. Kinnaird.] They think nothing of knocking them on the head?—Nothing.

1236. Sir R. Anstruther.] In what condition were those 60 slaves which you captured?—As to the 60 some of them were in very good condition, but many of them were horribly emaciated, and in a terrible state; they had been 23 days at sea; the 113 which were in a dhow which I captured soon afterwards were all in a very excellent condition, they were as plump and as good humoured as possible; they had been only 14 days at sea from Zanzibar.

1237. How were they stowed?—Everybody in a dhow is stowed like cattle; there is no difference between the Arab master and the slaves; the Arab gentlemen and their wives and families going in dhows from Arabia to Zanzibar, have the same accommodation as the slaves have in coming up from Zanzibar.

1238. Are not the slaves bound on board?—Never.

1239. Sir J. Hay.] Are not they ironed or chained?—I never saw the slightest sign of force, and I never observed that there was the slightest likelihood of force being necessary.

1240. Sir R. Anstruther.] In the case of the Arab and his family coming down to Zanzibar, there is not the same crowding that there is in the case of the slaves being carried from Zanzibar?—No, still the difference would hardly strike one.

1241. Mr. Crum-Ewing.] What is the tonnage of the dhows?—They average about 80 tons; some run to a much larger size, and a great many are smaller, but I suppose the average would be about 80 tons.

1242. How are they armed?—With muskets and fowling pieces, and spears.

1243. Mr. Kinnaird.] Where are they built?—The great mass of them are built at Soor, a town near Ras el Hadd, in Arabia.

1244. Chairman.] Have you ever found any difficulty in distinguishing between domestic slaves and slaves for export?—I found none on the coast of Arabia. I was sometimes two or three days over the examination of the crew of the dhows; but I found when I took time over it, I could always get at the truth.

1245. You carefully examined those on board before you proceeded to destroy the dhow?—Always.

1246. With that examination, you found it perfectly easy to distinguish between legal traffic and illegal traffic?—Yes, quite easy.

1247. You spoke of placing your fleet on the Arabian coast; would not it be very desirable, if possible, to save these poor creatures the 40 days' voyage?—Yes, I think it would.

1248. Have you reason to suppose that there is a great loss of life between Zanzibar and the Arabian coast?—Nothing that has come under my own notice leads me to suppose so, but I can easily understand that it might be so.

1249. Of course, all the evidence of deaths on the passage would be removed from any dhow that you might capture?—Yes.

1250. Might not a good deal be done in watching the ports of departure?—Yes; I suppose it could.

1251. If there were a sufficiently large fleet to watch them?—I should think it might; but you might yourself form quite as good an opinion upon that point as I could.

1252. You spoke of the want of better interpreters; would not it be very desirable to have a trained body of interpreters for the use of each captain?—Most desirable.

1253. Would there be any difficulty in providing such interpreters at some small expense?—None whatever, I should think.

1254. You would then have persons upon whom you could depend?—Yes.

1255. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] You said that in three of the vessels you captured, there were only three slaves?—One in each; those were very small vessels.

1256. Were

1256. Were they vessels engaged in trade?—Yes, in legal trade.

1257. Could you distinguish in those cases whether the one slave on board was a domestic slave or a slave for sale?—Yes.

1258. Would not the presumption be in such a case as that, that the slave was a domestic slave?—Yes; the first presumption is undoubtedly that the slave is a domestic slave; it is only on close examination that you come to a different conclusion.

1259. Were the dhows in those cases carrying a large cargo?—A small cargo.

1260. What was the kind of evidence tending to show that they were slaves for sale rather than domestic slaves?—I used generally to intimate to the captain before the examination began, that if one slave was found to be not a domestic slave, his vessel would be legally condemned, to which he always agreed. I used to have the captain on board first, and if from his replies, or from different circumstances, I had any suspicion, I used to send immediately for all the rest of the crew, and separate them from one another at once, and then, on examining them separately, I generally came at the history of the whole transaction. In the case of two of those single slaves, they had been both stolen at Zanzibar, and the masters of the dhows admitted the fact, and acknowledged that they were properly captured.

1261. Sir J. Hay.] In those cases, had there been any other slaves killed, do you think, who had been part of the cargo before?—I should think not.

1262. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] Were any of the crew domestic slaves?—Yes, every dhow carries domestic slaves as part of the crew.

1263. Chairman.] Did you take any of the crew to the place where the dhow was condemned?—None.

1264. Mr. Kinnaird.] What became of the crew when you destroyed the dhow?—We gave them their choice whether they would be landed, or whether they should be transferred to some other vessel, and they generally chose to take a passage in some vessel going to their own place.

1265. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] Did the domestic slaves in such cases leave their masters?—No.

1266. Mr. Kinnaird.] What class of people are these captains of dhows; are they superior men?—No, quite the reverse; in the small dhows they are the ordinary low class Arab.

1267. Have they any knowledge of navigation?—None; they follow the land the whole way up from Zanzibar.

1268. You state that on arriving at the station you had no Blue Books placed in your hand, was that the case with the squadron generally?—Yes.

1269. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] Looking to the inefficiency of the interpreters, do not you think there is considerable danger in condemning a vessel for having one slave on board?—No, I do not think there is if it is carefully done.

1270. Looking to the little reliance which can be placed on the interpreters, do not you think that injustice may be done in many cases?—I think it is very probable in a small minority of cases.

1271. Particularly looking at the fact that all the crew are domestic slaves as a rule?—Yes; but a violent disease requires a violent remedy.

1272. Mr. Kinnaird.] Was any request made

to the commandant of the squadron there to furnish to the captains of the vessels information as to what had been done before their arrival at the station?—I do not know that any official request was made to him.

1273. You found it a very great drawback that you had no information, and that you had to buy your experience from day to day?—An immense drawback. Every officer on the East Indian station was ordered to make a report every six months on the slave trade as to what he had been doing, and those reports were sent home; but I am not aware of their having been communicated to succeeding officers of the squadron.

1274. Was there any commendation for, or special notice taken of, activity on the part of any of the officers commanding the cruisers?—My own experience is that it was a little the other way.

1275. You thought that no encouragement was given you?—I speak, of course, of what happened to myself; I had one or two letters from the Foreign Office which were not commendatory, but the reverse.

1276. So that there was rather discouragement than encouragement, in putting down the slave trade?—So far as my own experience goes.

1277. Practically you believe that our officers, generally speaking, do exercise a very wise discretion, and it is your impression that there has been no unnecessary act of cruelty on their part, or any unnecessary destruction of dhows?—None whatever, so far as I could judge, while I was on the station. I thought there was quite as much discretion used as could be; that when mistakes were made they were mistakes of ignorance, and nothing else, and that there was no want of zeal or want of proper care.

1278. Did you ever trace the fate of those slaves which you landed at Aden?—I never traced the fate of individuals, but hearsay evidence goes to show that slaves landed at Aden really find their way into Arabia as slaves; at Aden there is no means of disposing of them. They are sent from time to time to Bombay, but the feeling in India was very strong against that step being taken.

1279. Do I rightly gather that your impression is, that there is an utter want of system in the whole arrangements for putting down the slave trade, owing to our not giving proper instructions to the squadron?—I will not go so far as to say that there is an utter want of system; but I think the system might be improved.

1280. Have you any suggestions to make to the Committee with respect to those slaves that are landed at Aden, and which find their way back and are recaptured?—I have always thought that the worst thing that could happen to a slave was to be captured by one of Her Majesty's ships; because there is no opening for him after that. He spends a happy time on board the ship; but his after career is quite a doubtful one.

1281. Mr. Shaw Lefevre.] That would be an argument in favour of stopping the trade at the ports of embarkation, rather than at the ports of debarkation?—Yes, possibly.

1282. Having undergone the hardships of the 40 days' voyage, you think they are better off by remaining uncaptured?—Yes.

1283. You think that their lot as liberated slaves is rather worse than their lot as slaves in Arabia?—I think so.

1284. Mr. Kinnaird.] Suppose by treaty you

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secured only one port of embarkation for all slaves in the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, would not that very much facilitate the suppression of the slave trade?—I should think it would.

1285. Lord *F. Cavendish*.] Do all dhows importing slaves into Arabia and Persia pass the point you mention, Ras el Hadd?—Yes.

1286. You think a tolerably strong fleet, stationed off that point, would absolutely stop the import into Arabia and Persia?—At first they would; then as it became known that the ships were stationed there it is not impossible that the slaves might be landed further down the coast.

1287. Are there ports where they could be landed?—They would be landed on the beach; but there is a considerable difficulty about that, because there is nothing like settled Government on that part of the coast, and I think the number so landed would be small.

1288. Of course if the trade were absolutely stopped, if it were known to the Northern Arab that all the slaves were certain to be seized, the trade would soon come to an end, because it would not pay; therefore though for a time the slaves might have to undergo the suffering caused by the 40 days' passage, yet it would diminish the suffering, on the whole?—You would have fewer slaves, but the trade might still remain brisk, because the demand remaining the same in Arabia, as you diminished the supply the price would rise.

1289. If they could not pass Ras el Hadd, where could they be landed?—You are fighting a sort of battle with people who have great interests at stake, and it is quite possible that they might find some means, after a little time, of evading you.

1290. Do you imagine that the ruler of Muscat could put an end to this trade if he wished?—So far as I know, and so far as I have heard, he is in the hands of his great men, and he cannot do very much.

1291. If we made it his interest to stop it could he do it?—I should think so.

1292. Mr. *Shaw Lefevre*.] Are there many points where slaves could be landed along the coast of Arabia, or are they generally landed at one or two special points?—Nearly all the slaves are landed inside Ras el Hadd, and further up on the Arabian coast inside the Gulf.

1293. Supposing a slaver is pursued near the coast, could it land at any point and deposit its slaves?—If the slave vessel is between the ship, or the boat and the coast, the slave vessel will always land her slaves on the beach.

1294. Could the slaves be forwarded on to the port of destination from there?—Yes.

1295. There would be no difficulty in that?—There would be a difficulty, but it could be done.

1296. And is done?—Yes.

1297. So that in fact the whole coast is open to the dhows in that way?—No, it is not, because of the unsettled state of the country; if they landed their slaves further down the coast than somewhere close to Ras el Hadd, they would never be certain that their cargo would not be captured from them after it was landed.

1298. What is the extent of coast upon which they could land their slaves with safety?—Probably, 20 miles.

1299. It would only be necessary to watch

closely those 20 miles?—You would spread a larger circle to seaward than that, but the close watching of the coast would extend over that area.

1300. Are any slaves landed at Mokullah or Shera?—I think very few; there are no signs of slaving going on there of late, so far as our ships knew.

1301. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] Have you any reason to think that any slaves are shipped to Cuba?—No.

1302. Mr. *J. Tulbot*.] Are you acquainted with Zanzibar itself?—Yes.

1303. What is your opinion as to the healthiness of Zanzibar?—I think it is very healthy.

1304. Do you think that occupation is to be found there for liberated slaves?—I think there would be if Zanzibar belonged to the English.

1305. If its capabilities were properly developed?—Yes; but I think that as things stand at present, liberated slaves there would simply be slaves under another name.

1306. Do you agree with a former witness that it would be very desirable if some place could be provided under the protection of the British flag, at which liberated slaves could be received prior to their being absorbed in free labour?—Certainly.

1307. You think that would be a very good way of providing for the gradual suppression of the trade?—Yes, I think that would be very desirable.

1308. Mr. *Fowler*.] Did you find your health suffer in your service on the coast?—Considerably; chiefly because it is very arduous work when you are actively engaged in the suppression of the trade. You have to chase vessels, and board them at the rate, perhaps, of 10, 12, 14, or 20 per day; you are obliged to be perpetually in the sun, and perpetually on the strain, and it tells upon you after a few weeks of it.

1309. It was on that ground you expressed the opinion that three years was long enough for any officer to remain on the station?—Speaking of the station generally, I think three years is enough.

1310. Sir *J. Hay*.] Is there anything further which you would wish to state to the Committee?—I should like to mention that there is a trade to Madagascar which is still in a more or less flourishing state; though we have suppressed it to a considerable extent by the treaty with Madagascar, there is still a regular trade from the southern part of Africa, a trade which does not pass through Zanzibar at all.

1311. In the Portuguese territory?—Yes, south of it.

1312. South of Cape Delgado?—Yes.

1313. Commander De Kantzow says, in a letter dated 1st October 1869, in Blue Book B. for 1871: "The whole coast has been searched by our ship and boats without observing a slave dhow, and it is but fair to add, without a sign of slave-trading"; do you concur in that statement?—That might be true, and yet the slave-trading might be going on, because, at the same time at Madagascar, the current report was that there were slaves in the interior waiting the departure of our ships to be sent over, and Captain de Kantzow mentions rumours of slave ships being heard of south of his station.

1314. You do not think the Portuguese Government has entirely suppressed the slave trade on their portion of Southern Africa?—We know

know for certain that slaves from that part of the coast have been imported quite recently into Madagascar.

1315. Then, in suggesting that 12 ships should be employed in suppressing the slave trade on the South East Coast of Africa, you did not take into consideration the slave trade carried on between the Portuguese territory and Madagascar?—No.

1316. You would contemplate an additional squadron for that?—That would require to be separately dealt with; but I should say I think the trade is clearly on the decrease.

1317. What number of ships would you think necessary to perform the service there?—I should suppose not more than two or three.

1318. Two or three, with steam launches, you think would be sufficient to suppress any trade that may exist between the South East Coast of Africa and Madagascar?—Yes, stationing those ships on the Madagascar coast.

1319. Does the importation of free labour into the French colony of Réunion add to your difficulties at all?—I do not think it does. One gathers that it gives a great impetus to the slave trade; that a certain number of men who are originally brought down as slaves, become converted into free negroes, by some process, finding their way into the French colonies.

1320. Have you had any diplomatic difficulties with the officers of other nations?—Never; our difficulties, I think, might be in some degree removed if encouragement was

given to legal traders in the Mozambique Channel, to fly English ensigns, and to carry English papers; at present the great majority of them carry French papers, and French ensigns, and, of course, there is more or less difficulty in dealing with any vessel carrying French colours; I believe the Arabs would gladly change their French colours for English if they could.

1321. Why do they bear the French National Flag?—They obtain French papers from the French Government at Nos Beh, and other settlements.

1322. Do you think their nationality might easily be converted from French into English?—I believe the great mass of those flying colours have nothing to say to the French nation.

1323. Mr. *Shaw Lefevre*.] By sailing under the French flag, they obtain immunity from search on the part of our cruisers?—Yes, it has always been said, and no doubt it is true, that the search after the illegal trade does embarrass the legal traders considerably, so that the legal trader protects himself by flying the French colours, and the illegal trader, of course, follows suit.

1324. *Chairman*.] Do you think we could induce them to carry English colours instead of French, seeing that they would then be liable to search?—Yes, they would rather have English colours than French. No illegal trader would dare to fly English colours, and there would consequently be even more immunity from search from the legal traders flying English colours. A *prima facie* suspicion attaches to all others.

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Mr. CHARLES ALLINGTON, called in; and Examined.

1325. Mr. *Kennaway*.] WERE you in the vicinity of Lake Nyassa, in company with Bishop Tozer?—We were living on the banks of the Shiré river.

1326. Can you, from your own experience, give evidence to the forays made by slavers upon the peaceful villages in that district?—Yes, I can remember going into a native village near Mount Mollumbala. The slavers were there just before we got there, and on our approach they fired some shots and took to their heels, carrying away with them some men out of the village. When I got to the village there was an old chief in hiding in the bush, afraid to come back to the village on account of those slavers; however, after a little time he came back, and I made friends with him, and we walked about the village, and he told me the loss which had been inflicted upon him by the slavers. That is one instance in my mind at the present time.

1327. *Chairman*.] Have you any doubt that at the time you were in the country there were parties of slavers who attacked villages with the view of obtaining slaves?—I have not the slightest doubt of it.

1328. All the accounts you have received confirm you in that view?—Quite so.

1329. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] You have no doubt that the object of those raids was for the purpose of getting slaves?—Simply for the purpose of getting slaves, and nothing else.

1330. Mr. *Crum-Ewing*.] Some of the wit-

nesses have stated that the slave dealers go up the country and encourage war between two tribes, and then buy the captives as slaves; do you agree with that?—It is a common notion that that is done; I have no doubt that it is done; they want slaves at any price, and if they can get them by exciting war between two tribes they, no doubt, adopt that course.

1331. You do not know that of your own knowledge?—No, I have heard that it is done.

1332. Mr. *J. Talbot*.] You do not say that it is a common thing for slavers to go and stir up war for the purpose of getting slaves?—It is merely a thing I have heard; I have no knowledge of it myself.

1333. You have heard that it takes place, but you are not prepared to say that it often takes place?—No, I am not.

1334. *Chairman*.] But from the information you have received you come to the conclusion that it is not an uncommon thing for the slave traders to stir up war between two tribes for the purpose of obtaining slaves?—That is a statement I have heard made more frequently in England than anywhere else; but I could not speak to it from my own knowledge.

1335. Is the case you have mentioned the only case of the sort which came under your own observation?—That case is the one strongest in my mind at this moment. I do not think I could tell you any other; that is a case which I am perfectly clear about. I have no doubt the same thing is going on day after day.

Mr.
C. Allington.

Mr. EDWARD HUTCHINSON, called in; and Examined.

Mr. E. 1336. *Chairman.*] You are one of the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society?—I am.

25 July 1871. 1337. Has your society been instituting inquiries with respect to the suitability of Seychelles, as a place to which to send liberated slaves?—I may say shortly that the whole of this matter has been before our committee for the last four years; we have been investigating it thoroughly for that time, and we arrived at this conclusion, that the Seychelles was the most suitable place at which a depôt for liberated slaves could be established; and, in anticipation of the Government agreeing with our view, we sent a missionary there with instructions to purchase a property there, and commence a training institution; we did not do that till we had ascertained from the fullest evidence we could collect upon the subject, that Seychelles was the best place for the purpose. We sent a gentleman from the Mauritius to the Seychelles who sent us a report, an epitome of which I have here, and he also procured for us a report by Mr. Swinburne Ward, the Government Commissioner at the Seychelles, speaking in the most favourable terms of the Seychelles as being suitable for a depôt for liberated slaves.

1338. Would your society be prepared to send agents to the Seychelles for the instruction and civilisation of liberated slaves who might be sent there?—We have an agent there now, and he was quite ready to set to work, but a stop was put to the whole matter by the Government refusing to send any more slaves to the Seychelles. If any number of liberated slaves had been sent to the Seychelles we were prepared to have applied for a sufficient number of lads and children to train and teach, with the hope, at some future time, of their returning to Africa. And I say this because the Committee may perhaps not be aware that Dr. Livingstone, when he last went to Africa, took with him nine lads from our institution in Bombay; that is the institution to which the Government of Bombay sent slave children captured in the Indian Ocean; and from that institution Dr. Livingstone selected nine lads to accompany him in his travels into the interior of Africa, and who are now with him; and in a Report in 1866, by Dr. Livingstone, which is to be found in the papers before the Committee, he mentions that one of those lads met his own uncle at the very village from which he had been torn as a child, and the uncle, finding the value that this lad would be to him, having been taught agriculture and carpentry at Nassick, proposed that he should stay with him, but the lad's answer was, "No," he preferred staying with his master, Dr. Livingstone.

1338*. Will you hand in the epitome of the Reports respecting the Seychelles?—(*The Witness handed in the same, vide Appendix.*)

1339. Is there anything else which you wish to state to the Committee?—I should like to say that we have given this subject very careful consideration, and we believe that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee which sat at the Foreign Office are very valuable, but there is one particular in which we dissent from them, and that is, the recommendation contained in paragraph 64. We dissent entirely from the proposal that those children should be

liberated at the Island of Zanzibar, and there handed over to any master from whom they might take wages; it is a proposal which we think is entirely opposed to the whole policy that our Government have hitherto adopted in dealing with the slave trade.

1340. It was your society principally which drew the attention of the Government to this matter, was it not?—We have pressed this matter upon the Government at various times. Two years ago we went on a deputation to the India Office, which resulted in the appointment of the Foreign Office Committee.

1341. The Bishop of Mauritius brought the matter before you?—He brought the matter before us in 1867, and since that time we have been perpetually working to bring public opinion to bear upon it.

1342. Mr. Kinnaird.] Is there any other place besides the Seychelles which would be suitable for the establishment of schools for the liberated slave children?—I might say at the Mauritius itself there is a large establishment, which has been superintended by our missionaries, and there the Mauritius government have done what the Government did at Sierra Leone, namely, they have given 6 d. a-head per diem for every child we would take and train. That has been carried on for a long time very successfully indeed; and Governor Barclay, in one of his letters, says, if we could establish a similar institution at the Seychelles, he has no doubt that the Mauritius government would make a grant for the purpose.

1343. Mr. Kennaway.] You would prefer that any settlement of slaves should be under the British flag?—We take that position, because a liberated slave is a British subject; the present Act of Parliament requires that slaves shall be liberated in British dominions; that is the point from which we start.

1344. Do you think, supposing the liberated slaves were congregated at the Seychelles, you would be able to isolate them from the immorality of the place; it has a bad character at present, has it not?—It has a bad character; the Seychelles consists of a group of seven islands, and the evidence we have rather leads to the conclusion that Mahi would be the best for our operations; but we have no doubt that we should be able so to train the emancipated slaves as to prevent them from being affected by any immorality there may be in the place; and, moreover, they are only children; and it is a point which it is important to bear in mind that a large majority of the slaves captured are children.

1345. Mr. Kinnaird.] The Church Missionary Society are willing to undertake that work?—Yes.

1346. You only ask the Government to contribute a small payment?—Six-pence per head per diem would completely cover the expense; that is what the Government have given us at Sierra Leone.

1347. Mr. J. Talbot.] Why would not such a settlement at Zanzibar be satisfactory?—There seems to be very little evidence as to the power the Sultan could bring to bear to protect liberated slaves there. Besides, from what I have read I should say that Zanzibar is a very unhealthy place; the only place where a depôt could

could be established would be in the interior of the island, which General Rigby has told us is extremely unhealthy.

1348. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] If the depôt were established in Zanzibar, would not you be afraid that they might be taken as slaves again?—That would depend on the measures that might be taken with a view to their protection; if ample measures were taken, and the place became civilised, then the children might be secure, but at present the children would be as likely to be kidnapped as not.

1349. Mr. *Fowler*.] Have you any mission at Zanzibar?—No.

1350. Mr. *J. Talbot*.] If they were put under the protection of the British flag at Zanzibar, what objection would there be to their being kept there?—It is an open question; if the Government decide on Zanzibar for a depôt, no doubt our committee would consider the propriety of going to Zanzibar.

1351. Mr. *Kinnaird*.] The experiment at Nasick has answered thoroughly, has not it?—It has been most satisfactory.

Mr. E.
Hutchinson.

25 July
1871.

Rev. HORACE WALLER, called in; and further Examined.

1352. *Chairman*.] YOU have a letter from Dr. Livingstone, from which you wish to read some extracts to the Committee?—Yes; this letter is dated 1st February 1867; he is writing from the country of the Chipéta, which he describes to be five days march from Lake Nyassa on the east of it, and he says, "I am a perfect bug-bear to these Coast Arab slave traders. Party after party, on hearing that the English were coming along the road, skedaddled away through bush and brake and across pathless forests; one wise old party, who had about 800 slaves, and was just entering on a depopulated district of 10 days' march with them, finding that I had lighted on him, came forward and presented an ox and big bag of flour. This man and brother added a dish of cooked meat on seeing that we were really famishing. We had pretty hard lines for 150 miles; could not get food for either love or money; and then the depopulated part! I accomplished it on the morning of the eighth day with four companions; our food was all expended on the sixth day, and it was in hard plight that this good Samaritan slave trader became a friend indeed." He, afterwards says, "Near the sea coast the country is covered with dense forest. Further inland the forest is more open, but you seldom see the horizon; then the country becomes undulating, and, from the crests of the earthen waves you may see mountains all about. The country about Mataka is Mago-mero magnified; a perfect rush of running rills

flowing southwards and northwards, forming the Liendi and Rovuma, which unite at Ngomano. I counted 15 of these burns in one day's march." Further on, speaking of the slave traders, he says, "Instead of a steamer, which I did my best to get on the lake, two Arab dhows ply their calling as slavers. The owner of one has swept a large tract on the western side of people; at least, so say his own people. They kept their craft out of my way lest I should burn them." In another part of his letter, he says, "Some Arabs were fleeing from the resentment of Manganja, who resented their bringing arms and ammunition into the country for their destruction." He is there referring to the plan adopted by the slave dealers of bringing arms and ammunition to set one tribe against the other. I can speak distinctly to the fact of its being the chief aim of the slave traders to set one tribe against the other, in order that they may bring war and the consequent destruction into the country which produces just the state of things that makes slaves cheapest. Then further on, speaking of travelling with the Africans, he says, "With them we crossed Kirk's range, and got among Manganja in the primitive state, working in iron, and spinning buaze, and sowing grain extensively." Buaze is a fibre used for nets. He is speaking there of a population which had not been visited by the slave traders.

Rev.
H. Waller.

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A P P E N D I X.

Appendix, No. 1.

PAPER handed in by the Honourable C. Vivian, 13 July 1871.

INSTRUCTIONS for the Guidance of NAVAL OFFICERS employed in the Suppression of the SLAVE TRADE. Appendix, No. 1.

Admiralty, 6 November 1869.

THE attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having been called to serious irregularities and mistakes committed by officers commanding Her Majesty's ships, employed in the suppression of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa, their Lordships are pleased to issue the following Order.

It is not intended by this Order to alter the slave trade instructions which are now furnished to Her Majesty's ships, but merely to point out and explain to officers, in the most marked manner, certain provisions of those instructions which, on some occasions, have been misunderstood or neglected, and to bring to the notice of officers the provisions of the recent Statute, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 75.

1.—*As to what Vessels are liable to Capture.*

Articles 50, 51, and 388.

The 50th Article of the General Instructions gives the general rule as follows:—

“If in the course of the search you are satisfied that the vessel is engaged in or equipped for the slave trade, and that she is subject to your authority, you will proceed to detain her.”

The 51st Article gives ancillary rules:—You will be justified in concluding that a vessel is engaged in or equipped for the slave trade:—

“I. If you find any slaves on board.

“II. If you find in her outfit any of the equipments hereinafter mentioned” [then follows an enumeration of the equipments taken from the Statute 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73, s. 4].

In construing the words in this Article, “if you find any slaves on board,” reference must be had to the general scope of the instructions, and particularly to the language of the preceding Article, which speaks of the vessel being “engaged in or equipped for the slave trade.”

Slave trade must, for this purpose, be carefully distinguished from slavery; with which, as existing in foreign States, or on board foreign ships, not being in British territorial waters, Her Majesty's Government does not claim, either by treaty or otherwise, to interfere. As a fact, slavery, as a legal institution, exists in several States (amongst them Zanzibar) with which Great Britain has treaties for the suppression of slave trade. The mere finding, therefore, of slaves on board a vessel will not justify an officer in detaining her if there are other circumstances which show that these persons are slaves by the law of the country from which the ship has sailed, or to which she belongs, and that they are not being transported for the purpose of being sold as slaves. Thus, for instance, where the slaves found on board are very few in number, are unconfined, and appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship, or attending upon the master or the passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged in or equipped for the slave trade.

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It is quite otherwise where the slaves are found crowded and chained together, and are obviously being carried as cargo to be sold as slaves.

Between these two classes of cases there are intermediate cases; some of a doubtful character. It must rest with the officer to distinguish to what class any particular case belongs by a careful consideration of all the circumstances; bearing in mind always this, that it is his duty to detain the vessel if he is reasonably satisfied that she is engaged in or equipped for the slave trade, but not otherwise.

Officers must further observe that by the 388th Article of the Instructions, a right is reserved to the subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar of transporting slaves within certain limits therein specified. That right, however, has by a special order of the Sultan, dated 1863, been waived during the months of January, February, March, and April.

2.—*As to Documents found on Board the detained Ships.*

Articles 58, 69, 85.

These Articles which prescribe measures for the preservation and final delivery to the Court of Adjudication of all papers and documents found on board the detained vessels, are to be carried out with perfect fidelity and scrupulous care.

The unexplained loss of any such document, and still more its destruction, on any pretext whatsoever, will lay the officer open to very serious imputation.

3.—*As to the Destruction of Vessels.*

Articles 60, 61.

These Articles give authority to the officer to destroy a vessel which, on search, he considers to be engaged in or equipped for the slave trade, if, after survey held, it appears that she is not in a sufficiently sea-worthy condition to be sent to a port of adjudication. My Lords cannot, however, too strongly insist that such destruction of a vessel is only to be resorted to as an extreme measure. Nothing will excuse the officer in not sending in the vessel to a port of adjudication, except facts showing satisfactorily that doing so would have involved serious danger to the lives of the prize crew.

In addition to this, the 390th Article is to be strictly observed as to Zanzibar vessels:—

“If you have detained a Zanzibar vessel upon suspicion, and are unable to send her into the proper port of adjudication, you will not destroy her without (if practicable) having first ascertained at the nearest Zanzibar port, by inquiries from Her Majesty’s consul and others, that she was engaged in or equipped for the slave trade.”

You are also strictly to observe all similar articles, with respect to vessels of other nationalities, to be found in the Special Instructions.

4.—*As to the Port of Adjudication.*

Articles 63, 65, 389.

The two first named of these articles prescribe the general duty of forwarding the detained vessel with as little delay as possible to the port of adjudication, and direct the officer to refer to the special instructions to ascertain the proper port.

The 389th Article, referring to Zanzibar vessels only, is as follows:—

“The proper port of adjudication for a Zanzibar vessel is the nearest or most accessible port at which a British Admiralty, or Vice Admiralty Court, is established.”

Since the issuing of these instructions, certain powers have been conferred on Her Majesty’s consul at Zanzibar, by Order in Council of 9th August 1866, and the statute 32 & 33 Vict. c. 75.

The 29th section of the Order in Council is in these words:—

“And it is further ordered that Her Majesty’s consul within the dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar shall, for and within the said dominions, and for vessels and persons coming within those dominions, and in regard to vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade within those dominions, have all such jurisdiction as for the time being ordinarily belongs to Courts of Vice Admiralty in Her Majesty’s possessions abroad.”

The Act of Parliament extends the consul’s power; for the 2nd section is in these terms:—

“Her Majesty’s Consul at Zanzibar for the time being shall have, and shall be deemed to have always since the commencement of the said Order in Council had, all

all such jurisdiction as ordinarily belongs to Vice Admiralty Courts in Her Majesty's possessions abroad in regard to vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in or equipped for the slave trade, in the following cases:—

“1. Where a Zanzibar vessel shall have been captured in pursuance of any treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, either within or beyond the dominions of Zanzibar.

“2. Where the vessel captured shall not be entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any State or Nation.”

Officers will therefore observe that—

1. All vessels captured in Zanzibar dominions are to be taken for adjudication to Zanzibar.

2. All Zanzibar vessels, wheresoever captured, and all vessels, wheresoever captured, which shall not be entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any State or Nation, are to be sent for adjudication to Zanzibar, if that be the nearest or most accessible port at which a British Admiralty or Vice Admiralty Court is established.

In cases where the vessel is run on shore and wrecked, or is destroyed as unseaworthy, the same port of adjudication is—excepting in very special circumstances—to be resorted to for procuring the decree of Court, as that to which the vessel ought to have been sent if in a seaworthy condition when captured. More especially is this to be observed where persons are found on board the vessel.

5.—*As to Persons and Property found on Board the Vessel.*

Articles 66, 67, 77, 78.

These Articles prescribe that wherever practicable all persons and things found on board the vessel shall be sent, with as little delay as possible, to the port of adjudication, and, if possible, in the vessel herself.

Nothing short of necessity will justify any officer in landing any such persons on the coast, at random, near the place of capture, or in taking them to any port other than the port of adjudication.

Their Lordships regret to be obliged to remind naval officers of this simple duty, so clearly imposed upon them, and to have to state that the purpose of taking the captured vessel to the proper port of adjudication is not to procure, as a matter of form, a decree of condemnation, but to obtain a full and fair trial of the case; at which trial those concerned in the property may have all reasonable facilities to defend their interest.

6.—*As to Reporting Captures.*

Articles 48, 49.

Officers commanding Her Majesty's ships are required by these Articles to furnish a detailed report of every capture, and especially of any circumstances which may have induced them to depart from the appointed course of conduct.

In conclusion, their Lordships are most anxious to assist and protect officers in the right performance of their duties in suppressing the slave trade, but they must warn all such officers that if they transgress the instructions on this subject they will fall under their Lordships' serious displeasure, and that they will also be liable to be called upon to pay heavy costs and damages.

By command of their Lordships,

(signed) V. Lushington.

Appendix, No. 2.

PAPER handed in by the Honourable *C. Vivian*, 20 July 1871.

EXTRACT from LETTER from *Dr. Kirk* to *Mr. Vivian*, dated 10 June 1871.

Appendix, No. 2.

I GET the oddest rumours from the native house here of *Jairam Seiojee*. At one time it is that *Toorki* is to be permitted to take the subsidy, and, if refused, take *Zanzibar*; when, for having been allowed to do our dirty work, he is somehow to abolish the slave trade for nothing. Natives laugh at the idea that *Bombay* is likely to carry it out; *Burgash* laughs, and says that he can offer *Toorki* better terms. In this *Burgash* is quite mistaken; we can offer *Toorki* *Zanzibar*, and I can secure it to him if he comes with one hundred men; but we must before then have his written bond to sign our new Treaty, and, more than all, we must have a ship of war, and on his hesitation to ratify, at once present our claims for indemnity under the Commercial Treaty, and remove him if he then longer hesitates. But this is a nasty roundabout and Oriental mode of dealing, and *Toorki*, who hates us quite as much and loves us quite as little as *Burgash* or any other one of the family, would feel that he had been made a tool of.

My idea is, we had better go boldly at it ourselves; inform *Burgash* he acts in bad faith, and that his past behaviour is not such as should induce us to spare him; that he simply must accede, and that when he does to the total abolition of the slave trade, we will see that the Arabs are quiet. The same day that this is demanded it will be necessary to follow it up by enforcing the Commercial Treaty which, duly carried out, will cut off about two-thirds of his income.

Burgash's fanaticism was all assumed; his national tendencies will give way also when he sees the choice between the Throne and bankruptcy.

I do trust that soon we may have orders to do something, for it were better to withdraw from the struggle than carry it on as now.

There is a very false idea as to the paramount claim of *Bombay* to the guidance of matters here. True, there are many *Kutchees* here, but *Kutchees* at best are not British Indians, and I presume, under the new Naturalization Acts, that even British Indians may become Arabs when they please. We hold fully two-thirds of our nominal subjects here against their will; that is under our jurisdiction, but not under our protection, for they refuse to register. This state of things cannot long continue, for Indians get on so much better here than at home, that none of the Mussulman sects return to their land. Their children, when over 21, even now become Arabs. To the wealthy man, British protection is a thing worth having, but to poor men the Arab régime is better. If, therefore, the Naturalization Acts apply here to Indian and *Kutchees*, our *Bombay* interest here is not much, and even now it seems that it is but matter of detail, not of policy, it is a branch that had better be done by a junior officer, and a glance at past history for 10 years will satisfy anyone that England's policy with the *Zanzibar* state must all emanate direct from home.

Every year other nations are gaining greater interests here, and soon, whatever is done will be closely criticised by Germany and the States, with which *Zanzibar* is as closely related by treaty as with us.

Excuse this long letter, but my wish is, if possible, to urge the necessity of immediate action; we cannot afford to delay.

Appendix, No. 3.

PAPER handed in by the Honourable C. Vivian, 24 July 1871.

DRAFT REPORT upon the Questions regarding the KUTCHEES in Zanzibar, submitted to the Committee upon the East African Slave Trade. Appendix, No. 3.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 1870.

By your Lordship's directions we have considered the Papers which have been referred to us as to the right of jurisdiction possessed by Her Majesty's Government over certain natives of Kutch, resident in Zanzibar, as well over those who have, as over those who have not enrolled themselves on the British Consular Register, in accordance with the provisions of Her Majesty's Order in Council of the 9th of August 1866.

The Order in Council states that "A Register shall be kept by Her Majesty's Consul of all British subjects, and of all natives of British-protected States in India who may claim British protection, residing within the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar;" and that "any British subject who shall refuse or neglect to be so enrolled, and who shall not excuse such refusal or neglect to the satisfaction of the Consul, shall not be entitled to be recognised or protected as a British subject in respect to any suit, dispute, or difficulty in which he may have been, or may be, engaged or involved within the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, at any time when he shall not have been or shall not be so enrolled."

The Kutchees seem to have thought that by neglecting to inscribe themselves on the consular register they were at liberty to elect the Sultan's protection in lieu of that of Her Majesty's Government, and so to accomplish their object of placing themselves under the laws of Zanzibar, which permit the acquiring and holding of slaves; and we observe, from the Papers submitted to us, that the Governments of Bombay and of India, and the political agents at Zanzibar, have taken different views of the question.

In 1860, before the Order in Council was passed, Colonel Rigby, after giving a month's notice of his intention, emancipated without further notice or difficulty all the slaves in the Island of Zanzibar belonging to natives of India under British protection, and he induced the Sultan to issue orders that all slaves belonging to natives of India on the mainland should be at once freed, and that no slaves should in future be sold to them.

Colonel Rigby's proceedings were at that time entirely sanctioned and approved by the Bombay Government. Subsequently to the departure of Colonel Rigby from Zanzibar in 1862, and before the arrival of Mr. Churchill in 1867, a distinction was made between Kutchees who had registered themselves at the consulate and those who had not done so, the latter being allowed to place themselves under the Sultan's protection, and to hold slaves.

Mr. Churchill, however, soon after his arrival at Zanzibar, brought the matter to the notice of the Government of Bombay, in a Despatch of 22nd December 1867, in which he says;—

"I learn from an attentive perusal of the instructions, 1st, That up to Colonel Rigby's departure from Zanzibar, no native of India dared to possess a slave.

"2. That Colonel Rigby had received the approval of Government in all his proceedings with regard to the emancipation of the slaves above alluded to.

"3. That it was after Colonel Rigby's departure that natives of India were allowed to place themselves under the Sultan's protection."

Mr. Churchill was in doubt as to the course he should pursue with respect to the slave-holding natives of India who had declined to avail themselves of the British protectorate, while the Sultan of Zanzibar held "that had not Mr. Churchill's predecessors allowed it, no native of India would be holding slaves in his dominions, but that having been told that Kutchees and other subjects of British protected States in India might be looked upon in the same light as his Arab subjects, he had allowed them to purchase slaves, and that it was not fair to punish them for having innocently done what they did not know to be wrong."

The opinion of the Bombay Government upon this question was that Her Majesty's Government had no right to interfere with those subjects of the Rao of Kutch who had not availed themselves of the option of registering their names as entitled to British protection, or, at all events that, if we could interfere, it must be by agreement with the Rao of Kutch, and after granting the owners compensation for the loss of their slaves, but they held that

Appendix, No. 3. British subjects, residing in Zanzibar, "could not exempt themselves from British law by taking service with the Sultan."

They thus drew a distinction between the position of non-registering Kutchees and non-registering British subjects.

The question was then referred to the Government of India, who stated their opinion that "the result of the permission to the subjects of Kutch to register themselves before the British Consul, though undoubtedly well meant, appears to have been unfortunate, as it would seem that the Kutchees, not registered, have conceived the notion that they are emancipated from all control and interference, and that the Sultan himself favours these pretensions."

"Mr. Churchill should be instructed to inform the Sultan that the Government of India by no means recognises such claims, and the traders from Kutch should be plainly told that, although the retention by them of domestic slaves in their households may for a time be tolerated, all attempts at purchasing, selling, or trafficking in slaves will be summarily put down, and that the Government will not entertain any claim for redress or compensation."

Acting upon these instructions, Mr. Churchill issued a public notice, that all Kutchees and natives of India in Zanzibar should present themselves at the British Consulate with lists of their slaves, under pain of punishment; and he actually punished a man who disregarded the notice by a fine of 500 dollars.

These proceedings gave offence to the Sultan, who protested that the non-registered natives of India were, by the admission of Mr. Churchill's predecessors, under his Highness's protection, and as such, screened from the interference of the British Government. The matter was temporarily compromised by Mr. Churchill undertaking not to interfere with the slaves then in the possession of the Kutchees, provided they were forbidden to buy or sell any more; and the Sultan thereupon referred the question for the authoritative decision of Her Majesty's Government, and thus the matter stands at present.

We have reviewed the case at length for the purpose of showing why doubts have arisen as to the powers of Her Majesty's Government, and our reasons for recommending, as we shall do, that while the Kutchees should not be permitted to hold slaves in future, due consideration should be shown and allowance made, for the circumstances under which they have conceived themselves justified in acquiring their slaves. We think that the case resolves itself into the following simple questions:—

1. Has Her Majesty's Government the right to exercise jurisdiction over British subjects resident in Zanzibar?
2. Is it necessary to the exercise of such jurisdiction that they should have enrolled themselves on the British Consular register?
3. Is there any distinction to be drawn in respect of such jurisdiction between British born subjects and natives of Indian States under the protection of the British Government, such as Kutch?

As regards the first and second questions, it seems clear that whether by treaty, usage, or sufferance, Her Majesty has, and exercises with the consent of the Sovereign of Zanzibar, jurisdiction over all British subjects resident in Zanzibar; and we do not think that the provisions of the Order in Council requiring all British subjects to register themselves at the British Consulate under certain penalties can be held to entitle those who do not so enrol themselves to withdraw themselves entirely from British protection, or to deprive Her Majesty of all jurisdiction over them.

Our opinion upon the third question is influenced by the proclamation of the Rao of Kutch to his subjects of the 24th April 1869, which states, "It is therefore hereby ordered, that if you persist in the traffic in slaves, the British Government will, by virtue of my aforesaid permission, treating you who reside at Zanzibar as its own subjects, liberate all slaves from your possession, &c.," and we consider that in view of this proclamation, natives of Kutch must, so far as regards slave traffic, be regarded as British subjects.

As it is clearly unlawful for a British subject to hold or traffic in slaves, either in Zanzibar or in any other country, it is consequently unlawful for a Kutchee to do so.

If we are right in assuming that Her Majesty's Government have jurisdiction over all British subjects or natives of Kutch under British protection, whether registered or not, it follows that they have the power, if they chose to exercise it, of at once insisting on the liberation of all slaves held by such persons, without previous notice of compensation; and also, under the powers given by the Order in Council of 1866, and its accompanying rules and regulations, of punishing in Zanzibar itself any such person for refusing to obey the Consul's order to release their slaves. But, looking to the fact that the Kutchees have, with the implied sanction of the British Authorities, been permitted to hold slaves for domestic service since the year 1862, it would in our opinion be a harsh measure to order the immediate release of all their slaves without compensation to their owners.

In our opinion it would be only fair to give the Kutchees a reasonable time, say three years, to make their preparations. The period might be left to the discretion of the Indian Government, and proper notice should be given accordingly; but if at the end of such term as may be decided upon, any Kutchee should be found holding slaves, they should be immediately emancipated without compensation, and the Kutchee punished for holding them. In the meantime no Kutchee should be allowed on any pretence whatever to acquire any fresh slaves, but only to hold those they already possess.

We

We also think that, as the British Consul enforces his orders upon British subjects within the territories of Zanzibar by the process and officers of the Consular Court, under the regulations attached to Her Majesty's Order in Council, he is entitled to enforce his orders upon Kutchees by the same means, and in the same manner, and we think that the same considerations apply to any other natives of India who may be in precisely the same position as the Kutchees.

This authority, however, can in our opinion only be exercised over British subjects and over Kutchees and other Indian subjects who are placed in the same position as British subjects, but not over those who have legally become subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

We recommend that instructions in this sense should be sent to Her Majesty's Consul in Zanzibar, and that he should be told to inform the Sultan of the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon the question ; but as it appears that his Highness has been misled as to the position of the non-registering Kutchees, and has acquired the conviction that they are under his protection, and not amenable to the jurisdiction of the British Government, we would recommend that the measures which we have suggested should, if possible, be put in force with his consent and sanction, and that he should be invited to initiate them, or to co-operate with Her Majesty's Consul in carrying them into effect.

Appendix, No. 4.

PAPERS handed in by the Honourable C. Vivian, 24 July 1871.

Appendix, No. 4.

TREATIES, &c.

PERSIA.

FIRMAN issued by the Shah to *Hoossein Khan*, Governor of Fars.

(Translation.)

June 1848.

To the high in rank, the pillar of nobility, Hoossein Khan, the Comptroller of State Affairs and Governor of Fars, who has been exalted and supported by the distinguished favours of his Majesty the Shah, &c., be it known, that it is a long time since a request for the abolition of the importation of negroes by sea has been made on the part of the ministers of the British Government to the ministers and authorities of this kingdom. But their request during this long period has not met with an answer or our consent.

But in consequence of the favour entertained by our august Sovereign towards the high in rank, the sincere well-wisher of the State, the chosen among Christian nobles, &c., Colonel Farrant, Chargé d'Affaires of the English Government, on account of the respectful conduct and manner of proceeding which he has made manifest, and purely for the regard we entertain for him, we have accepted and complied with his request. We have ordained that hereafter that high in rank shall warn all merchants and persons passing to and fro, to discontinue to bring negroes by sea alone, and that they shall not export or import negroes except by land, which is by no means forbidden.

That high in rank will be held responsible for the fulfilment of the orders contained in this communication.

Written in the month of Rejjeb 1264. June 1848.

Hoossein Khan.

The Shah.

FIRMAN issued by the Shah to the Governor of Ispahan and Persian Arabia.

(Translation.)

June 1848.

To the high in rank, the superior of generals, the esteemed of the Sovereign, Meerza Nebbee Khan, Chief of the Civil Law Court, and Governor of Ispahan, who has been honoured by the favour of the pure mind of the King of kings.

Be it known that at this time the high in rank, the noble and exalted, possessed of dignity, the pillar of the Christian nobles, the cream of the great men of Christendom, the undoubted well-wisher of the State, Colonel Farrant, Chargé d'Affaires of the exalted Government of England, who enjoys the unbounded favour of his Majesty the Shah, whose resplendent mind is desirous to gratify him, having made a friendly request on the part of the ministers of his exalted Government to the ministers of his Majesty the Shah, that with a view to preserve the existing friendship between the two exalted States, a decree should be issued from the source of magnificence, the Shah, that hereafter the importation of the negro tribes by sea should be forbidden, and this traffic be abolished.

In consequence of this, it is ordered and ordained that, that high in rank, after perusing this firman, which is equal to a decree of fate, will feel it incumbent on him to issue positive and strict injunctions to the whole of the dealers in slaves who trade by sea, that henceforth

forth by sea alone the importation and exportation of negroes into the Persian dominions is entirely forbidden, but not by land. Not a single individual will be permitted to bring negroes by sea without being subjected to severe punishment.

Appendix, No. 4.

That high in rank must in this matter give peremptory orders throughout his Government, and not be remiss.

Written in the month of Rejjeb 1264. June 1848.

Meerza Nebbee Khan.

The Shah.

CONVENTION for the Detention and Search of Persian Vessels by British and East India Company's Cruisers.

(Translation.)

Shevval 1267 (August 1851).

THE Persian Government agrees that the ships of war of the British Government and of the East India Company shall, in order to prevent the chance of negro slaves, male and female, being imported, be permitted, for the period of 11 years, to search Persian merchant vessels, in the manner detailed in this document, with the exception of Persian Government vessels, not being vessels the property of merchants or the property of Persian subjects; with those Government vessels there is to be no interference whatsoever. The Persian Government agrees that in no manner whatever shall any negro slave be imported in the vessels of the Persian Government.

The agreement is this :

I. That in giving this permission to search mercantile vessels and those of subjects, the search shall, from the first to the last, be effected with the co-operation, intervention, and knowledge of Persian officers, who are to be on board vessels of the English Government.

II. The merchant vessels shall not be detained longer than is necessary to effect the search for slaves. If slaves should be found in any of those vessels, the British authorities are to take possession of them and carry them away, without detaining or causing them (that is, the people of the ship importing slaves) any other damage besides that of depriving them of the slaves. The vessel itself (in which the slaves have been imported) shall, by the co-operation and knowledge of the officers of the Persian Government who are on board of the British cruisers, be delivered to the authorities of the Persian ports, who are there on the part of the Persian Government, and the authorities of this (the Persian) Government are to punish and fine in a manner suitable to the crime he has committed, the owner of that slaving vessel who has acted in contravention of the commands of his Majesty the King of Persia, by importing slaves.

The British ships of war are not in any manner to interfere with the Persian trading vessels, without the co-operation of the Persian Government officers: but the Persian Government officers also must not, on their part, be remiss in the duty committed to them.

This convention is to be in force for a period of 11 years, and after these 11 years have expired and the stipulated period has elapsed, if the Persian vessels shall be interfered with for even a single day beyond the 11 years, it will be opposed to the course of friendship with the Persian Government and to the maintenance of her rights, and this Government will make a demand for satisfaction.

III. If the slaves who have been heretofore in Persia, and are now there, should from the present date and henceforward wish to proceed by sea on a pilgrimage to Mecca or to India, or travel by sea, they must, with the knowledge of the British Resident in Bushire, procure a passport from the officer at the head of the Persian passport office in Bushire, and no exceptions shall thereafter be taken to any slave holding a passport. The passport (regulation) obtained with the knowledge of the British Resident at Bushire, is, like the other stipulations written above, to be for a period of 11 years.

This agreement of [the right of] search, and the appointment of the Persian Government officers (to be on board the British cruisers) will first come in force on the 1st of Rebbecool-ewel, 1268 = 1 January 1852.

From the date of this document to the above date, there is no right of search.

The articles written in this document have, from first to last, been agreed to by both parties, and confirmed by the Ministers of both Governments, and nothing is to be done in contravention thereof.

Written in the month of Shevval 1267 (August 1851).

Justin Sheil,

Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and
Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Persia.

Meerza Tekhee Khan,

Ameer-i-Nizam of the Persian Government.

Appendix, No. 4.

XIII. THE high contracting parties hereby renew the agreement entered into by them in the month of August 1851* (Shawal 1267), for the suppression of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf, and engage further that the said agreement shall continue in force after the date at which it expires, that is, after the month of August 1862, for the further space of 10 years, and for so long afterwards as neither of the high contracting parties shall, by a formal declaration, annul it; such declaration not to take effect until one year after it is made.

PERSIAN GULF.

EXTRACT TREATIES, &c. between *Great Britain* and Arab Chieftains of the *Persian Gulf*, relative to Piracy, the Slave Trade, &c., 1820.

(Translation.)

IX. The carrying off of slaves, men, women, or children, from the coast of Africa or elsewhere, and the transporting them in vessels, is plunder and piracy; and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of this nature.

X. The vessels of the friendly Arabs bearing their flag above described, shall enter into all the British ports, and into the ports of the allies of the British, so far as they shall be able to effect it, and they shall buy and sell therein; and if any shall attack them, the British Government shall take notice of it.

XI. These conditions aforesaid shall be common to all tribes and persons who shall hereafter adhere thereto, in the same manner as to those who adhere to them at the time present.

Issued at Ras ul Khyma, in triplicate, at mid-day, on Saturday the 22nd of the month, of Rebi-ul-Awal, in the year of the Hegira, 1235 (corresponding to the 8th of January 1820), and signed by the contracting parties:

W. Grant Keir, Major General.

(L.S.) of Arab Chiefs.

TREATIES, &c. between *Great Britain* and Arab Chieftains of the *Persian Gulf*, relative to Piracy, Slave Trade, &c.—1838, 1830.*

No. 1.—AGREEMENT with Shaikh Sultan Bin Suggur, Chief of Ras-ool-Khymah.—
Slave Trade.

Shargah, 17 April 1838.

IN the event of vessels connected with my ports, or belonging to my subjects, coming under the suspicion of being employed in the carrying off (literally "stealing") and embarkation of slaves, men, women, or children, I, Sultan bin Suggur, Shaikh of the Joasmee tribe, do hereby agree to their being detained and searched whenever and wherever they may be fallen in with on the seas by the cruisers of the British Government, and further, that upon its being ascertained that the crews have carried off (literally "stolen"), and embarked slaves, their vessels shall be liable to seizure and confiscation by the aforesaid cruisers.

Dated Shargah, 17th April 1838, A.D., corresponding with the 22nd Mohorrum A.H. 1254, Mahomedamera.

(L.S.) Sultan bin Suggur.

* Presented to the House of Lords, 1852; and to the House of Commons, 1856.

No. 2.—AGREEMENT with Shaikh Sultan bin Suggur, Chief of Ras-ool-Khymah.—
Slave Trade.

Appendix, No. 4.

Ras-ool-Khymah, 3 July 1839.

I, SULTAN BIN SUGGUR, Shaikh of the Joasmee tribe, do hereby declare that I bind and pledge myself to the British Government in the following engagements:—

1st. That the Government cruisers, whenever they meet any vessels belonging to myself, or my subjects, beyond a direct line drawn from Cape Delgado, passing two degrees seaward of the island of Socotra, and ending at Cape Guadel, and shall suspect that such vessel is engaged in the slave trade, the said cruisers are permitted to detain and search it.

2nd. Should it, on examination, be proved that any vessel belonging to myself, or my subjects, is carrying slaves, whether men, women, or children, for sale beyond the aforesaid line, then the Government cruisers shall seize and confiscate such vessel and her cargo; but if the aforesaid vessel shall pass beyond the aforesaid line, owing to stress of weather, or other case of necessity not under control, then she shall not be seized.

3rd. As the selling of males and females, whether grown up or young, who are “horr,” or free, is contrary to the Mahomedan religion, and whereas the Soomalee tribe is included in the “ahrar,” or free, I, Sultan bin Suggur, do hereby agree that the sale of males and females, whether young or old, of the Soomalee tribe, shall be considered as piracy, and that after four months from this date all those of my people convicted as being concerned in such an act shall be punished the same as pirates.

(L.S.) *Sultan bin Suggur.*

A similar agreement to the above was entered into by Shaikh Khalifa bin Shukhboot, on the 1st July 1839, and by Shaikh Mukhtoom of Debaye, and Shaikh Abdoolah bin Rashid of Amulgavine, on the 2nd of the same month.

ENGAGEMENT entered into by Sheik Sultan ben Suggur, Chief of Ras el Khyma and Chargah, for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade in his Ports.

(Translation.)

30 April 1847.

It having been intimated to me by Major Hennell, the Resident of the Persian Gulf, that certain conventions have lately been entered into by his Highness the Imaum of Muscat, and other Powers, with the British Government, for the purpose of preventing the exportation of slaves from the coasts of Africa and elsewhere; and it having, moreover, been explained to me, that in order to the full attainment of the objects contemplated by the aforesaid conventions, the concurrence and co-operation of the chiefs of the several ports situated on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf are required: accordingly, I, Sheik Sultan ben Suggur, Chief of the Joasmee tribe, with a view to strengthen the bonds of friendship existing between me and the British Government, do hereby engage to prohibit the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa and elsewhere, on board of my vessels and those belonging to my subjects or dependents, such prohibition to take effect from the 1st day of Moharrem, 1263, A.H. (10th December 1847, A.D.)

And I do further consent, that whenever the cruisers of the British Government fall in with any of my vessels, or those belonging to my subjects or dependents, suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, they may detain and search them, and in case of their finding that any of the vessels aforesaid have violated the engagements, by the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa or elsewhere, upon any pretext whatsoever, they (the Government cruisers) shall seize and confiscate the same.

Dated this 14th day of Jemadee-ul-evvel 1263, A.H., or 30th day of April 1847, A.D.

(L.S.) Seal of *Sheik Sultan ben Suggur.*

Debaye.—Sheik Moukhtoom's engagement is dated 14 Jemadee-ul-evvel 1263, or 30 April 1847.

Ejinan.—Sheik Abdool Azeez's engagement is dated 15 Jemadee-ul-evvel 1263, or 1 May 1847.

Amulgaveen.—Sheik Abdoolah ben Rashid's engagement is dated 15 Jemadee-ul-evvel 1263, or 1 May 1847.

Aboothabee.—Sheik Saeed ben Zahnon's engagement is dated 17 Jemadee-ul-evvel 1263, or 3 May 1847.

Bahreïn.—Sheik Mahomed ben Khaleefa's engagement is dated 22 Jemadee-ul-evvel or 8 May 1847.

Appendix, No. 4.

S O M A L E E S.

AGREEMENT between *Great Britain* and the Habr Gerhagis, the Habr Taljala, and other Tribes of *Somalees*, prohibiting the Exportation of Slaves.—Signed at Hour, 14 October 1855.

In the name of the Most Merciful God, and Him we implore.

The reason of writing this bond is, that influenced by motives of humanity, and by a desire to conform to the principle on which the Great English Government is conducted, we lend a willing ear to the proposals of our sincere friend Brigadier W. M. Oghlan, Governor of Aden, that we shall covenant with him and with each other to abolish and prohibit the exportation of slaves from any part of Africa to any other place in Africa or Asia, or elsewhere, under our authority.

We, whose names and seals are set to this bond, do therefore, in the sight of God and of men, solemnly proclaim our intentions to prohibit the exportation of slaves from Africa by every means in our power; we will export none ourselves, nor will we permit our subjects to do so, and any vessel found carrying slaves shall be seized and confiscated, and the slaves shall be released.

Peace.

Signatures.

Witnessed by Syud Mahomed
bin Abder Rahman el Tifferi.

Sultan Manasir bin Boo Bekr bin Mehdi, the Oulaki,
done at Hour, dated 14th October 1855.
Sultan Aboo Bekr bin Abdoolla bin Mehdi, the Oulaki;
same date and place.

Witnessed by Omar bin Ahmed
bin Syud Ba-Shitioh.

Similar engagements entered into by Ali Mahomed
Zaid, elder of Habr Gerhagis, tribe of Soomalees,
at Mait; the 5th Suffer 1272, corresponding with the
17th October 1855.
Hirsee Ali Mahomed, elder of the Habr Gerhagis,
tribe of Soomalees, at Mait; done the 5th Suffer
1272, corresponding with the 17th October 1855.

Mahmood Mahomed, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Hais; 5th Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 17th October 1855.

Aboo Bekr bin Mahomed, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Racooda; done the 5th Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 17th October 1855.

Abdoo Omar, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Unkor; done the 6th day of Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 18th October 1855.

Ali Ahmed, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Unkor; done the 6th Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 18th October 1855.

Hassun Yousef, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Kurrum; done the 6th day of Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 18th October 1855.

Mahomed Leban, Chief of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Kurrum; done the 6th Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 18th October 1855.

Yousef Othman, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Ain Tarad; done the 7th Suffer 1272, corresponding with the 19th October 1855.

Ahmed Aboo Bekr Mahomed Leban, elder of the Habr Taljala tribe, at Ain Tarad; done the 7th Suffer 1272, corresponding with 19th October 1855.

EXTRACT AGREEMENT of Peace, Friendship, Slave Trade, &c., between *Great Britain* and the Sheiks of the Habr Owul Tribe of *Somalees*.—Signed at Berbera, 7th November 1856.

IV. The traffic in slaves throughout the Habr Owul territories, including the port of Berbera, shall cease for ever, and any slave or slaves who, contrary to this engagement, shall be introduced into the said territories, shall be delivered up to the British, and the Commander of any vessel of Her Majesty's or the Honourable East India Company's Navy shall have the power of demanding the surrender of such slave or slaves, and of supporting the demand by force of arms if necessary.

V. The Political Resident at Aden shall have the power to send an Agent to reside at Berbera during the season of the fair, should he deem such a course necessary, to see that the provisions of this Agreement are observed, and such Agent shall be treated with the respect and consideration due to the representative of the British Government.

VI. That

VI. That on a solemn promise being given by the elders of the Habr Owul faithfully to abide by the Articles of this Agreement, and to cause the rest of the tribe to do so likewise, and to deliver up to the Political Resident at Aden any party who may violate it, the blockade of the Habr Owul coast shall be raised, and perpetual friendship shall exist between the British and the Habr Owul. Appendix, No. 4.

Done at Berbera this 7th day of November 1856, of the Christian era, corresponding with the 8th day of Rubae-ool-Awul, 1272 of the Hegira.

Their + Mahomed Arraleh, + Ahmed Ali Bookeri, + Noor Farrah, + Ahmed Ghalid, + Mahomed Wais, + Muggun Mahomed, + Robhlie Hassah, + Ateyah Hilder, + Farrah Renin, + Awauth Shermarki, marks.	} Ayal Yoonus. } } Ayal Ahmed. } } Makahil. } Ayal Hamood.
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Signed in my presence, at Berbera, on the 7th November 1856,

R. L. Playfair,
Assistant Political Resident, Ader.

W. M. Coghill, Political Resident,
Aden, 9 November 1856.

Ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, at Fort William, this 23rd day of January 1857.

Canning.
Geo. Anson.
J. Dorin.
J. Lwo.
J. P. Grant.
B. Peacock.

By order,

G. F. Edmonstone,
Secretary to the Government of India.

MUSCAT AND ZANZIBAR.

AGREEMENT with the Sultan of Muscat. 2 October 1845.

AGREEMENT between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his Highness Saeed Saeed bin Sultan, the Sultan of Muscat, for the termination of the export of slaves from the African dominions of his Highness the Sultan of Muscat.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland being earnestly desirous that the export of slaves from the African dominions of his Highness the Sultan of Muscat should cease, and his Highness the Sultan of Muscat, in deference to the wishes of Her Majesty and of the British nation, and in furtherance of the dictates of humanity, which have heretofore induced him to enter into engagements with Great Britain to restrict the export of slaves from his dominions, being willing to put an end to that trade; and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and his Highness the Sultan of Muscat having resolved to record with due form and solemnity this further restriction of the export of slaves, and Her Majesty having given due authority to Captain Hamerton, her representative at the Court of the Sultan of Muscat, to conclude an agreement with his Highness accordingly, his Highness Saeed Saeed bin Sultan, for himself, his heirs, and successors, and Captain Hamerton on behalf of the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, her heirs and successors, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles.

ART. I. His Highness the Sultan of Muscat hereby engages to prohibit, under the severest penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions, and to issue orders to his officers to prevent and suppress such trade.

II. His Highness the Sultan of Muscat further engages to prohibit, under the severest penalties, the importation of slaves from any part of Africa into his possessions in Asia, and to use his utmost influence with all the chiefs of Arabia, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, in like manner to prevent the introduction of slaves from Africa into their respective territories.

Appendix, No. 4.

III. His Highness the Sultan of Muscat grants to the ships of Her Majesty's navy, as well as those of the East India Company, permission to seize and confiscate any vessels the property of his Highness or of his subjects carrying on slave trade, excepting such only as are engaged in the transport of slaves from one part to another of his own dominions in Africa, between the port of Lamoo to the north, and its dependencies, the northern limit of which is the north point of Kuyhoo Island, in 1° 57' south latitude, and the port of Keelwa to the south, and its dependencies, the southern limit of which is the Songa Manara, or Pagoda Point, in 9° 2' south latitude, including the Islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monsea.

IV. This agreement to commence and have effect from the 1st day of January 1847 of the year of Christ, and the 15th day of the month of Mohunum 1283 of the Hejira.

Done at Zanzibar, this 2nd day of October 1845 of the year of Christ, and 29th day of Ramzan 1261 of the Hejira.

Saeed Saeed Bin Sultan,

Imaum of Muscat.

Atkins Hamerton, Captain,

On behalf of Her Majesty the Queen
of Great Britain and Ireland, Her
heirs and successors.

The Imaum of Muscat to Consul Hamerton, dated 6th May 1870.

CONFIDING in the Almighty.

6 May 1850.

From the confiding slave of God's mercy, Saeed Ben Sultan.

To the dignified and exalted, and true friend, the kind and respected Major Hamerton, Her Majesty the Queen of England's Consul, may God preserve him, and render his times fortunate and happy.

Your excellent letter has reached, and your friend understood all you have mentioned, and with reference to the people of that quarter (place) from Songa Manara to Tonghe, you say you wish permission for the ships of war of Her Majesty the Queen of England to enter the creeks, rivers, and harbours in which slaves are sold in violation of orders.

My dear friend, we, and all belonging to us, even our countries, are at the disposal of Her Majesty, and should the men-of-war of Her Majesty the Queen of England require to enter the creeks, rivers, and ports, we are willing they should enter; we object not; and all ships or vessels found in those places to whomsoever belonging, if engaged in the slave trade, may be seized, and all barracoons or places erected for carrying on the slave trade, may be burned or destroyed. We have no wish to the contrary of yours, and with respect to the Banyan, we will send and have him seized. Whatever you require of us we are ready. The sign is with you.

Dated 23rd day of Jamadee-ul-Akhir, 1266 (6 May 1850).

The humble and weak

Fakir Saeed (with his own hand).

DECLARATION between *Great Britain* and *France*, engaging reciprocally to respect the Independence of the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar.*—Signed at Paris, 10th March 1862.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the importance of maintaining the independence of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to respect the independence of these Sovereigns.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, and the Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare, in consequence, that their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

In witness whereof, the undersigned have signed the present Declaration, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 10th March 1862.

(L.S.) *Cowley.*

(L.S.) *E. Thouvenel.*

* Signed also in the French language.

Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce (and Slave Trade), between Her Majesty and the Queen of Madagascar.

Signed, in the English and Malagasy Languages, at Antananarivo, 27 June 1865.

[Ratifications exchanged at Antananarivo, 5 July 1866.]

(Extract).

ARTICLE XVI.—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar hereby engage to use every means in their power for the suppression of piracy within the seas, straits, and rivers subject to their respective control or influence; and Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages not to grant either asylum or protection to any persons or vessels engaged in piratical pursuits; and in no case will she permit ships, slaves, or merchandise captured by pirates to be introduced into her dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale. And Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar concedes to Her Britannic Majesty the right of investing her officers and other duly constituted authorities with the power of entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, in order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy, and to seize and to reserve for the judgment of the proper authorities, all persons offending against the two contracting powers in this respect.

ARTICLE XVII.—Her Britannic Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar being greatly desirous of effecting the total abolition of the trade in slaves, Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages to do all in her power to prevent all such traffic on the part of her subjects, and to prohibit all persons residing within her dominions, or subject to her, from countenancing or taking any share in such trade. No persons from beyond sea shall be landed, purchased, or sold as slaves in any part of Madagascar. And Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar consents that British cruisers shall have the right of searching any Malagash or Arab vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, whether under sail or at anchor in the waters of Madagascar. Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar further consents, that if any such vessels shall prove to be engaged in the slave trade, such vessels and their crews shall be dealt with by the cruisers of Her Britannic Majesty as if such persons and their vessels had been engaged in a piratical undertaking.

(L.S.) T. C. Pakenham,
Her Majesty's Consul for
Madagascar.



Rainimaharavo,
Chief Secretary of State,
16 Vtra.
Andriantsitohaina,
16 Vtra.
Ravahatra,
Lehibeny Andby.
Rafaralahibemalo,
Leholona lehibe.

Appendix, No. 5.

Appendix, No. 5.

PAPERS handed in by Mr. *Edward Hutchinson*, 25 July 1871.Reverend S. *Hobbs* to E. *Hutchinson*, Esq.

(Extract.)

Mahé, 19 May 1869.

1. THE opinion I formerly expressed as to the eligibility of these islands for missionary efforts on behalf of the liberated slaves was only partially favourable, but what I have seen and heard since coming here inclines me to recommend this locality much more strongly than I anticipated.

3. It is about six years since the cargoes of rescued slaves began to be deposited at Seychelles, and the number brought here from that time to the present is, within a few more or less, 2,000. In most instances the mortality on the first arrival of a cargo has been large, the unhappy creatures being in a diseased and emaciated condition, but after the first few weeks they become healthy and strong, and no more liable to sickness than the rest of the population. I cannot ascertain the precise number now on the island, but judge from what Dr. Brooks says, that 20 per cent. is the very maximum to be deducted on account of mortality, so that the present total must be 1,600 at the lowest estimate.

4. It was lately rumoured in Mauritius that the people of Seychelles were complaining that the rescued Africans were more troublesome than profitable, on account of their indolence and their propensity to stealing. These reports prove to be unfounded. About 180 were brought here last month by the "Nymph," and all are already disposed of, the inhabitants readily paying 30 s. a head to reimburse the Government for clothing and provisions, and other expenses incurred on their account on their arrival. The last importation before this was one of nearly 300 brought by the "Daphne" in December last, who had to be kept 80 days in quarantine, and being in consequence both more expensive and also less able-bodied, were not applied for so readily, whence probably arose the rumour I have just mentioned. Mr. Ward anticipates the arrival, before long, of much larger numbers than hitherto.

5. Mr. Ward said his instructions were, in the event of more coming here than sufficient for the wants of employers, to send the surplus on to Mauritius. Then I gave him a brief sketch of what I understood to have been the system pursued at Sierra Leone 40 or 50 years ago, viz., the formation of little townships, which were placed under the direction of missionaries, when the negroes, after a short time, supported themselves by their independent labour. At first he seemed to think that serious difficulties would stand in the way of such an experiment here, but he appears to have been reflecting upon it since, and to be now more inclined to look upon it as practicable.

8. Both Mr. Ward and Dr. Brooks expressed an opinion that the society would do wisely in adopting Mahé as the basis of their work, more especially because of the perfect salubrity of these islands, and the insalubrity of Mombas. The temperature at present is very agreeable, this being the beginning of the cool season. At other times the heat is severe, but all seasons are considered to be equally healthy. Sufferers from fever coming here from Mauritius for change are almost without exception speedily and completely cured.

9. The expense of boarding for school children might, I believe, be made very light from the beginning, and after a short time reduced almost to nil. There is no necessity to give rice, which the Indians in Mauritius require, and which is a very heavy expense, being all imported. Here the rations served out to labourers consist almost exclusively of maize, manive, and other productions of the country, which can be produced in any quantity, if sufficient land be secured, and a few adult labourers kept for its cultivation. The school children should be trained from the first to assist, and soon might do all the work that has to be done.

11. When a cargo arrives the adults are all hired out on contract for three or five years, according to the wish of the employer, who is bound to keep them until the expiration of the period, paying them wages on a rising scale according to age, the highest rate being 14 s. per mensem, besides rations. I have no doubt they could be made over to a missionary on modified terms, especially if application from the inhabitants should fail. Much would depend upon the disposition of the Civil Commissioner, and that of Mr. Ward is in the highest degree favourable to the scheme.

12. I think

12. I think the cost of a property sufficiently extensive for all purposes, if it were not purchased in haste, would be so moderate as to render it needless to concern ourselves about free grants from the Government. I am not prepared to point out the exact locality most suitable for our purpose, but I think there would be many advantages in fixing it at a distance of four or five miles at least from Port Victoria, and that the western side of the island may be more suitable than the eastern.

13. You are aware that two or three cargoes of rescued slaves were discharged at Mauritius seven or eight years ago, and the children sent to Powder Mills Asylum. A very large proportion of them soon died, and many were afterwards carried off by the epidemic. I think some of the survivors might be sent over here as soon as the mission is begun and would be very useful in helping to teach English to the African children, and in assisting the new missionaries to acquire their respective languages. I will confer with Anson on my return to Mauritius, and ask him to point out any whom he may be able to recommend for this service, so as to have them in readiness when they are wanted.

14. A fact that offers great promise of success in the endeavour to form the Africans into a settled and orderly little community, is that the males and females hitherto brought here are about equal. Mr. Vandin has solemnized some few marriages and baptized several infants born in the island. Amongst other happy results to be hoped for, from the labours of a missionary amongst them, it may reasonably be expected that their settlement in families will become much more general than it will be if they are left to themselves, like "sheep without a shepherd."

15. The communication between Seychelles and Zanzibar is at present very uncertain and irregular.

S. Ward, Esq., to the Reverend S. Hobbs.

(Extract.)

Seychelles, 22 May 1869.

2. THE number of Africans who have been brought here by Her Majesty's cruisers amounts to nearly 2,000, quite sufficient for the local demand for labour. The increase of the African population cannot well be ascertained, as no distinction has been made by the civil status between Creoles and Africans. The latter, once distributed, are classed as British subjects, and absorbed into the general population. But there is no doubt that the Africans brought here have increased and multiplied to a very considerable extent. This, however, does not affect the question in which the society is interested, except so far as showing that the climate of these islands is very healthy, and peculiarly well adapted to the African constitution. At Zanzibar, the African races do not reproduce themselves at all. From what I have heard respecting the East Coast, there appears to be no spot at which it would be either desirable or practicable that an establishment for the regeneration and education of captured Africans could be set on foot. These islands present every advantage with respect to proximity, climate, and power of control, and should the society determine upon trying the experiment here, I think that it would be eminently successful.

3. It is, of course, impossible to give any idea of the number of slaves likely to be brought here, but I cannot look forward to any reduction in the amount of captured dhows. More have been taken by our cruisers during the past 12 months than in any previous year, partly owing to the withdrawal of the whole East African squadron during the Abyssinian war, and partly owing to the limited number of ships in the squadron, a quite inadequate number for the proper protection of the coast, and for anything approaching to the suppression of the slave trade. On an average four dhows out of five run their cargoes successfully, so that, judging by the numerous captures, the amount of slaves exported to Arabia and Persia must be very large indeed. During the last five months, 451 slaves have been brought here by Her Majesty's ships "Daphne" and "Nymph," and a considerable quantity have been taken to Aden.

4. From the southern limits of the "soi-disant" Portuguese Settlement, slave trade is always carried on to the fullest extent, permission to trade in slaves being always, I am given to understand, considered a part of the salary of a Portuguese official. Most of that infamous traffic is now in the hands of the Arabs, and a very considerable trade is carried on with Magotte, Nossibé, and Madagascar, in which latter country almost any number of slaves can be absorbed. The major portion of these Africans are conveyed in dhows under French colours, and carrying French papers issued from Magotte or Nossibé. Our cruisers cannot touch these French dhows, although when overhauled they may be found full of unmistakable slaves. One, with several slaves on board, was boarded by the "Nymph." The papers were French, given for one year, during which time many trips might be made, but no one on board spoke a word of the language, or could read the papers.

5. The above remarks, however, only refer to the main question of slave trade on the East Coast generally, and I have offered them only with a view to show the society that in all probability very many more Africans will be brought to these islands, and that any

Appendix, No. 5. arrangements made for their culture and amelioration will be most beneficial. I cannot foresee any difficulty with respect to such arrangements, beyond time and money, the usual essentials. With funds, there will be no difficulty in purchasing a property in this island which will perfectly answer the desired purpose. This property, if properly looked after, will pay itself, so that no loss can accrue to the society.

6. Land in Seychelles is almost daily increasing in value, more especially land situated within a reasonable distance of the harbour and town. Plots that six years ago would not have brought a dollar per acre are now selling, owing to the road being carried through them, at 30 £. per acre, and every year the value is increasing. A cocoanut plantation, though slow, is very sure, the oil being absolutely necessary for soap manufactories, and the price unaffected by the introduction of mineral oils. An estate in full bearing, if well managed, gives 3 s. per tree profit per annum.

7. A considerable tract of land (for Seychelles, where the only flat land is on the small plateau at the base of the mountains) is now at the disposition of the Government, a flat portion bordered by the sea, and watered by two streams, in all about 25 or 30 acres, at a distance of about a mile and a-half from the town. This is almost the only spot where the establishment of a missionary town for Africans could be carried out without a heavy outlay; but this land will be in the market very shortly, many applications having been received already for portions of it.

8. A great many people have come here during the past two years from Mauritius and Réunion, driven from the former island by the fever, and from the latter by the collapse of commerce. They are all anxious to buy properties and settle here, and their advent necessarily raises the price of land. When the Suez Canal is opened, there is no doubt that the Seychelles will assume a much more important geographical aspect than they have ever hitherto arrived at. I have already heard of a proposed French East African Company anxious to establish its head quarters here, and there is no doubt that for brevity of transit the direct line from Australia, overland, should pass by Seychelles.

9. I have pointed out these matters for the consideration of the society in order to show that not only may we expect large numbers of liberated Africans at almost any moment, but that, if any arrangements are going to be made it would be advisable to make them with as little delay as possible, on economical grounds, so far as the requisition of land is concerned. The suppression of the slave trade on the East Coast is further off than ever. The power of the Sultan of Zanzibar is becoming annually less, and he has now no control at all over the northern Arabs, who periodically resort to Zanzibar for the avowed purpose of dealing in slaves. By the last advices there were over 3,000 of them in that island.

Reverend S. Hobbs to E. Hutchinson, Esq.

(Extract.)

Mauritius, 29 June 1869.

8. SINCE my return I have seen the Governor, who enters very cordially into the subject of your plans for the re-captured Africans. I was under the impression that I had explained to his Excellency before I went away the object of my journey, but I find I omitted to do so, and he sent a despatch to the authorities at home by last mail, representing that there appeared to be no more demand for labourers at Seychelles, and that some other place must be found to set down future captures. He expressed regret that he had been in ignorance of our society's intentions, but said he would write again by this mail to inform the Home Government about them. So everything really appears ready for us to begin operations. After I had finished my report, I accompanied Mr. Vandin on a visit to "the Praslin," about 20 miles from Mahé, and there saw a deserted property which appeared to me pre-eminently suitable for our purpose.

Reverend S. Hobbs to E. Hutchinson, Esq.

(Extract.)

Mauritius, 28 July 1869.

I AM not yet able to give you any further information about the property "Pasquier," mentioned in my last letter. We may however perhaps obtain from the Government a grant of the whole of "Ile Carieuse," which is two or three miles distant from Praslin, and forms the other side of a beautiful and well-sheltered bay, where the cruisers could anchor and land their cargoes in perfect security. I have just seen a gentleman who was lately for a short time acting magistrate at Seychelles, and he tells me he believes the Government will soon discontinue to make use of that island. It has been used for many years as an asylum for lepers. There are only two or three now remaining there, and it is at present used for paupers in general, for whom the Government will probably appoint a more convenient locality. I sent your letter for the perusal of the Governor, and a few days afterwards received it back with a kind note, which I have the pleasure of enclosing, in which his Excellency replies to your inquiries. I believe that almost any number of Africans would find employment here, provided they were previously trained to habits of industry as field labourers, or were expert workmen in any other branches of skill.

Governor *Barkly* to the Reverend *S. Hobbs*.

Appendix, No. 5.

(Extract.)

16 July 1869.

I AM glad to see that the Church Missionary Society are disposed to take into serious consideration the transfer of their stations from the East Coast of Africa to Seychelles. With regard to assistance from the Mauritius Government, you are aware that I have already written home to urge that the expense occasioned by these captured slaves ought to be borne by Imperial funds. This Government, however, would do anything in its power as to a grant of land, and if a school were started, it would of course be entitled to the usual grant-in-aid.

As respecting the scope for trained labour on this island, it is as you know practically unlimited, though of late Indian labourers have been very much preferred by the planters to such Africans as were brought here. I may however mention that one gentleman has applied for a permission to bring down from Aden by the mail steamers some of the slaves who have been just liberated there from the dhows captured by the "Daphne" and "Nymph." Since these captures I learn from Mr. Ward that the former vessel has landed 52 more rescued slaves at Mahé, who were on his hands when he wrote. You will thus see that an ample field is like'y to be presented for the benevolent efforts of the society.

Appendix, No. 6.

LETTER from the Vicar of *Bradford*, late Bishop of *Mauritius*, to the Chairman
(handed in by the Chairman), dated 27 July 1871.

Appendix, No. 6.

Vicarage, Bradford, York,
27 July 1871.

My dear Sir,

I HAVE been so deeply impressed with the proofs of the misery and loss of human life inflicted by the East African slave trade which were brought before me in various ways during nearly 18 years of residence in Mauritius, and visits to the Seychelles and other islands in the Indian Ocean, that I feel constrained to address you on the subject, in your connection with the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider it.

Personal intercourse with ex-slaves in all parts of Mauritius, and the Seychelles Islands, brought out evidence of the most startling character of the atrocities perpetrated by those who conducted the slave trade before the abolition of slavery. One old man had carried with him through life the burden of the recollection, that when torn away from his mother as a child, he did not cry, because those who cried were killed; but that in his heart he had cried a great deal; and with some variety of detail the account generally given of the manner and circumstances of their capture, and of the number of those who were slain was sadly similar in most cases. Until 1860, I and those who laboured with me for their good derived comfort from the thought that we were ministering to the wants and sorrows of a generation which was passing away, leaving their places to be filled up by those who had been born in a land of freedom.

But on returning to Mauritius early in 1861 I found that a large number of rescued slaves, between 400 and 500, had been landed there, taken from the brigantine "*Immanuel*," and from that time until the close of 1867, when I left the Colony, there was a repetition of such arrivals at Port Louis, and at Port Victoria in the Seychelles; which revived the memory of the traffic in slaves of former times, and supplied proof, as painful as it was emphatic, that the atrocities of former years were re-enacted on the eastern side of the Continent of Africa, the merchants being chiefly Arabs, whose principal emporium for the sale of their victims was Makhedah.

From minute and repeated conversations with the rescued slaves I find that the accounts given in a book published by Sir Fowell Buxton, 32 years ago, can be paralleled in almost every respect.

The description of the sudden attack on the villages by night; the capture of the inhabitants; the slaughter of those who were too old to be of use; and the ruthless tearing away of the children and young people, is too generally given, and is too consistent with the fact of the arrival of large cargoes, mostly of children or very young persons, to admit of doubt on the matter.

Then the miseries of the downward march, described so fully by Dr. Livingstone, and confirmed by the revolting account published in the Blue Book, in 1867. While the intolerable sufferings of the fold or pen into which they are put have been described in a published pamphlet as they were told to me by its author, whose views on the slave trade differed widely from mine.

"Then they were as naked as on the day of their birth; some of them with a long fork attached to their neck, so arranged that it was impossible for them to step forward . . . others were chained together in parcels of 20 . . . The keeper of this den utters a hoarse cry; it is the order for the merchandise to stand up; but many do not obey. The chains are too short; the dead and the dying prevent the living from rising. The dead can say nothing, but what do the dying say? They say that they are dying of hunger. Let us look at some of the details: Who is the creature that holds tightly in her arms a shapeless object, covered with filthy leaves? On looking close you see it is a woman holding to her dried-up breast the child of which she has just been delivered . . . And the man who is working with his hands a piece of mud, which he is continually putting to his eye, what is the matter with him? Our guide tells us 'He is a troublesome fellow who set a bad example by throwing himself at my feet this morning, and saying with a loud voice, "I am dying of hunger!" I gave him a blow which burst his eye; he is henceforth good for nothing;' and he added, with a sinister look, 'He won't be hungry long.'"

But one of the most touching proofs of the misery attending this iniquitous traffic is supplied by the fact of the large number of deaths which often take place among the liberated children and youths of both sexes, even after they have had the kind treatment which is given them on board British men-of-war; and, notwithstanding every attention given them, after their landing, in the Government asylum, or by the masters to whom they become engaged as domestic servants. A gentleman residing near me in Mauritius

lost

lost, within a few weeks, four boys, whom he had engaged as servants in his house and grounds; another lost three out of four; and from one set of 83, no less than 47 were dead in three weeks at the Powder Mills Asylum; the most affecting circumstance in their sorrow being that as they lay upon their dying beds the one word which they uttered with plaintive wailings was the word "Mother, mother!" Their mothers either being many thousand miles away, or having been put to death when their children had been stolen from them. When, at a subsequent period, the cholera attacked the inmates there was a perfect panic among the Africans; because while many of the Indian inmates survived, the Africans almost invariably succumbed to the attack. The extent to which this fearful traffic is carried on; the depopulation which it causes; and the wide-spread desolation of fertile lands, must be well known to you from other testimony. But there is one point on which abundant proof has been given me from the rescued Africans in Mauritius, viz. their being brought from places near to a sea of fresh water, with mountains beyond it, and their having to travel a very long way before they reached the sea; a plain corroboration of the statements of General Rigby and others as to the depopulation and consequent desolation, caused mainly, if not entirely, to the operations of the slave trade. It is evident that in the state of utter uncertainty and confusion caused by the raids of the slave dealers any powerful tribe would have the opportunity of attacking and plundering weaker neighbours for purposes of its own; and, though in some cases the depredations committed by such a tribe may not be directly connected with the slave trade, yet those who persistently carry on that traffic year after year are responsible for the utterly demoralised and weakened condition of other tribes which invites such predatory aggression by its inability to withstand them.

With reference to the measures to be adopted for the benefit of the captured slave, I can testify from personal observation to the humanising, civilising, and Christianising effects of the industrial schools established in connection with the Church of England in Mauritius, and very especially the Powder Mills Asylum, a Government establishment under that superintendence. Any extension of that system would lead to a proportionate increase in the number of skilled artisans, respectable domestic servants, teachers, and catechists, and to a preparation of men who might return to the Continent of Africa as some of the most efficient helpers in the work of civilising the people and stimulating lawful trade.

The beneficial results obtained by the labours of the Church Missionary Society on the western coasts supply the strongest encouragement for the application of the same benevolent principles and methods of action on the east.

The proposition to make Zanzibar the *dépôt* is one which I would respectfully but earnestly deprecate for the following reasons. In the first place, because of the impracticability of upholding an institution containing liberated negroes in the midst of a population of slaves of the same race, brought in most instances from the same localities. Secondly, from the difficulty which would be raised in the way of all efforts to evangelise those whose rescue by a Christian nation involves the obligation to endeavour to impart to them the knowledge of Christianity. Thirdly, because the establishment of a *dépôt* for free labour at Zanzibar, providing a regular supply of natives to work in Réunion and elsewhere, would directly lead to the very same operations in the interior of Africa, against which the late Earl of Clarendon, as Foreign Secretary, remonstrated so strongly some years ago. The system of the "*libres engagés*" led to most of the bad consequences of the slave trade in the interior of Africa itself. An Arab chief on being told that it was not slavery but free labour, replied to this effect:

"All same ting to me. Old time you call it slavery; now you call it free labour; I go catch men, sell; you give the money; all right." And it surely would be a strange result of British interference for supplying the slave trade that the plantations should be worked by labourers procured by us from the hold of slave ships, and then placed beyond the reach of our protection.

About 60 natives of the Kingsmill group of islands to the north-east of Sydney, were disposed of as free labourers in 1857, in Bourbon, realising to the kidnappers about 40 £. each, for a *soi-disant* engagement of five or seven years; but to the best of my knowledge no trace of them has been obtainable since.

The correspondence on the subject is most probably at the Foreign Office.

One important item in all consideration of repressive measures is the fact that such immense profit is made on every slave landed in Arabia. In one case of capture by the boats of the "Highflyer," it was ascertained that the cost of each slave landed at Makedar would be from seven to nine dollars, while the price realised for the sale would be from 60 to 90 dollars. Such a fact proves the necessity of peremptory measures of repression.

I remain, &c.

(signed) Vincent W. Ryan,
Bishop.

Right Hon. Russell Gurney.

Appendix, No. 7.

Appendix, No. 7. [PAPERS RELATING TO THE SLAVE TRADE ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.]

(Secret Department.—No. 14 of 1860.)

MUSCAT-ZANZIBAR COMMISSION.

From Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*, in charge, Muscat Zanzibar Commission, to *H. L. Anderson*, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay; dated Aden, 1 November 1860.

Sir,

HAVING been directed by Government to avail myself of the opportunities which would be afforded me, while in charge of the Muscat Zanzibar Commission, to inquire into the actual state of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa, and if possible to suggest some more effectual means for its extirpation than those now in force, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council, the following general report on the subject, comprising therein the result of my recent inquiries at Muscat, and of those lately instituted at Zanzibar.

Slave trade in the Portuguese Settlement of East Africa.

2. Whether owing to a falling off in the supply of slaves on the West Coast of Africa, or to the vigilance of Her Majesty's cruisers on that station, or to the comparative immunity with which it has been found that the traffic can be pursued on the opposite side of the continent, it is unquestionable that the exportation of slaves from the Portuguese territories on the East Coast of Africa has greatly increased within the last few years.

3. According to an extract published in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter (Supplement)," 1 July 1859, the senior naval officer on that station had reported that, "he has reason to believe no slaver has been fitted out on the East Coast, or taken away slaves round the Cape of Good Hope for the last three years." Such an assurance of the extinction of the traffic, if correctly quoted, may have justified a less watchful surveillance. I am not able to state that any such relaxation has actually occurred; but I believe that until within the last three months no slaver has been captured on the East Coast of Africa for the last six years, and the impression has become general that the traffic on this side may be carried on with perfect safety. An American merchant, who had resided long at Zanzibar, published his opinion to that effect in one of the United States journals; and the captain of the Spanish slaver, captured two months ago by Her Majesty's ship "Lyra," off the Island of Monfea, stated that he had received the strongest assurance of there being no British cruisers stationed on the East Coast of Africa to interfere with his proceedings.

4. The official reports of Mr. M'Leod, late British Consul, will have apprised Her Majesty's Government of the extent to which the slave trade was being prosecuted between the Portuguese settlements on that coast and different ports of South America during his residence at Mozambique, and also of a similar traffic, which under the title of "French Free Labour Emigration" was being carried on simultaneously between those settlements and La Réunion.

5. The information since obtained by Colonel Rigby, Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, fully corroborates Mr. M'Leod's statements. In September, of last year, he reported that "an extensive trade was being carried on at Eboo, situated on the East Coast of Africa within the Portuguese territories, in about 12° south latitude, with the full knowledge of the Portuguese authorities at that port." And in proof thereof he adduces the fact of at least four large vessels being engaged at the time in embarking cargoes of slaves from that vicinity.

6. As further evidence bearing on the same point, I may adduce the capture of two large clipper-built vessels, under Spanish colours, within the last four months; one taken by Her Majesty's ship "Brisk," in the Mozambique Channel, with 864 slaves on board, obtained from the Portuguese territories, and the other (already referred to), captured by Her Majesty's ship "Lyra," fully fitted out and provisioned as a slaver. In all probability this vessel, having found some difficulty in securing a ready cargo within the Portuguese settlements, had come up as high as the Island of Monfea, confident of obtaining as many slavers as were required from the African territories dependent on Zanzibar.

7. Difficult as it is, owing to the absence of any British agents on the coast, to secure accurate information of the full extent to which this nefarious traffic prevails within the Portuguese settlements, the foregoing facts are sufficient to prove that it has long been carried on without risk; and that, emboldened by impunity, its agents have within the last few years greatly increased their slave transactions in those parts.

8. Further,

8. Further, it is equally certain, considering the penalties attached by the Portuguese Government to any participation in the foreign slave trade, that such transactions could not be carried on in their African territories without the countenance of the local authorities. Their connivance is fully known to all the Arab and other traders on the coast, and I found the concurrent testimony in perfect accord with the statement of Colonel Rigby, that at the "Portuguese settlements the slave trade is carried on in the most shameless manner, all the Portuguese authorities aiding and abetting it, and dividing their nefarious gains." Appendix, No. 7.

9. Moreover, by all accounts, the cruelties of the traffic in the hands of the Portuguese equal in atrocity those so well known to accompany it on the Western Coast, and its late increase among them is fast destroying the last faint traces of civilisation left in their once prosperous settlements on the East Coast of Africa. Large tracts of fertile country are becoming depopulated, and the remains of the semi-barbarous tribes in the neighbourhood are being driven to a state of desperation, which threatens at no distant period to be the scourge and ruin of their degenerate and inhuman masters.

10. It will be for Her Majesty's Ministers to decide on the propriety of bringing to the notice of the Portuguese Government the culpable conduct of its representatives on the East Coast of Africa in thus fostering the slave trade. But if, as is to be feared, no permanently favourable result is likely to follow any such intervention, owing to the weakness of the Imperial Government, and the utter disorganisation of its East African settlements, I venture to urge that no time be lost in strengthening the Cape squadron with a sufficient number of steam vessels, specially adapted for the service, to watch the Portuguese coast from Delagoa Bay to Cape Delgado. The fertile and salubrious island of Johanna, three degrees south of Delgado, with its secure anchorage, and its reigning sultan decidedly favourable to our interests, would form an eligible haven for the cruisers on the north; whilst the hitherto neglected British possession of the southern portion of Delagoa Bay might constitute a convenient station for those destined to watch the line of Portuguese coast from that point to the mouths of the Zambesi.

11. I believe the opinion is gaining ground that the notorious insalubrity of the Portuguese town of Lorenzo Marques, near Delagoa Bay, is not so much owing to the climate of that portion of Africa as to its ill-chosen site. On the other hand Iniack Island, forming the southern arm of the bay, and within British limits, is represented as being a very healthy spot, entirely beyond the poisonous miasmata of the adjacent rivers, and frequently resorted to by the natives as a sanatorium. It appears to me desirable, independently of the suggestion contained in the foregoing paragraph, that a fair trial should be made of the climate of this locality. The position is admirably adapted for trade, whilst the two navigable rivers in its immediate neighbourhood, the Mapoota and the Manice, are said to give access to the Zulu country and to the territories of the Transvaal Republic. Should the result be favourable, Iniack Island would bid fair to become an important commercial emporium, whilst the adjoining country of Tembe (also British territory), might afford an eligible settlement whereon to locate the slaves captured by our cruisers on the coast. In short, the healthiness of the climate once proved, a British station in Delagoa Bay might occupy, on this side of Africa, a position analogous to that of Sierra Leone on the Western Coast; and should the scheme proposed be found feasible, benevolent societies at home would not be backward to crown the humane efforts of the Government, in behalf of the liberated Africans, by corresponding endeavours to impart to them the blessings of a christian civilisation.

12. In the event, however, of Delagoa Bay being found unadapted for the object here suggested, there are fortunately several other British settlements in these seas where any number of liberated slaves might find a ready asylum, together with the means of obtaining their own livelihood, as well as of being at the same time within the reach of Christian instruction. Natal, 250 miles to the south, is in urgent want of labourers. The Seychelles, with their rich soil, are comparatively waste from the same cause; and the Mauritius, where the 800 slaves lately captured by Her Majesty's ship "Brisk" were gladly received, could find remunerative employment for some additional thousands of workmen on the prosperous sugar plantations of that island.

13. If I hesitate to apologise for the foregoing suggestions touching the disposal of slaves captured by our cruisers on the east coast of Africa, it is owing to the conviction that they will not be regarded as superfluous, and that Her Majesty's Government is as deeply interested in the after condition and welfare of such as acquire their freedom by British intervention, as it is in rescuing them, in the first instance, from the miseries of an inhuman bondage.

14. But if the suppression of slavery in the Portuguese settlements is an object most desirable in itself, its importance is enhanced in view of any attempt on our part to abolish the traffic in the adjoining African territories dependent on Zanzibar. The fact of a neighbouring Christian people, known to be extensively engaged in the trade, is at once a precedent and a strong ground of apology to the slave-dealing Mahomedans. No formal argument, indeed, is based on that plea; but hints as to our consistency in so strongly urging them to forego the practice, and doubts as to the disinterestedness of our motives in the solicitation, whilst our co-religionists are allowed to pursue the same course with comparative

Appendix, No. 7. rative impunity, are frequently dropped, by Mussulmans of those parts in all discussions regarding the abolition of the slave trade. Submitting this remark as an additional argument in support of the energetic measures recommended for the suppression of the traffic in the Portuguese settlements, I pass on to consider the slave trade as it now prevails at Zanzibar and its African dependencies.

Slave trade at Zanzibar and its African dependencies.

15. The African dominions of his late Highness Syud Saeed extend from Mukdeesha, on the north, to Cape Delgado on the south, at which latter point they are conterminous with the Portuguese territories. According to Article I. of the existing Treaty, made with the late Imam in October 1845, "His Highness the Sultan of Muscat engages to prohibit, under the severest penalties, the importation of slaves from any part of Africa into his possessions in Asia, and to use his utmost influence with all the chiefs of Arabia, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, in like manner to prevent the introduction of slaves from Africa into their respective territories." But by the tenor of Article III. the prohibition contained in the first Article is virtually considerably modified. Thereby "His Highness the Sultan of Muscat grants to the ships of Her Majesty's Navy, as well as to those of the East India Company, permission to seize and confiscate any vessels the property of his Highness or of his subjects carrying on slave trade, excepting only such as are engaged in the transport of slaves from one port to another of his own dominions in Africa, between the port of Lamoo to the north and its dependencies, the northern limit of which is the north point of Kanghoo Island, in $1^{\circ} 57''$ south latitude, and the port of Kilwa to the south and its dependencies, the southern limit of which is the Longa Munara, or Pagoda Point, in $9^{\circ} 2''$ south latitude, including the Islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfea."

16. In spite of the provisions of this Treaty, which restrict the trade to the transport of slaves within certain limits, and forbid all export beyond them, Dr. Krapf writes, that in 1853 he saw 20 Arab ships at Mukdeesha engaged in smuggling slaves to Arabia. Colonel Rigby also, as late as March last, reports that large numbers of boats and buttelas belonging to the piratical tribes of Oman and the Persian Gulf are in the habit of visiting Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa for the purpose of purchasing or kidnapping slaves; and he estimates that 4,000 are yearly carried away and landed at different places on the shores of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. These boats are represented as carrying an armed crew, who land on any part of the coast and seize indiscriminately the domestic or other slaves belonging to the inhabitants. Even Zanzibar itself is subject to these forays. During the period of their annual visits, extending from November to March, Colonel Rigby describes Zanzibar as resembling "a city with a hostile army encamped in its neighbourhood. Every person who is able to do so sends his children and young slaves into the interior of the island for security. People are afraid to stir out of their houses after dark, and reports are daily made of children and slaves kidnapped; and in the suburbs of the town they even enter the houses, and take the children away by force." So much with regard to the export of slaves to the northward, through the agency of the Arabs.

17. But in addition to the foregoing, there is reason to believe that a considerable trade in slaves has been carried on clandestinely for some time past by square-rigged vessels under foreign colours, both at Zanzibar and within its African dependencies. In 1857 the brig "Venus," hoisting the Spanish flag, arrived at Zanzibar, and from thence proceeded to Lamoo, where she embarked from 500 to 800 slaves for Havannah. The principal agent employed in this transaction was a Spaniard named Buonaventura Mass, who a year later was engaged in securing another cargo of slaves for exportation. Documentary proofs of this fact have already been submitted to Government by Colonel Rigby, and it would appear from the evidence adduced on the occasion that out of 424 slaves obtained at Kilwa, no less than 225 died from exposure and other sufferings on their way to Lamoo, to which place they were sent to be resold, owing to the non-arrival of the vessel expected to embark them. It appears that these slaves had been destined for La Réunion, since in one of his letters to the Arab agent employed by him in collecting them at Kilwa, Mr. Mass says, "Of the 600 slaves to be purchased 60 must be females; for the Government of Bourbon insist that 10 of every 100 shall be females, or they will not accept them."

18. Again, in February 1858 Colonel Rigby reports that the French ship "Pallas" succeeded in embarking 600 slaves from Zanzibar. The slaves were conveyed secretly in boats to the south parts of the island, and there received on board the "Pallas." Two hundred of these slaves were supplied to Mass by an Arab named Suleiman bin Abdallah, and the remainder, he has reason to suspect, were provided conjointly by a brother of Sultan Majeed, and by his Vizier, Syud Suleiman bin Hamed.

19. Further, as late as July last, another vessel named the "Formosa Estrella," from Havannah, under Spanish colours, anchored off the eastern side of Zanzibar, and on being visited by the commander of one of his Highness's ships of war, who had proceeded thither in the French war steamer "La Somme," he reported that the ship was completely equipped as a slaver, having on board, besides provisions, a supply of irons, chains, tin plates, &c. There can be no doubt that the object of this vessel was to secure a cargo of slaves from Zanzibar; for a Spaniard from Cuba had lately joined Mr. Mass on the island, and a large number of slaves were being purchased for them by different Arab agents, both at Zanzibar and at Kilwa, many of whom were subsequently emancipated by his Highness Syud Majeed, on the representation made to him by Colonel Rigby of their destination. Colonel Rigby attributes the ultimate escape of this vessel to the extraordinary conduct of the French consul

consul in warning her of the presence of Her Majesty's ship "Lyra;" otherwise it is more than probable that she would have been captured by the "Lyra," in the same manner that another vessel, also under Spanish colours, was taken by her a few days after off the Island of Monfeá. In this latter case, likewise, the charterparty found on board was signed by Mass, who engaged to supply the vessel with a cargo of slaves.

20. Mr. Mass and his coadjutor have quitted Zanzibar, but it is reported that the former has proceeded to Lamoo to carry on his slave speculations there, and it is rumoured that no less than five foreign slavers consigned to him are expected to visit this coast during the approaching season.

21. The foregoing facts will suffice to convey to the Government a tolerably correct idea of the extent to which the foreign slave trade is being prosecuted within the territories dependent on Zanzibar. Independently of the energetic exertions of Colonel Rigby to arrest it, there are absolutely no restrictions whatever on the infamous traffic; and it is much to be regretted that instead of co-operating with him in his praiseworthy endeavours, the representatives of France at Zanzibar have hitherto seemed disposed to countenance, if not to protect, the foreign agents engaged in the inhuman trade.

22. I proceed, in the next place, to lay before Government several details regarding what may be called the domestic slavery of Zanzibar and its African dependencies. The evident scope of the treaty made with the late Imâm Syud Saeed, was to confine the slave trade within certain limits. The facts recorded in the foregoing remarks prove incontestibly that the provisions of the treaty in that respect are a dead letter; and, further, that the limits within which domestic slavery was still permitted have become the principal source of an extensive supply of slaves for foreign exportation.

23. Colonel Rigby reckons the annual import of slaves into Zanzibar, ostensibly for the supply of the domestic market, at 19,000. His Highness Syud Majeed estimates the number at between 25,000 and 30,000. Add to this 4,000 sent direct from the coast towards Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and as many more from the same quarter to South America and other foreign ports, either direct or through the Portuguese territories, and the result will give a yearly average export of no less than 30,000 slaves from the African territories dependent on Zanzibar, the principal places of export being Lamoo on the north, and Kilwa on the south.

24. So great has been the demand of late years that the slave resources on the coast have been quite exhausted, and regular forays are made into the interior by armed bands of Arabs and Sowahilis to collect supplies, and the tribes are bribed to co-operate with them against each other. Dr. Krapf, the eminent African missionary, thus describes the process: "To the south of the Pangani is the territory of the heathen Wasegua tribe, and the great centre of the slave trade. The Arabs of Zanzibar come here and promise the Wasegua chiefs a number of muskets and shot for a certain number of slaves; so when a chief has entered into the contract, he suddenly falls on a hostile village, sets it on fire, and carries off the inhabitants. Among these tribes the slave trade has hitherto flourished to a frightful extent, chiefly owing to the encouragement of the Arabs of Zanzibar. From 10,000 to 12,000 slaves are said to pass yearly through Kilwa on their way to the various ports of the Sowahili coast and to Arabia, and we saw many gangs of from six to ten slaves chained to each other, and obliged to carry burdens on their heads." Later still, Captain Burton writes that the slaves from the interior "are collected like ivories throughout the length and breadth of the land. They are driven down from the principal dépôts to the coast by the Arab and Wasawahili merchants, who afterwards sell them in retail at the great mart of Zanzibar." The Rev. Mr. Rebmann, also, whom I had an opportunity of consulting on the voyage from Zanzibar, spoke of slavery as a curse which was fast depopulating that side of the continent, barbarizing the residents on the coast, carrying de-olation and death far into the interior, and effectually neutralising every attempt to introduce Christianity into the country. An isolated residence of 14 years among the natives of the main land gives the weight of experience to Mr. Rebmann's opinions, and his conviction is, that whilst slavery continues to be so profitable a speculation to the ruling party, and such a fell scourge to the aboriginal tribes, the civilisation of Eastern Africa is impossible. Mr. Rebmann's readiness to supply me with any information on the state of affairs in that quarter calls for my sincere thanks, and I gladly avail myself of the same opportunity of testifying to the great respect with which his exemplary and self-denying character was spoken of, as well by his Highness Syud Majeed, as by all classes of the native population.

25. These statements are fully confirmed by the reports of Colonel Rigby, who has spared no pains to collect the most authentic information on the subject. Writing in March last, he says: "It appears that the tribes near the coast have been seized and sold to such an extent that the supply is exhausted. The M'do tribe, which some years ago furnished most of the slaves brought to Zanzibar, is said to be quite extinct. The slave trade is every year being carried further into the interior amongst tribes where it had been previously unknown. The great Mizan tribe, which occupied a vast extent of rich country, producing cotton in abundance, is now nearly exhausted; and districts which a few years ago were populous and productive, are now entirely destitute of inhabitants. This traffic is now carried on even beyond the Lake of Nyassa, and is depopulating the rich valleys inhabited by the Manganza tribe, where cotton is so abundant that it might soon

Appendix, No. 7. "become a great article of export, were the Portuguese to put a stop to the export of slaves. "Natives of India, who have resided many years at Kilwa, the chief slave mart on the coast, state, that it is only within the last 10 or 12 years that the Arabs go into the interior with large numbers of armed followers on purpose to procure slaves, and that whole districts are systematically hunted to procure them, the cupidity of the native chiefs being excited by the muskets, guns, powder, and cotton cloth, they receive from the Arabs in payment. They also state, that districts near Kilwa, extending to 10 or 12 days' journey, which a few years ago were thickly populated, are now entirely uninhabited; and an Arab, who has lately returned from Lake Nyassa, informed me that he travelled for 17 days through a country covered with ruined towns and villages, which a few years ago were inhabited by the Mijana and Mijan tribes, and where now no living soul is seen."

26. It would be an easy task to depict, from such facts, the atrocities which must be perpetrated in the interior by the slave hunters, and the cruelties and indignities suffered by their unwarlike and inoffensive prey. Such, indeed, appears to be the almost universal testimony to their character, and from personal observations at Zanzibar, I believe there can be no doubt on the subject. Unfortunately the miseries of the wretched negroes do not cease with their capture, and the trader is deemed lucky who succeeds in reaching the coast with only the loss of one-third of his booty. Colonel Rigby thus describes the arrival of a cargo of slaves at Zanzibar, and it may fairly be inferred that their treatment, while detained on the coast, is equally cruel and repulsive. Premising that the slaves of both sexes on first arrival are in a state of almost complete nudity, Colonel Rigby writes: "It is impossible to conceive a more revolting sight than the landing of the slaves coming from Kilwa; they are brought in open boats, packed so closely that they are exposed day and night to sun, wind, and rain, with only sufficient grain to keep them from starvation. If the boats meet with contrary winds, they generally run short of water, and thirst is added to the other miseries which these poor creatures endure. On arriving at Zanzibar they are frequently in the last stage of lingering starvation, and are unable to stand; some drop dead in the custom-house and in the streets, and others who are not likely to recover are left on board to die, in order that the master may avoid paying the duty which is levied on those landed. After being brought on the shore the slaves are kept some time in the dealers' houses until they gain flesh and strength, when they are sold by auction in the slave market. The Arab regards the slaves as cattle; not the slightest attention is paid to their sufferings; they are too cheap and numerous to be cared for. This year slaves have been sold in the interior for half a dollar a head, or five slaves given in exchange for a cow or bullock." It is true that the slaves on the island plantations lead a comparatively easy life, and that once in the possession of masters whose interest it is to care for them, they are for the most part humanely treated; but much as the after condition of slaves in Mahomedan countries has been vaunted of when compared with the lot of such as are taken to America, the antecedents and concomitants of the trade are as barbarous in the one case as in the other, and the degrading results to those who engage in it, and its ruinous consequences in retarding the civilisation of this part of the African continent, are not one whit behind the worst phases of West African slavery.

27. Turning in the next place to a consideration of the best remedy for this deplorable state of things, I beg to observe at the outset, that at present the traffic is carried on without any restriction whatever. The provisions of the Treaty whereby his late Highness engaged to prohibit, under the severest penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions, and their import into his possessions in Asia, and to issue orders to his officers to suppress such trade, are a dead letter, as the foregoing facts have abundantly proved. Moreover, I am unable to perceive the most distant prospect for the better without some radical reform in the system of the native Government, or without a more decided policy on our part. The Arabs to a man are more or less mixed up with the traffic; his Highness's chief advisers draw a profit from it; his own household, police, and army, are recruited principally from the same source; and the banyan, who farms the entire customs of the Zanzibar and African territories, deriving as he does two dollars per head on every imported slave, must be interested in the prosperity of the trade. Educated as he has been, it is not surprising that his Highness Synd Majeed cannot view the subject of slavery in any other light than that of a time-honoured institution, profitable in its immediate results, and permitted, if not actually sanctioned, by the precepts of his religion. Nevertheless, I have reason to believe his Highness, from political motives, is by no means personally indisposed to co-operate in suppressing the traffic, at all events to the extent contemplated by the Treaty, and Colonel Rigby has never had to complain of any reticency on his part when called upon to interfere in isolated cases of infraction brought to his notice. But with a population to govern wholly devoted to the trade, and an executive equally involved in it, Syud Majeed may be said to hold the reins of power by sufferance, and is therefore absolutely unable, without extraneous support, to carry out the provisions of the existing Treaty. If his officials on the coast connive at the exportation of slaves to foreign parts, he cannot supersede them by others who would not follow their example; and even at Zanzibar, under his immediate inspection, the same course is pursued, almost with impunity, despite any orders which he may issue to arrest it. As an instance in point, Colonel Rigby gives the case of a Turkish ~~Memdar~~ ^{Memdar}, who was placed in charge of a body of soldiers to patrol the streets at night, and who was subsequently known to have sold sixty-two children to the Northern Arabs while engaged on that duty.

28. Nevertheless,

28. Nevertheless, as by the Treaty of 1845, all ships of Her Majesty's Royal and Indian Navies have permission to seize and confiscate any vessels the property of His Highness, or of his subjects carrying on slave trade, excepting only such as are engaged in the transport of slaves from one port to another of his own African dominions between Kilwa on the south, and Lamoo on the north, we already possess a right to interfere, which, if adequately used, might be very effectual in arresting, if not in abolishing, a considerable branch of the trade. In the first place, most of the export to the northward might be suppressed. I confess that I heard with surprise Colonel Rigby's statement that four thousand slaves are still annually taken to the shores of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, there being generally a squadron at the latter place specially commissioned to stop such importation. It seems, moreover, a comparatively easy task, considering that almost all the chiefs of the gulf have formally given our ships the right of seizing them, to prevent any number of boats from landing a cargo of slaves if our measures were wisely concerted to that end; and yet I believe that very few captures have been made within the last ten or fifteen years. A small steamer, or two schooners, stationed between Rasel Hadd and Muzeira island, and a similar guard at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, during the season when the Arab boats usually return from their African trip (namely, from March to June), ought to suffice to render the chance of escape so precarious, that few boats would venture to carry slaves.

29. I am not aware that any relaxation has actually taken place in our efforts to arrest the traffic in the Persian Gulf; but in view of the number of slaves now reported to be conveyed in that direction, I venture to suggest the propriety of an inquiry being instituted into the subject.* Further, I believe that the efforts made would be much more effectual if each vessel was provided with an officer, conversant with the native languages, and capable to communicate directly with the persons found on board the coasting craft. At present that task is generally left to common native interpreters, who, as a class, are open to bribery, and by no means disposed to discriminate between the real crew and the slaves who are often falsely represented to belong to it. And, perhaps it would still further add to the efficiency of the Gulf squadron, and inspire the officers in command with greater zeal in the duty, if some more speedy mode of adjudicating on slave prizes could be adopted. I profess myself quite unable to pronounce a judgment on the legal bearings of this suggestion; nevertheless, I am fully persuaded that the delay which frequently occurs in such cases, sometimes extending over two years, is a great cause of discouragement to the officers of the Indian Navy engaged in suppressing the slave trade.

30. In addition to the above, I would strongly recommend the adoption of Colonel Rigby's suggestion that a steam gun-boat of light draught be stationed at Zanzibar during the months of January and February, and March, to act in concert with the cruisers in the Persian Gulf in arresting the northern slave trade. The principal duty of such a vessel would be to prevent the shipment of any slaves on board the boats of the Northern Arabs, and if possible to seize such as succeeded in obtaining a cargo before they finally left the African coast. The knowledge that such a vessel was at hand would deter many from embarking slaves; it would encourage the subjects and soldiers of His Highness, who are now represented as standing in great dread of the warlike Northern Arabs, to resist them; and it would tend to lessen the chances, which unfortunately accompany all our efforts to suppress the traffic, of the miserable victims being drowned by their captors in order to avoid seizure and confiscation. On this subject Colonel Rigby writes: "I am of opinion that all possible activity of British cruisers towards the Persian Gulf and the coast of Arabia will have little effect in checking these piratical tribes. Their boats being of light draught, and most of them propelled by oars in addition to sails, creep close to the shore where they know that it would be unsafe for ships to cruise; and if chased by a ship of war, they think no more of throwing slaves overboard than if they were brute animals."

31. But another advantage which would follow the presence of such a steam gun-boat at Zanzibar, would be to arrest the foreign trade in slaves as it has lately been carried on in square-rigged vessels by European agents. I have already described this branch of the traffic; and the seizure of a large slaver off the island of Monfeia by Her Majesty's steamer *Lyra*, and the arrival of another shortly after on the eastern side of Zanzibar, prove the necessity of some prompt measures being taken to put a stop to the growing system. It is further reported that five other foreign ships are to visit the coast during the present season to take in slaves. Were a British steamer stationed at Zanzibar it is highly probable that the attempt would not be made, or if made, that it would result in failure, or in the seizure of the contraband vessels.

32. But though considerable beneficial results would doubtless follow the energetic adoption of the measures above recommended, those measures, at best, deal rather with the details of the slave trade as prevailing at Zanzibar and its African dependencies, than with the most fruitful source of the evil. Viewing, indeed, the extent to which the permission to transport slaves between certain limits of his late Highness's dominions has been abused

* Perhaps it would be advisable that the vessels specially intended to suppress the slave trade should be detached from the Gulf squadron, and made a temporary separate command from March to June of each year.

Appendix, No. 7. abused to foster and supply an increasing external traffic, and believing that no efforts on our part will avail effectually to prevent it whilst that permission exists, I venture to suggest that an attempt should be made by the British Government to obtain a revision of the existing Treaty on the subject, whereby the present restricted legality of the trade should be rescinded, and all export and import of slaves within his Highness's territories be strictly prohibited.

33. It has already been pointed out that from nineteen to thirty thousand slaves are annually imported into Zanzibar. This number is immensely beyond the requirements of the Island, making every allowance for the fact noted by Colonel Rigby, that the females seldom bear many children; added to this large numbers are exported from Kilwa and other places on the coast to foreign ports as well as to the adjacent islands: but all ostensibly for the domestic supply. This transport is incessant, and is carried on in detail at all seasons of the year by numerous small boats plying between every point of the coast and the islands; inasmuch that whilst the present exemption lasts it is practically impossible to stop it. Every boat overhauled would have the ready excuse, which it would be difficult to dispute, that the slaves on board were destined for some place within the legalised limits; and in like manner it would require quite a fleet of vessels to guard against any export beyond those limits, whilst the same plea is available to escape the penalty of violating the Treaty. But let the ground for this pretext be entirely removed, and all transport of slaves beyond sea be declared illegal, and with no more than ordinary efforts on our part to see such a provision carried into effect, a blow would be struck against the slave trade in the African dependencies of Zanzibar which would go a great way to compass its eventual abolition.

34. There are several plausible objections, however, which may be urged against the measure here suggested. The stoppage of all importation of slaves from the coast, viewed in connection with the fact recorded by Colonel Rigby, that the females bear few offspring, might prove a serious drawback to the prosperity of Zanzibar, especially to the clove and other plantations on the Island. In reply to this it may fairly be premised that once convinced that all extraneous supply was cut off, the Arabs would take more care of the slaves already in their possession, and the result would be a correction of those causes which at present contribute to arrest the natural increase. Besides which, according to Colonel Rigby, "there is abundant free labour procurable at Zanzibar. The European and American merchants generally have several hundred labourers in their employ, cleaning gum copal, cowries, curing hide, &c.; and hundreds of Arabs from Hadramant come here, who work as porters, loading and unloading ships, &c.;" and further, there can be no doubt that many Africans would voluntarily seek a livelihood at Zanzibar if they were assured of enjoying their freedom there, and of receiving adequate remuneration for their labour.

35. The objection to the ulterior intervention suggested on the ground that it would be an unjustifiable interference with the religious privileges of the Arabs, scarcely deserves notice. The prohibition by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and by the Viceroy of Egypt, of any fresh importation of slaves within the Ottoman dominions, constitutes a satisfactory precedent more than sufficient to remove all scruples on that score. Besides which, it is notorious that the Arabs of these parts never affect to adduce the sanction of religion in defence of a system which is obviously pursued from no other motive than that of secular profit.

36. But a much more serious objection is the opposition on the part of the Arab population, and of other interested parties among his subjects, which the proposed measure would most probably occasion to the ruler at Zanzibar, whether that state be eventually re-joined to Muscat or continue independent. The system of Arab rule is so precarious, and the Sovereign, though in some respects absolute, has so little power to control the popular will when adverse to his wishes, that his acquiescence in such a measure might perchance imperil his authority. Luckily any opposition of this nature is really so contemptible, that one British man of war at Zanzibar would suffice, by the moral effect of its presence alone, to restrain the disaffected. Nevertheless, should the British Government eventually decide to adopt the suggestions now made, I would recommend that a period of three years be allowed before the prohibition is enforced. That would afford the Arabs abundant time to familiarize themselves with the necessity, give them ample space to make suitable provision against its consequences, and thereby tend to render them less inimical to the enactment when it finally came into operation.

37. When conferring with Syud Thoweynee at Muscat, I understood his Highness's remark, that this further restriction of the slave trade might be effected by the ruler at Zanzibar, "if backed by the influence of the British Government" (*vide* my Report on Muscat, No. 10, of 1860) to refer solely to a support such as is described in the foregoing paragraph; but I have now reason to believe that something beyond that was intended. I find, on examination, that about one-sixth of the entire amount for which the customs of Zanzibar and its African dependencies are farmed is derived from the duty levied on slaves. Hitherto the duty has been one dollar per head, but his Highness Syud Majeed has lately raised it to two dollars, in lieu of paying interest on the large debt which he owes to the banyan who farms the customs. Hence, if the present limitation were removed, and all transport and importation of slaves be declared illegal, the income of the State, which is derived almost exclusively from the customs, would suffer to the extent of from five to eight thousand

thousand pounds sterling per annum, a sum which, in the present condition of the Zanzibar finances, would reduce the State to hopeless insolvency. Appendix, No. 7.

38. This consideration forms, in my opinion, the most serious obstacle to the suggestion proposed, and it will be for Her Majesty's Government to decide on the propriety of removing it by offering to compensate the native Sovereign for the loss, on condition that he formally gave his consent to the measure through a revised Treaty, and sanctioned our further interference to see it carried into effect. I notice in the "Persian Gulf" Government selections, that on the occasion of our first proposals to the late Sultan Syud Saeed to abolish the slave trade, his Highness strongly objected, on the ground that "the traffic in slaves was a lucrative one, and without full compensation he could not dream of prohibiting it. However, he was informed in reply that Her Britannic Majesty was fully aware of the sacrifice he would make by the adoption of Her Majesty's views, and was ready, in the event of his Highness's concurrence in the abolition, to afford him any pecuniary concession in reason. This announcement had the desired effect." The discussion resulted in the existing Treaty of 1845. I am not aware what amount was to have been paid to his Highness; but I have been given to understand that he eventually declined to receive any remuneration on that score.

39. I adduce this extract to show that the idea suggested in the foregoing paragraph has already been entertained by Her Majesty's Government, and I certainly deem it advisable that a similar offer should accompany any further proposal to abolish the slave trade in the Zanzibar territories. Situated as Syud Majeed is at present, the dispute betwixt him and his brother regarding the succession not yet decided, I hesitated from prudential motives, and lest the proposal might be construed into a covert bribe, to obtain from him any explicit opinion on the subject; nevertheless I feel fully persuaded that nothing is needed beyond an insistent urgency, coupled with an offer of reasonable indemnification, and our support to insure them against any overt acts of their subjects in consequence of the concession, to obtain the consent either of Syud Thoweynee or Syud Majeed to the measure here suggested for the more effectual abolition of the slave trade. In my report from Muscat I communicated to Government what Syud Thoweynee's views were; and the following extract from statement of his claims and grievances, delivered to me by Syud Majeed at Zanzibar, sets forth what his Highness has been pleased, of his own accord, to write on the same subject. "Those commissioned by you have had some conversation with me about curtailing the limits within which it is still lawful to transport slaves, and also about abolishing the transport altogether, and whether any aid would be required thereto. I replied that I would never oppose the wishes of the high (British) Government; nevertheless your lordship is not ignorant of the condition of these countries, and you are doubtless aware that the prosperity of the subjects of these countries is derived chiefly from ploughing and sowing, and that such prosperity cannot be maintained without slaves. But your opinion is best." The objection is a natural one; but the drift of the quotation suffices to show that there is no chance of its being persevered in contrary to the wishes of the British Government.

40. I take it for granted that the offer originally made to the late Syud Saeed did not imply that our payment of an indemnity should be perpetual. In like manner I would limit any such offer in the present instance to a term of 10 or 20 years. The commerce of the country, and the revenues of the Zanzibar state, have quadrupled since the Treaty of 1845, and with prudent foresight and proper Government, a corresponding increase may be anticipated hereafter, more especially if the further abolition of slavery now proposed is carried into effect. Besides, there is no lesson which the Arabs need so much to learn as that of self-reliance; and the prospect of a perpetual subsidy from the British, would only tend to foster a moral weakness which is the bane of their native rulers.

41. In the event of Her Majesty's Government deeming it advisable to adopt the recommendations now made for the further suppression of slavery in the Zanzibar dominions, I trust that it will be found practicable to secure the co-operation of France and of the United States of America in the benevolent enterprise. Situated as the ruler of Zanzibar is, he is scrupulously anxious to be on the best terms with foreign powers generally, and when the views of the latter are not in unison, the want of accord begets a vacillating line of conduct on his part injurious to his own character as an independent sovereign, and prejudicial to all improvement among his people. More especially is unanimity desirable where the object is to suppress a popular institution which, though justly reprobated by all Christian powers, is regarded by the Arabs as a national privilege, and the chief source of their wealth and prosperity on the East Coast of Africa. In fact, were they not fully convinced of their own utter inability, unsupported by extraneous aid, to resist any such demand on our part, the Arabs would never consent to the imposition of any additional restrictions on the slave trade within their territories. Hence, although the knowledge that one or more of the foreign powers had declined to co-operate with the British to that end might not deter the Arabs from yielding to our exclusive solicitation, nevertheless it is easy to foresee that they would avail themselves of the countenance which that fact would seemingly afford them, to neutralise, as far as possible, our every effort for the more effectual abolition of slavery; nothing more, however, is required to frustrate such an evasive policy on their part, and to prevent the international misunderstandings which may be engendered thereby, than that the two Governments above named should join with Great Britain in decreasing the abolition of slavery on the East Coast of Africa. I presume that the consent of the United States

Appendix, No. 7. would be given without hesitation; but it is possible that the concurrence of France would be less readily obtained. Government is aware of the attempts made about two years ago by the French authorities at Bourbon to secure a large number of free labourers for that island from the east coast of Africa. The undertaking had obviously received the imperial sanction, but although the rules laid down for obtaining the required supply, and for regulating the after condition of the negroes, were unexceptionable; yet the result proved that practically, the scheme was a mere modification of the slave trade; Lieutenant Colonel Rigby's letters to Government, noted in the margin, with their several enclosures, place that conclusion beyond doubt; and it was probably owing to a similar conviction that his Imperial Majesty was induced to suspend, if not to rescind, the questionable "Free Labour Emigration Trade." It is to be hoped that the concession lately granted by the British Government for a limited number of Indian coolies to be engaged for Bourbon, will obviate a recurrence to the former system; but as a rumour is current to the contrary, I trust that Her Majesty's ministers will succeed in concluding a joint convention with France and the United States of America, whereby any such attempts will be provided against hereafter by a general law for the total suppression of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa. The extent to which it has long prevailed in that quarter, its frightful increase for some years past, the utter inadequacy of the measures hitherto taken to arrest it, the dire effects which have already followed it, and the still worse consequences which must inevitably result from a continuance of the nefarious traffic, these considerations combined constitute a claim on humanity which it is devoutly to be hoped will be duly recognised and vindicated by the concurrence of the three powers in some regularly organised effort for its speedy abolition.

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 No. 20 of 1859.

42. I attach in an appendix Lieutenant Colonel Rigby's replies to a series of questions which I submitted to him regarding the slave trade in the Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa, as also on its prevalence at Zanzibar and its African dependencies. I am pleased to perceive that his opinions on that subject generally, as well as on the best means for suppressing the traffic, are in unison with the views expressed in the foregoing pages.

43. In conclusion I have to acknowledge my great obligation to the Reverend Mr. Badger, associated with me in the Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, for his able assistance in drawing up this report, and I desire to bring the same to the favourable notice of Government.

I have, &c.
 (signed) *W. M. Coghlan*, Brigadier,
 In charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

APPENDIX.

[The Queries in this Paper were submitted to Lieutenant-Colonel *Rigby*, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at *Zanzibar*, by Brigadier *Coghlan*, on his transmitting Letter No. 12, dated Zanzibar, 1st October 1860. The Replies are by Lieutenant Colonel *Rigby*.]

Query 1.—ARE you aware to what extent the slave trade prevails in the Portuguese settlements, and in other parts of the eastern coast of Africa, not comprehended within the limits of the territory dependent on Zanzibar?

Answer.—I am aware that a very extensive and increasing export of slaves is carried on from the Portuguese territories in East Africa. I do not think that any export of slaves is carried on from any parts of the East Coast except those within the Portuguese and Zanzibar territories.

Query 2.—What parties are generally engaged in the traffic, and to what places are the slaves usually exported?

Answer.—At present the traffic is chiefly carried on by Spaniards in large fast-sailing American clipper-built ships, and the slaves are conveyed to Cuba or the coast of America. I believe that French ships are also engaged in this traffic. About two months ago a slave-ship named the "*Fornosa Estrella*" anchored in a bay on the east side of the Island of Zanzibar. She hoisted Spanish colours, but was consigned to the agent of Vidal Frères, who are French merchants at Marseilles. I understand that this vessel is known to be owned by Vidal Frères, and she has been since seen on the coast under the French flag.

Query 3.—Can you inform me what efforts are made to suppress this traffic, and with what success?

Answer.—By the Portuguese authorities, absolutely none. The Sultan of Zanzibar endeavours to check it as much as possible, but his ships are never ready for sea; and I do not think a single individual in his service would do anything to check the shipment of slaves unless urged to do so by representations made by the British Consul. The British cruisers employed on the east coast for the suppression of the slave traffic are utterly inadequate to the duty, and are not at all adapted to cope with the swift-sailing clipper-ships now employed in transporting slaves.

Query 4.—

Query 4.—Has the so-called French “Free-labour Emigration Trade” ceased to carry on its operations on the east coast of Africa? I have been given to understand that the scheme was abolished by order of the French Government; have you received any official intimation of the fact?

Answer.—For about a year past I have only heard of one French vessel being engaged in the so-called “Free Labour Emigration Trade.” When Her Majesty’s ship “Brisk” was at Johanna, in the month of December last, a French vessel arrived there filled with negroes which were being conveyed to La Réunion. Within the last few days I have received information that French vessels are again engaging labourers at Mozambique; but as it is only from native reports, I do not yet know whether the information is correct. I have not received any official intimation of the abolition by order of the French Government of the so-called “free-labour” system. I saw in the public journals the order of the French minister of Algeria and the Colonies, dated the 6th January 1859, directing the Governor of La Réunion to adopt the most stringent measures to forbid any engagement of labourers either on the eastern coast of Africa or at Madagascar, or at the Comoros, as well as the importation into La Réunion of immigrants from those places, or from Sainte Marie, Mayotte, and Nossi Beh.

Query 5.—What measures would you deem advisable and most effectual for arresting the trade in slaves on the line of coast above referred to?

Answer.—In the Portuguese territories on the east coast the export of slaves is carried on in direct violation of the treaties, and contrary to the laws of Portugal. Its causes are, the dishonesty of the officials and the demoralised state of the half-caste inhabitants; they set the laws and orders of the sovereign at defiance. I understand that the Home Government of Portugal affords no pecuniary support to its East African possessions, and that all the *employés*, including the Governor General, are dependent on the colonial treasury for their salaries. The treasury is under the control of a council, and the Governor General is very much dependent on it. The blighting rule of the Portuguese has almost entirely destroyed all legitimate trade, and they are therefore very much dependent on the slave trade for their support. Until an entire change of system takes place in the mode of government of these possessions, no hope exists of the slightest effort being made by the Portuguese colonial authorities to check the slave traffic, for they all connive at it, and receive large bribes for doing so. The position of the Governor General of the Mozambique with regard to this traffic is very similar to that of the Sultan of Zanzibar; both are surrounded by such unprincipled rogues, that however they may themselves desire to suppress it, they could not depend upon a single individual to carry out their orders or act honestly: thus, so far as regards the line of coast belonging to Portugal, the only hope of any successful efforts being made for the suppression of this cruel traffic rests upon the British cruisers. I state an opinion that I have heard expressed by many officers of Her Majesty’s navy employed on the east coast, that the class of vessels at present employed in cruising for slavers is not at all adapted to the service now that the slaves are generally exported in very swift sailing clipper-built ships. The proof of this is found in the fact that no square-rigged vessel engaged in the slave trade on the east coast of Africa has been captured by one of Her Majesty’s cruisers during six years preceding the last few months, since which Her Majesty’s ship “Lyra” has captured two, and the “Brisk” one slaver. As far as I am competent to form an opinion on such a subject, it appears to me that a few fast screw gun-boats of light draught, under active officers, would soon render the slave trade on this coast an unprofitable speculation, and lead to its abandonment by the Cuban Spaniards, who are chiefly engaged in it. Should this subject engage the attention of Her Majesty’s Government, I believe no officer is more capable of forming a correct opinion on the best means to be adopted than Commander Oldfield, R.N., commanding Her Majesty’s ship “Lyra,” who has had more experience and been more successful in making captures than any other officer.

With respect to the export of slaves from the Zanzibar dominions, daily experience more and more convinces me of the utter impotence of the Sultan to stop it, and that the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade entered into by the late Imâm and the British Government are now, and always have been, practically null and void. I have arrived at this opinion by slow conviction. When I first came to Zanzibar the consulate had been closed for 14 months, and every soul in the country was interested in concealing the slave traffic from me. Shortly after disturbances commenced which lasted for several months, and during this time I made every allowance for the many instances of illegal slave dealing which came to my notice. But subsequent experience has fully proved to me that a very extensive export of slaves from the Zanzibar territories still is, and always has been, carried on, not only in dhows and coasting craft to the Persian Gulf and coast of Arabia, but also in French and American built ships, under the Spanish and Mexican flags, to Cuba and other places. However desirous the Sultan may be to fulfil his treaty engagements and put a stop to this traffic, he has in reality no power. No one in his service will carry out any orders he may give on the subject. The public opinion of the Arabs is too strong in favour of it, and almost all the chief people in his dominions are either directly or indirectly concerned in it. Soon after my arrival in Zanzibar the French consul showed me the copy of a Despatch which he had forwarded to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he stated, as a proof of all the Zanzibar chiefs being in favour of the foreign slave trade, that Prince Abdool Wahâb, the younger brother of the Sultan, and Syed Suleiman bin Hamed, the wealthy Governor of the town of Zanzibar, had recently sold 300 slaves each to a French ship. I afterwards discovered that the ship to which he alluded was the “Pallas,”

Appendix, No. 7. and that there was no doubt his statement was correct so far as regards Syud Suleiman bin Hamed.

As a further proof how powerless the Sultan is to check this traffic, during the north-east monsoon, in March, I observed almost every morning whilst out in my boat dhows, belonging to the Persian Gulf and the coast of Arabia, sailing, or about to sail, full of slaves. Many of these were re-landed on my representations to his highness; and one day when he paid me a visit, accompanied by all the principal chiefs, I introduced the subject, and urged his highness to take more vigorous measures to stop this illegal traffic.

I told his highness that I had never seen a boat from any of his ships visiting these dhows prior to their quitting the harbour, and suggested that he should direct guard-boats to row round in turns by day and night. Upon this his highness called the commander of his new corvette, "Iskunder Shah," and gave him strict orders to do so in turns with boats from his other ships. A few days after the commander, who had been educated in England, called on me, and stated that on pulling alongside a dhow that morning which was full of slaves, the Arabs on board had pelted him with billets of wood, that he then returned to the shore and obtained 30 Belooch soldiers, and on returning with them the crew of the dhow fired on his boat, and that during the confusion which ensued the boat was upset, and all on board it swam on shore, and that he had had enough of visiting slave dhows, and should not do so again.

I think the only way to put a stop to the foreign slave trade in the Zanzibar dominions, is to keep a light screw-gunboat stationed at Zanzibar to watch the coast as far as Cape Delgado to the south and Lamoo on the north. Information of slavers being on the coast generally reaches the British consulate by some means, and, as in the recent case of Her Majesty's ship "Lyra," a light gunboat can slip out at any hour and effect their capture.

Query 6. Are you aware of any modifications having been made in our Treaty with the late Imâm for the suppression of slavery, dated 2nd October 1845:

Answer. I am not.

Query 7. That Treaty sanctions the transport of slaves (tantamount to the traffic) from one port to another of the late Imâm's African territories, between Lamoo on the north and Kilwa on the south, including the Islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Moufea.

It is evident, however, that the traffic is still carried on to a large extent in the said territories beyond those boundaries; and, further, it is equally clear from your reports lately submitted to Government, that whereas the Treaty of 1845 contemplated the restriction of the trade to a limited space within the dominions of the late Imâm, several places within that district continue to supply large numbers of slaves for foreign exportation. Thus, in your letter to Government, No. 108 of 1859, you report that two years back the brig "Venus," under Spanish colours, succeeded in embarking 500 slaves from the port of Lamoo. Also, that not long since 600 slaves were taken from Zanzibar in the French ship "Pallas," and again, that 424 were exported from Kilwa. Further, it would appear from your letter, No. 23 of 1860, that the trade is still carried on clandestinely at Zanzibar to a considerable extent.

Your reports on the prevalence of the slave trade, foreign as well as domestic, throughout the African territories of the late Imâm, are fully confirmed by the testimony of Dr. Krapf and Captain Burton, as will be seen by the following quotations:—

Dr. Krapf states,

"In 1853, I saw 20 Arab ships at Mukdeesha engaged in smuggling slaves to Arabia."

"To the south of the Pangani is the territory of the Wasegua tribe, and the great centre of the slave trade."

"Among these tribes [the Wasegua] the slave trade has hitherto flourished to a frightful extent, chiefly owing to the encouragement of the Arabs of Zanzibar."

"From 10,000 to 12,000 slaves are said to pass yearly through Kilwa on their way to the various ports of the Sowahili coast, and to Arabia."

"Although the Sultan of Zanzibar has prohibited the slave trade with Arabia, yet many slave ships proceed there annually, starting from Kilwa, and sailing round Zanzibar, on the eastern side of the island, to evade the Sultan's police, and slaves are often smuggled to Arabia by the aid of a declaration that they are sailors."

Captain Burton states that in East Africa "there are two forms of this traffic, the export and the internal trade. For the former, slaves are collected like ivories throughout the length and breadth of the land. They are driven down from the principal depôts

* * * * * to the coast by the Arabs and Wasawahili merchants, who afterwards sell them in retail at the great mart of Zanzibar."

The same gentleman, on the authority of Colonel Hamerton, computes the average yearly import of slaves into Zanzibar at 14,000, the extremes being 9,000 and 20,000.

Now, as the export of slaves from the late Imâm's African dominions is prohibited under the severest penalties, can you inform me how the prohibition is evaded? Could the trade be carried on without the connivance of the local authorities on the coast, and elsewhere? If not, does his highness, the ruler of Zanzibar, take any measures to arrest it, by punishing such of his officers as are known to countenance it? With regard to the case of the "Venus," referred to in your letter above quoted, Mr. McLeod, in his "Travels in Eastern Africa,"

"Africa," states that on hearing how she had succeeded in obtaining a cargo of slaves at Lamoo, "the young Imâm of Muskat sent for the Governor of that place to give an explanation of the affair, with which he appeared satisfied, for he returned him to his government in one of his ships of war." Can you inform me whether this is a true statement of the case, and on what plea the Governor of Lamoo excused himself?

However, it is evident from the foregoing testimonies, that the means hitherto adopted to suppress this traffic have signally failed; and, further, that one great cause of its prevalence is attributable to the article in the Treaty of 1845, which legalises the transport of slaves within certain limits of the late Imâm's African territories.

Under this conviction I am induced to ask your opinion on the expediency of our seeking a revision of the existing treaty, whereby the present limited immunity should be wholly abolished, and the transport of slaves between any ports of the late Imâm's territories be altogether prohibited.

It appears to me that such a law, coupled with your suggestion that a steam gun-boat of light draught should be stationed at Zanzibar, for several months in the year, to watch the coast, would be the most effectual means of suppressing the traffic in that quarter.

Willing as the ruler at Zanzibar might be, at the solicitation of the British Government to sanction such a revision of the treaty, it is not improbable that the concession might create serious opposition on the part of his people, and perhaps endanger his authority. Hence, before making any attempt to bring the suggestion to the notice of Syud Majeed, I shall await your opinion of its feasibility.

Answer. The prohibition to export slaves to foreign countries from the late Imâm's African dominions is evaded, as I have already stated, by the whole of the Arab population being in favour of it, and by the Sultan not having a single individual in his service who would shrink from taking bribes to connive at it.

With regard to the Spanish ship "Venus," which I reported to Government as having taken 500 slaves from the port of Lamoo, I was afterwards informed by a Sawahili, by name Khameis bin Wuttanee, who was agent at Zanzibar for the Government of Mauritius before the establishment of the British Consulate, that he was at Lamoo at the time, and that the number of slaves embarked in the "Venus" was 700; also that the Governor of Lamoo, by name Ali bin Nassir, remonstrated against their being shipped; but as the "Venus" had a strong crew, well armed, the few Belooch soldiers at the disposal of the Governor were afraid to act. The customs master informs me that Ali bin Nassir was, in consequence, summoned to Zanzibar to account for his conduct, and that he did not return to Lamoo, and has since resided at Mombassa, where he is at present.

I consider that the statements of Mr. McLeod, late Her Majesty's consul at Mozambique, of Dr. Krapf, and of Captain Burton, on the authority of the late Colonel Hamerton, relative to the slave traffic on the East Coast of Africa, to be substantially correct. The export of slaves from the port of Kilwa has greatly increased since the date of Dr. Krapf's visit.

I have long anxiously considered the expediency and possibility of obtaining a revision of the existing treaties, whereby the transport of slaves between any parts of the late Imâm's territories should be altogether prohibited. The treaties for its suppression have been constantly evaded from the time they were made, and they will continue to be so until the transport from every part of the coast is entirely prohibited. I do not think that the Arabs of Zanzibar can plead any right to go into the interior of Africa, and steal men for the purpose of selling them into slavery. The cause of humanity demands that this atrocious system, which is every year on the increase, and which is rendering vast and fertile districts of Africa uninhabited wastes, should, if possible, cease. Its abolition would doubtless cause a great deal of ill-feeling on the part of the Zanzibar Arabs, until they became reconciled to the change, and it would be a very invidious task for the British Government to undertake alone. If the French and United States Governments could be induced to co-operate with the British Government in putting a stop to the traffic in slaves on the east coast, as they already have done the West Coast of Africa, it would prove to the Arabs that the Christian nations are animated with equal sentiments of humanity, and they would submit to the change as inevitable.

In a Despatch to the address of the late Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton, dated 18th December 1846, Viscount Palmerston gives directions as follows: "You will take every opportunity of impressing upon these Arabs that the nations of Europe are destined to put an end to the African slave trade, and that Great Britain is the main instrument, in the hands of Providence, for the accomplishment of this purpose; that it is vain for these Arabs to endeavour to resist the consummation of that which is written in the book of fate; and that they ought to bow to superior power, to leave off a pursuit which is doomed to annihilation, and a perseverance in which will only involve them in pecuniary losses, and in various other evils; and that they should hasten to betake themselves to the cultivation of their soil, and to lawful and innocent commerce."

I think that the abolition of the traffic should be enforced on these grounds. Now that the transport of African slaves by sea is prohibited in every country in the world, except the state of Zanzibar, I see no reason why the Arabs should be permitted to perpetuate a system which entails such great evils. The recent emancipation of upwards of 5,500 slaves in the Zanzibar dominions, who were in the possession of British Indian subjects, has tended very much to shake the faith of the Arabs in the continuation of slavery, and prepared them to expect its prohibition. When conversing on the subject with Arabs, I have always told them that I do not think the Governments of Europe would permit its continuance, were the evils and atrocities connected with it more generally known.

Appendix, No. 7. The returns of the Zanzibar custom house show the import of slaves during the year 1859 to have amounted to 19,000. The duty levied is now two dollars per head; so that the loss the abolition of the traffic would cause to the revenue of the Sultan would amount to about 38,000 crowns, or 8,500 *l.* sterling per annum.

(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Lieut. Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul, Zanzibar.

British Consulate, Zanzibar,
5 October 1860.

RESOLUTION by the Honourable Board, dated the 28th March 1861.

Resolved,

BRIGADIER COGHLAN sent a copy of this interesting report to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India before he sent the original to this Government. The subjects to which Brigadier Coghlan has drawn attention involve questions which are for the decision of Her Majesty's Government, and the Honourable the Governor in Council feels confident that the complete and lucid statement submitted by that officer will obtain an earnest consideration. It is merely as a matter of form that this Government records any observations on this report.

2. The Honourable the Governor in Council is certain that the details furnished by Brigadier Coghlan, as to the extent to which the slave trade is carried on, on the east coast of Africa, will convince the British Government, which has ever been the chief instrument by which Providence has curbed this inhuman traffic, that its work is not yet completed, and that a great evil has still to be encountered and subdued.

3. Brigadier Coghlan places one fact prominently before the British Government, that however much the ruler of Zanzibar may be disposed to fall in with the views of modern civilization on the subject of the slave trade, he is almost entirely unable to resist the influences around him. It is too much to expect a chief with a disputed title, who must therefore endeavour to conciliate his subjects, sternly to oppose a system from which he derives a considerable portion of his revenue, when every man around him is a slave crimp or a slave broker. Advice and remonstrance are excellent instruments for good, in proper times and places, but they are of singular feebleness, when addressed to one in the helpless position of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British Government must be prepared to support the Sultan by its ships and by its money, the strengthening of the Cape fleet, and the frequent extension of its surveillance to Zanzibar and the adjacent African coast, the stationing of gun-boats at Zanzibar, and the grant of compensation to the Sultan for the revenue he will sacrifice, are measures which it would be presumptuous in this Government to advocate. The Honourable the Governor in Council, cannot for a moment doubt that if the horrors described by an officer so cautious as Brigadier Coghlan, were made known to the British nation, not a voice would be raised against so small an acknowledgment to Zanzibar as 8,500 *l.* per annum, for the attainment of so noble an object as the extinction of the East African slave trade.

5. The Honourable the Governor in Council, fully concurs with Brigadier Coghlan as to the propriety of obtaining a revision of the treaty, by which all export and import of slaves within the Zanzibar dominions should be prohibited. The permission which now exists for the transport of slaves from one portion of Her Majesty's territories to another, in a great measure deprives the restrictions on the trade of all their value.

6. With respect to the Persian Gulf, the Honourable the Governor in Council believes that the defect in the action of the squadron for the suppression of the slave trade, has been that operations have been carried on too much within the Gulf, instead of at the mouth, and that the proper time for operations has not been chosen with sufficient care. The squadron is small, and many duties are imposed on it, and the Honourable the Governor in Council fears that the Resident detaches vessels from it on political missions, at the time when every vessel that can be spared should be on the look out for slavers returning from Africa at the mouth of the Gulf. The Honourable the Governor in Council will not, however, at present issue orders on this subject, as from a recent telegram, it would appear that Her Majesty's Government has determined to relieve the Indian navy from the duty of suppressing the slave trade. His Excellency in Council has no doubt that the evil, though now it appears so formidable, would in a very few years succumb to the vigorous exertions of an organisation directed expressly against it, under the guidance of a carefully selected officer.

7. The Honourable the Governor in Council concurs with Brigadier Coghlan in considering that if the prohibition of transport of slaves from one portion of the Zanzibar dominions to another is insisted on, three years' warning should be given before the prohibition is enforced.

28 March 1861.

(signed) *G. Clerk*,
H. W. Reeves,
W. E. Frère.

Appendix, No. 8.

PAPERS RELATING TO BRITISH ARBITRATION BETWEEN
MUSCAT AND ZANZIBAR.

Appendix, No. 8.

(No. 67 of 1860.—Secret Department.)

From *H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, Political Resident at Aden; dated 1st March 1860.*

Sir,

It being of the utmost consequence to our maritime interests that an impartial officer should be appointed to inquire into, and report on, the merits of a dispute existing between his Highness Syud Thoweynee, the ruler of Muscat, and his Highness Syud Majeed, the ruler of Zanzibar, I am directed to intimate to you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council has been pleased to entrust to you this important duty.

2. With this view, I am desired to forward to you the accompanying copies of proceedings, which will place you in possession of the grounds of dispute between the parties; the political occurrences which have arisen out of them; and the measures adopted by this Government for effecting an adjustment of the matters at issue.

3. You will perceive from these proceedings that both the rulers have agreed to accept an arbitration by the Governor General between them, and that the formal consent of the ruler of Muscat has been obtained to abide by the decision of that authority.

4. To facilitate your inquiries, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council considers it desirable that Mr. Rassam should be deputed to Muscat to act as British Agent at that place. In announcing this appointment, I am desired to intimate that it is only temporary, and that the question of remuneration to that officer will be settled hereafter. In the meantime Mr. Rassam will be permitted to draw, in addition to his salary of rupees (300) three hundred per mensem as your assistant, rupees (150) one hundred and fifty per mensem as British agent, and a further sum of rupees (50) fifty per mensem for a writer and boat hire.

5. With Colonel Rigby at Zanzibar and Mr. Rassam at Muscat, and the aid of telegraphic communication with the latter officer, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council doubts not that you will be able to complete the duty entrusted to you in a short time.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Anderson,*
Secretary to Government.

(No. 46 of 1860.—Secret Department.)

(No. 180 of 1860.)

From Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan, Political Resident and Commandant, Aden, to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay; dated 3rd April 1860.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. 67 of 1860, in the Secret Department), apprising me that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council had been pleased to appoint me to the duty of examining into, and reporting on, the merits of a dispute existing between Syud Thoweynee, of Muscat, and Syud Majeed, of Zanzibar.

2. A careful perusal of the correspondence which accompanied the letter under reply has suggested a difficulty to my mind, in connection with the investigation thus entrusted to me, which I deemed it important to submit without delay for authoritative solution.

3. I cannot better describe the nature of this difficulty than by quoting several passages from the correspondence referred to.

4. In the opening letter from the British Agent at Zanzibar, dated 17th February (No. 19 of 1859), he evidently regards Syud Majeed as the *de jure* as well as the *de facto* sovereign of that island and its African dependencies. Speaking of the causes which led Syud Thoweynee to undertake hostilities against the territories of Zanzibar, he asserts the claim of Syud Majeed to the absolute sovereignty of those possessions in these words:—"After he (Majeed) has ruled them with undisputed right since his father's death." In the Resolution of the Honourable Board on this letter, dated 22nd April 1859, the basis for an arrangement is suggested: "If the ruler of Muscat could be induced to abandon his pretensions on receiving an annual subsidy from his brother."

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5. Further:

Appendix, No. 8.

5. Further: in a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 27th July 1859, it is ordered that Syud Thoweynee should be informed "that it recognises no pretension on his part to be the superior or suzerain of Syud Majeed." And again, in the same letter, referring to the payment of forty thousand (40,000) crowns annually as the possible basis of an amicable arrangement between the two brothers, it is added, "But the arrangement should not bear the character of a subsidy from a subordinate Government to a superior one."

6. Captain Cruttenden, who was commissioned to impart the foregoing decision to Syud Thoweynee, in his letter (No. 3 of 1859), thus describes the effect which it produced on that ruler, "His being told by me, in the words of his Excellency the Governor General that he was in no way recognised as his brother's superior or suzerain, appeared to cause him both pain and annoyance, as he feels that, on this point, the opinion of his Excellency is already formed, and that he cannot hope to see it altered after the arbitration has been completed." Again, "Now that Syud Thoweynee knows the opinion of his Excellency the Governor General as to his having no authority over his brother, he fears that the result of any arbitration must be fatal to his ambitious views;" and again, "his two principal claims against his brother, namely, his suzerainty over him, and his right to an annual payment, have already been decided by his Excellency." The latter appears to be Captain Cruttenden's own inference from the terms of the decision which he was ordered to communicate to the Ruler of Muscat.

7. Further, in a Resolution of the Honourable Board, dated 19th November 1859, the following passage occurs: "Syud Majeed will act wisely, if he obtain a recognition of his own rights from Syud Thoweynee, by the payment of an annual subsidy, not a tribute, of forty thousand (40,000) crowns."

8. The tenor of the foregoing extracts, unmodified as it is by any subsequent decision of Government, will be sufficiently obvious to enable his Lordship in Council to appreciate the difficulty which it has suggested to my mind, and which I venture to submit for solution in the form of an inquiry. In attempting to carry out the instructions of Government in this matter, am I to consider the claims of Syud Thoweynee to the sovereignty of Zanzibar, and to the annual payment of tribute by his brother, as points definitively disposed of by the foregoing Resolutions of Government? The language of those Resolutions is, in some cases, so plain and authoritative, that I should hardly hold myself excused for propounding such a question, were it not that the decisions conveyed thereby may be intended to apply no further than *pending the arbitration, and until the final award of the Governor General has been made.*

9. His Lordship in Council will readily perceive that definite instructions on this head are indispensably necessary for my guidance in executing the commission which has been entrusted to me. In the former case, namely, that of the two points above named being already decided on, the basis of an accommodation between the two brothers must be sought for on some other ground which, on inquiry, may be deemed best calculated to secure the permanent welfare of the separated States, and to prevent any future misunderstanding between their respective rulers.

10. Government has repeatedly suggested that the payment of forty thousand (40,000) crowns as a subsidy from Syud Majeed to Syud Thoweynee might form the basis for such adjustment of existing differences. Information obtained on the spot may enable me to report favourably or otherwise on this point. At the same time, I cannot withhold expressing my apprehensions, formed from a perusal of the past correspondence, coupled with the opinions of several intelligent Arabs well acquainted with the affairs of the Imâmship, that unless Syud Thoweynee is guaranteed in the sovereignty of the late Imâm's Arabian possessions, the severance of Zanzibar from Muscat will raise up a host of competitors for the supremacy in that quarter, and be the signal for civil war in Oman.

11. With such contingencies in prospect, it is important that I should be apprised whether the ultimate decision of Government is likely to be influenced by these or similar considerations; and if not, to what extent it is prepared to afford its countenance to Syud Thoweynee in the exercise of his sovereignty over the Arabian possessions of the late Imâm. And lastly, whether, in order to prevent, as far as may be, the apprehended disasters (should the severance of Zanzibar from Muscat be decided on), I may seek interviews with the most influential chiefs, and use my best efforts, in a friendly spirit, to ensure their future tranquillity.

12. On the other hand, if it is the design of Government that the claims of Syud Thoweynee to the suzerainty of Zanzibar, and to the payment of tribute by his brother, the present ruler of that island and its African dependencies, should be regarded as open questions to be settled hereafter by the arbitrement of the Governor General, it will be my duty to institute inquiries, and to obtain reliable opinions with regard to the succession in the Imâmship, such as may enable his Lordship the Viceroy to decide between the contending opinions now prevailing on that subject, and to apportion to the rival claimants what is justly due to each.

13. It may also be practicable, by discreet and amicable conferences with the different members of the late Imâm's family, and with the principal Arab chiefs at Muscat, and Zanzibar,

Zanzibar, to induce them to establish a standing rule as to the right of succession either to the separate or the conjoined States. Such a law, enacted by general consent of the representatives of the late Imâm's family, and of the more influential tribes, might be an effectual means of preventing in future those intestine broils which have hitherto attended the demise of every successive Imâm of Oman. It will be for the Government to decide whether any such attempt should be comprised within the scope of my present commission.

14. I have been led to regard some definite instructions on the foregoing points as so indispensable to the successful accomplishment of the duty lately entrusted to me, that, in order to save time, I had purposed seeking a personal interview with his Lordship in Council before proceeding to Zanzibar. As there was no steamer available on the station to take Mr. Rassam to Muscat, it was my intention, on the arrival of a steamer from Bombay, to accompany him thither, and formally to introduce him to Syud Thoweynee as the agent specially appointed to convey to him the assurance that the British Government would be impartial in its judgment, and otherwise to influence his Highness to rely implicitly on the justice of its mediation.

15. Besides the insight which such a visit, however short, would give me into the affairs of Muscat, I deemed that, without raising any unwarrantable expectations in the mind of Syud Thoweynee, the official courtesy might tend to counteract the impression which he has evidently received, that the Government has already decided against him, and thereby prepare him to accept, in a proper spirit, the final result of the Governor General's arbitration. Moreover, the presence of the Reverend Mr. Badger with me (should that gentleman be able to accompany me) would be an additional assurance to him that the investigation to be instituted at Zanzibar would be carried on through an independent medium.

16. After a day or two spent at Muscat in effecting these objects, I contemplated proceeding direct to Bombay for the purpose of consulting his Lordship in Council on what I was to consider as the basis of my ulterior inquiries. As the south-west monsoon approaches, the voyage from Bombay to Zanzibar will, I believe, be more feasible than from Muscat or Aden. Even time, therefore may be saved by this course; and in view of the importance of my being made acquainted with the opinion of Government on the several points set forth in this letter, I beg that I may be informed, either by telegraph or by the steamer which is to convey me from Aden, whether his Lordship in Council approves of the arrangement above suggested.

17. But considering that the fair season is rapidly passing away, and that the Government seems for the moment hard pressed for ships, I venture to suggest further, whether, in the expectation that a steamer will be available for the Zanzibar Commission a fortnight or three weeks hence, I may be permitted to proceed to Bombay, accompanied by the gentlemen associated with me, by the next Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer which will leave Aden about the 18th of this month. After consulting with his Lordship in Council the Commission might proceed direct for Muscat and Zanzibar in the Government steamer which, by that time, may be available for the purpose at Bombay. You will, perhaps, be good enough to inform me, by electric telegraph, whether I am authorised to adopt this course.

18. On the other hand, if it is considered that detailed and definite instructions on the points submitted for consideration may be satisfactorily conveyed by telegraph either to Aden or to Muscat, and that the season will not be so far advanced as to render the voyage from either of those places to Zanzibar impracticable, the necessity for my proceeding to Bombay will thereby be obviated.

19. Trusting that the emergent consideration attached to the case on hand will be deemed an ample apology for the foregoing suggestions,

I have &c.
(signed) *W. M. Coghlan*, Brigadier,
Political Resident and Commandant.

Resolution by the Honourable Board (Bombay), dated the 16th April 1860.

Resolved, That the Political Resident be informed that this Government unreservedly grants to him authority to investigate and report for the information of the Supreme Government, on the relative positions of the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar. It will be the duty of the Political Resident to ascertain what are the exact rights of the one in relation to the other, by religious law, family custom, specific instrument, or force of circumstances. Having arrived at a conclusion on this question, it will remain for the Political Resident to consider whether it is actually necessary that exact rights should be recognised, whether peace and tranquillity may not more effectually be secured by inducing the antagonist parties to make mutual concessions, whether judicious compromise will not be of more real benefit to the interests of all concerned, both rulers and subjects, than any rigid

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rigid adherence to pretensions based on exact rights. In other words, it will be for the Political Resident to ascertain what is right and what is expedient, and whether the parties can be induced partially to concede the one for the purpose of permanently securing the other.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council considers that the whole question is open to the investigation and discussion of the political resident: that it is the sole desire of the Supreme Government to administer justice between the contending parties, and that that high authority will gladly avail itself of any facts or considerations which Brigadier Coghlan may be able to contribute towards the solution of existing complications.

The question of guaranteeing to the Imam his Arabian possessions is one on which the Right Honourable the Governor in Council would wish to be favoured with the Political Resident's opinion. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council is not aware whether any necessity exists for the grant of such guarantee, but the Political Resident may be requested to examine and report on the general question, and also on the specific political relation of Syud Toorkee, the ruler of Sohar (who, it is believed, has agreed to transfer his territory to the ruler of the Wahabees) to his brother the Imâm. The correspondence on the latter subject may be forwarded to the political resident.

With respect to the Political Resident's movements, that officer will learn from another letter that the Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy is unable at present to place a vessel at Brigadier Coghlan's disposal to enable him to visit Zanzibar before the monsoon. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council thinks, then, that the Political Resident should now proceed with Mr. Rassam and the Reverend Mr. Badger to Muscat, and commence his inquiries there on the two complications, that between Muscat and Zanzibar, and that between Muscat and Sohar.

The duty to be performed is one of great labour and responsibility, but the Right Honourable the Governor in Council feels that it could be entrusted to no more judicious agency than that of Brigadier Coghlan.

(signed) *Elphinstone.*
H. W. Reeves.
W. E. Frere.

RESOLUTION by the Honourable Board, dated the 14th May 1860.

Resolved—The Reverend Mr. Badger and Mr. H. Rassam having arrived in Bombay by the last mail, the question is now presented of how Brigadier Coghlan shall be enabled to commence his investigation of the disputes between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar. The only vessel of the Indian Navy which is now, or will immediately be available, is the "Punjaub." The Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy has pointed out the great expense which would be incurred in sending this vessel to Zanzibar, and his opinion has received the concurrence of Government. But the Honourable the Governor in Council is disposed, on account of the urgent necessity which exists for obtaining an arrangement of the dispute, to treat the subject as one of special importance, and to consider that the Indian Navy steamer "Punjaub" should be detached for the duty of conveying Brigadier Coghlan on his mission. The course which the Honourable the Governor in Council thinks should be adopted is the following: On the return of the "Punjaub" to Bombay, Brigadier Coghlan, with his suite, should proceed in her to Muscat. He should then introduce Mr. Rassam to his Highness the Imâm as the future agent of the British Government; and should inform his Highness that he has himself been deputed to investigate the claim of Muscat to sovereignty over Zanzibar. It is of great importance that the Commissioner should visit Muscat before he visits Zanzibar, in order that the impression which now exists (that the British Government is prejudiced in favour of the pretensions of Syud Majeed to complete independence of Muscat) may be removed. The Commissioner can receive such proofs as the ruler of Muscat may be able to submit; he can also confer with him as to the adoption of some effective measures for the prevention of the slave trade; and finally, endeavour to procure some settlement of the dispute with Sohar. It is very probable that all these duties will not occupy the Commissioner for more than three weeks, and by the time of his return to Bombay the Government may have a smaller steamer than the "Punjaub" at its disposal, in which he can proceed to Zanzibar. But the Honourable the Governor in Council is so fully impressed with the important character of the complications which have arisen in connection with the succession to the sovereignty of Zanzibar, that he is clearly of opinion no time should be lost in enabling Brigadier Coghlan to investigate and submit the whole case, through this Government, to the Government of India for final settlement.

14 May 1860.

(signed) *G. Clerk.*
H. W. Reeves.
W. E. Frere.

(No. 165 of 1860.—Secret Department.)

From *H. L. Anderson, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Brigadier Coghlan, Resident at Aden.*

Sir,

Bombay, 29 May 1860.

I AM directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you copies of the additional correspondence* possessed by this Government relative to the affairs of Muscat and Zanzibar.

* Forwarded with Secret Despatch from this Government, dated the 7th June, No. 24 of 1860.

I also enclose a letter from the Honourable the Governor in Council to the address of Syud Thoweynee of Muscat, accrediting you to his Highness as charged with the duty of inquiring into the disputes pending between the actual rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar, and also of installing Mr. Hormuzd Rassam as British agent at the former place, until further orders.

The Honourable the Governor in Council desires me to state that the annexed translation of the letter referred to, will furnish you with a general idea of the principles on which your inquiries are to be based, as also of the objects contemplated by the Right Honourable the Governor General, in acceding to the request of the contending parties to mediate between them by arbitration.

Those objects have respect mainly to securing the permanent peace, prosperity, and independence of the territories comprehended within the dominions of the late Imaum Syud Saeed, and to the maintenance of that legitimate influence therein to which our long friendly relations with the Muscat state fairly entitle the British Government.

The Honourable the Governor in Council considers it superfluous to add any further instructions for your guidance in conducting this investigation; but your experience will enable you to estimate fairly the value of the rival claims to the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its dependencies, and to suggest such an adjustment of existing disputes on that important point, as may be satisfactory to both parties, most conducive to the general welfare of the people and tribes hitherto subject to the Imâmship of Muscat, and withal, best calculated to maintain peace and to ensure the furtherance of our just interests in Oman, and along the Eastern Coast of Africa, dependent on Zanzibar. You are accordingly requested to associate with the report of your inquiries whatever arrangement you may deem most effectual towards the attainment of those desirable results, stating explicitly and in detail the ground on which your opinions are formed.

The Honourable the Governor in Council has to regret that the latest intelligence received *viâ* the Persian Gulf represents Syud Toorkee of Sohar, as engaged in negotiations for eventually disposing of that principality to the Ameer of the Wahabees. Considering that Syud Toorkee's rule over Sohar during the lifetime of his father, the late Imâm, was merely that of a local governor appointed to administer the affairs of that province in behalf of the souzerain, it is fairly questionable whether he possesses any valid right to be independent of Muscat, much less to effect such a transfer of Sohar as he is reported to be meditating.

It is to be presumed that Syud Toorkee rests his claim on grounds analagous to those put forward by Syud Majeed as entitling him to the sovereignty of Zanzibar, and as these latter are to be made the subject of investigation in order to the final arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General, it is most desirable that the district of Sohar should not be alineated until his Lordship's decision has been made. Moreover, such an alineation might endanger the security of Muscat and its other dependencies, and the ascendancy of the Wahabees would inevitably be followed by the most disastrous results throughout Oman, destructive alike of the peace of that province, and of the maritime security of the Persian Gulf.

On arriving at Muscat you will be able to ascertain what Syud Toorkee's real intentions are in this respect, and you are hereby authorised by the Honourable the Governor in Council, to take such steps as you may deem most effectual for arresting the projected transfer of Sohar to the Wahabees. A letter of counsel and expostulation may suffice; but in case of persistency, you will make known to that chief that the British Government will regard with displeasure any course of action on his part which threatens to disturb the present peace, and to involve the country of Oman in civil war and bloodshed.

Frequent opportunities will be afforded you during the existence of the Commission for inquiring into the actual state of the slave trade on the Eastern Coast of Africa, and the knowledge thus acquired will enable you to suggest some more effectual means for its extirpation than those now in force. The extent to which it is still carried on in that quarter, shows that a revision of the existing treaties with the late Imaum is imperatively called for, before this nefarious traffic can be suppressed; but the Honourable the Governor in Council is of opinion that until the question relative to the sovereignty of Zanzibar has been finally settled by the arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General, it is not desirable that you should initiate any measures to that effect. Moreover, recent proceedings on the coast indicated, render it more and more obvious to the Honourable the Governor in Council that any separate treaty on our part for the suppression of

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the slave trade in that quarter, might lose much of its efficacy through the jealousy of foreign Powers; whereas, by inducing those Powers to join with us in a general scheme to that end, no such obstacles would arise, and the benevolent object in view might be realised. It will be for Her Majesty's Home Government to decide whether the coalition here suggested is practicable, and, if not, to direct what ulterior measures on our part should be adopted for rendering more effectual the provisions of existing treaties. In the meantime, you will have opportunities during your mission for eliciting further information on all particulars of the slave trade, and report the same direct to the Secretary of State for India, as well as to this Government, together with any recommendations for its suppression, which from acquired local experience, you may deem practicable and efficacious.

Bombay Castle, 29 May 1860.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. L. Anderson,*
Acting Chief Secretary.

(Persian Department.)

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from His Excellency the Honourable Sir *George Russell Clerk, K.C.B.*, Governor of *Bombay*, to his Highness *Syud Thoweynee*, Ruler of *Muscat*, dated 31st May 1860.

A. C.

I HAVE much pleasure in apprising your Highness, that arrangements have now been made for instituting the inquiries into the unfortunate differences which have arisen between yourself and his Highness your brother *Syud Majeed* at *Zanzibar*, which are to precede the arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

Those inquiries have been entrusted to Brigadier *Coghlan*, our Resident at *Aden*, an officer in whom I place the highest confidence, and whom I have commissioned to report to this Government the result of his investigations.

Your Highness will perceive in this appointment a satisfactory proof of the anxious desire of the British Government that its intervention should be exercised with perfect fairness and justice. As having been hitherto unconnected with the disputes pending between your Highness and his Highness *Syud Majeed*, Brigadier *Coghlan*'s investigations will be carried on with strict impartiality towards both parties; moreover, his past experience of the Arab tribes at *Aden*, and the co-operation of the officers who have been associated with him in this commission, well versed as they are in the language, laws, and customs of the Arabs; will be an additional assurance to your Highness that every precaution has been taken to elicit such informations as shall enable the Right Honourable the Governor General to decide with justice on your respective claims.

Brigadier *Coghlan* proceeds immediately to *Muscat*, on this duty, and I commend him to your Highness as our commissioner, assured that you will not fail to receive him with the honour and respect due to his rank and office. Brigadier *Coghlan* on his arrival will install Mr. *Hormuzd Rassam*, an esteemed and trusted servant of this Government, as British agent to your Highness at *Muscat*, an appointment, which I am persuaded, will be highly acceptable to you, and during his residence there in that capacity, I anticipate your cordial co-operation with him in all matters connected with the interests of the British Government and its subjects within your territories. Brigadier *Coghlan* will then confer with your Highness on the object of his mission, and I would strongly urge on you the importance of placing implicit confidence in him in all your communications, reserving no information which may aid the Right Honourable the Governor General in forming such a decision as may not only be in accordance with justice, but which in its results may tend to the re-establishment of peace between contending parties, and to the increased prosperity of all the subjects of his Highness the late *Imâm*.

Assuring your Highness that the British Government is now, as it has ever been, most solicitous to promote those objects throughout *Oman* and *Zanzibar*, I conclude with the usual salutations of respect.

For the rest, &c. &c. &c.

(True Copy.)

(signed) *Venayek Wassoodew,*
Oriental Translator to Government.

(No. 38 of 1860.—Political Department.)

(Office No. 2547.)

From *H. L. Anderson*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, *Bombay*, to the Secretary to the Government of *India* in the Foreign Department, Fort William; dated 14th June 1860.

Sir,

WITH reference to the letter from the Under Secretary with the Governor General, dated Kurnaul, the 12th ultimo, and previous correspondence relative to the affairs of Sohar and Muscat, I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to report, for the information of the Government of India, that Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, the Political Resident at Aden, associated with the officers named in the margin, proceeded to Muscat in Her Majesty's Indian Navy steamer "Punjaub" on the 31st ultimo, for the purpose of investigating and reporting, for the information of the Government of India, on the complications existing between Muscat and Zanzibar on the one hand, and Muscat and Sohar on the other.

The Rev. P. Badger,
Assistant Surgeon
J. Welsh, and Mr.
Hormuzd Rassam.

2. The Honourable the Governor in Council deemed it of great importance that Brigadier Coghlan should visit Muscat before he visits Zanzibar, in order that the impression which apparently exists, that the British Government is prejudiced in favour of the pretensions of Syud Majeed, the ruler of Zanzibar, to complete independence of Muscat, should be removed.

3. The accompanying copies of the proceedings of this Government will place his Excellency the Governor General in Council in possession of the instructions which have been furnished to Brigadier Coghlan for his guidance in the conduct of the important duty entrusted to him.

4. I am instructed to state that, with the view of facilitating the objects of the mission, and of adequately representing British interests at Muscat at the present time, the Honourable the Governor in Council has appointed Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Assistant to the Political Resident at Aden, to act as British Agent at Muscat, as a temporary measure.

5. The question of remuneration to Mr. Rassam, and the other officers of Brigadier Coghlan's suite, will be submitted for consideration in a separate letter.

Bombay Castle, 14 June 1860.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Anderson*,
Chief Secretary.

(No. 35, of 1860—Secret Department.)

(Office No. 217.)

From *H. L. Anderson*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, *Bombay*, to the Secretary to the Government of *India* in the Foreign Department, Fort William; dated 30 July 1860.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter, No. 38, dated the 14th ultimo, I have the honour, by direction of his Excellency the Governor in Council, to transmit to you, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a Report and its several Appendices, from Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, No. 10, dated the 4th instant, describing his proceedings on the occasion of his recent visit to Muscat, and the result of inquiries instituted by him at that place.

2. In forwarding this Report, I am desired to state that his Excellency in Council feels certain that the Government of India will consider that satisfactory progress has been made by Brigadier Coghlan in this important investigation.

3. In order that the Commission may, at as early a date as shall be practicable, proceed to Zanzibar, arrangements are in progress for the dispatch of the steamer "Punjaub" to that place.

4. As this vessel is the only one of the Indian Navy available for the proposed duty, it has been found necessary, during the strength of the present south-west monsoon, to engage freight for the conveyance to Zanzibar of a sufficient quantity of coal for supplying the requirements of the "Punjaub" on her return voyage.

5. I am desired to append to Brigadier Coghlan's Report copy of a letter from Assistant Surgeon Welsh, the medical officer associated with the Muscat-Zanzibar Mission, accompanied by a set of photographic views of the town and harbour of Muscat.

Appendix A. (2).

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Anderson*,
Chief Secretary.

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(Secret Department.—No. 10 of 1860.)

MUSCAT-ZANZIBAR COMMISSION.

BRIGADIER
COGHLAN'S

From Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*, Political Resident at *Aden*, to *H. L. Anderson*, Esq.,
Acting Chief Secretary to Government, *Bombay*; dated *Bombay*, 4 July 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report of my inquiries and proceedings at Muscat for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

2. After touching at the Island of Hallania, where the "Punjaub" remained two days, she proceeded to Muscat, and arrived there on the morning of the 12th ultimo. Hadji Ahmed, the Vizier of his Highness, Syud Thoweynee, came on board shortly after, and to him I entrusted the two letters addressed to his Highness by the Honourable the Governor of Bombay. Arrangements were made at the same time for our complimentary visit, which took place the same afternoon.

3. Syud Thoweynee was extremely gratified with the tenor of Sir George Clerk's letter setting forth the object of the Commission. He was also much pleased with the appointment of Mr. Rassam to the Acting British Agency at Muscat, and expressed his gratitude towards the Government for the arrangement which had thus been made for settling the long-pending differences between himself and his brother Syud Majeed at Zanzibar. His Highness's reply to the Honourable the Governor, which was forwarded with my letter, No. 7, of the 25th June, dwells on these points so fully that further notice of them is superfluous.

4. In the course of seven subsequent interviews, extending over our stay of nine days at Muscat, every effort was made to elicit information which might tend to throw light on the points in dispute, and Syud Thoweynee was repeatedly urged to state the grounds on which he rested his claim to the suzerainty of Zanzibar, and to the payment of tribute by his brother Majeed. I further deemed it fair to give his Highness an opportunity of exculpating himself from the various charges which had been brought against him in the official correspondence already submitted to Government on the Muscat-Zanzibar question.

5. Until corresponding inquiries have been made at Zanzibar, I am necessarily unable to form a decisive judgment on the opposing claims of the two parties; I shall, therefore, confine myself, at present, to a statement of Syud Thoweynee's case, as represented by himself, merely adding thereto occasional remarks in elucidation of the same, and confirmatory, or otherwise, of the arguments adduced by him. The documentary evidence obtained has been thrown together in an Appendix, and will be referred to as occasion may require. The translations were made by the Rev. Mr. Badger from correct copies duly collated with the original papers.

6. I was glad to find the question regarding succession simplified by the repeated admission of Syud Thoweynee, that whatever claims are, theoretically, attached to primogeniture, practically, and more especially in the case of his ancestry of the reigning family, such claims have generally been disregarded. This coincides with the opinion of Colonel Hamilton,* that "primogeniture, amongst Arabs, is not acknowledged as giving any *bonâ fide* right to succession," and corroborates a similar statement made by Colonel Rigby,† "that the rights of primogeniture have never been recognised among the Imams of Omân."

7. Further, I find on inquiry that Syud Thoweynee does not found his claim to supremacy on the bare fact that he was nominated by his late father to succeed to the government of his Arabian possessions; but insists rather on his position as the actual ruler of Omân, which, in his opinion, constitutes him the rightful sovereign over all the dependencies of the parent State. He meets the argument adduced to prove that the late Imâm possessed the right of disposing of his dominions at will, by inquiring in what other organised State, whatever the form of Government may be, the sovereign is endowed with any such prerogative. And he finally contends that no such disposal of his territories was ever made by his late father, either by will or otherwise. The only will extant is in his own possession, and he maintains that the bequests comprised therein have reference solely to the personal property of the testator, except the clause which directs that "his two ships, the 'Caroline' and 'Feidh Alim,' be given after his death to the treasury of the Mussulmans, as a legacy from him." Syud Thoweynee considers this latter bequest as a virtual recognition of one public exchequer, and that the Treasury of Muscat (Muscat being the parent State) is indicated thereby. With regard to the letter addressed by his father, Syud Saeed, to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated Zanzibar, 23rd July 1844, and a letter from Colonel Hamerton to his Lordship, dated the 31st of the same month, which appears to have accompanied it (copies of which from Colonel Rigby's letter, No. 46, of 1859, are given in Appendix A.), Syud Thoweynee argues, in the first place, that the appointment of his elder brother, Khaled, to the Governorship of his father's African possessions,

* Government records, Persian Gulf, p. 237.

† Letter, No. 47 of 1859.

possessions, and of himself to that of his Arabian possessions, does not necessarily imply the independence of either brother, and that therefore the right of the Muscat State to the general sovereignty is unaffected by the arrangement contemplated by his father, which had reference merely to the *Governorships* of the two territories, and not to the supreme rule over them. That supremacy, he contends, belongs of right to the candidate who succeeds to the parent State, and who is recognised as ruler over it by the tribes of Omân; consequently, if his father intended anything beyond what he conceives to have been his meaning when writing to Lord Aberdeen, he assumed a prerogative which is disallowed by the laws and customs of the people, and, as such, cannot justly be regarded as legal. Syud Thoweynee further maintains that as the rightful sovereign, recognised by the tribes of Omân, he was quite justified, as well by the custom of his predecessors as by his position, in attempting to coerce his brother Majeed into an acknowledgment of his supremacy. Such, he alleges, has always been the course hitherto pursued in similar cases; and had he not, at the instance of the British, relinquished the expedition prepared to that end, he fully believes that Syud Majeed would have been forced to yield the recognition which was justly demanded of him.

8. The foregoing arguments advanced by Syud Thoweynee call for the most careful attention, as the several points dwelt upon may be said to comprise the important question of *right* as connected with the succession to the sovereignty over the dominions of his late Highness Syud Saeed.

9. I find, then, on examination, that among the Arabs of Omân there is no recognised law determining the succession to the Imamship (by which I mean the supremacy or sovereignty). Primogeniture gives no claim to succession; and, further, in retracing the history of the rulers of Omân for the last two centuries and a half, it will be seen that the brother, uncle, or cousin of a deceased sovereign, succeeded to the sovereignty as frequently as any of his own children. The succession was generally confined to the same family or dynasty; but even that restriction appears to have been the result of the influence which its members had acquired over the people, and the candidate who was strongest in that respect usually attained the supremacy. In no one instance, indeed, do we find that a successor has been able to maintain his position without the suffrages of the chiefs of the principal tribes; and, in every case recorded, such a concurrence is noted as confirming the newly appointed sovereign in his authority. I may here observe that the testimony of Syud Hilâl as given by Colonel Rigby in his letter, No. 46, of 1859, dated April 14th, is strikingly confirmative of the preceding opinion. Colonel Rigby writes:—“On my questioning Syud Hilâl regarding the customs of the Chiefs of Omân regarding succession, he stated that no law of primogeniture is recognised; that might, coupled with the election by the tribes, is the only right; that, generally, on the death of a chief, his sons disputed the succession, and that the one who had the most influence with the tribe, or who gave the greatest hopes of being an efficient leader, was elected. That it was on this principle the late Imâm was himself elected, to the exclusion of his elder brother.”

10. From the above statements regarding the succession, as it has hitherto prevailed in the kingdom of Omân, it is apparent that the ruling sovereign did not possess the right of naming his successor, and not one instance is to be found of any attempt to exercise that prerogative. During their lifetime the sovereigns of Omân, either of their own free will, or for political purposes, or because the parties so advanced were too powerful for them, were accustomed to appoint different members of their family and others to the governorships of certain districts, and in some cases to grant them the same, with the implied understanding that it was in perpetuity; but such concessions as the latter were generally forced from them; nevertheless, the districts so transferred were still regarded as fiefs of the kingdom, and only independent of it in what concerned their internal administration. The governors were removable at the will of the sovereign, and the feudal chiefs or lords, in case of becoming obnoxious to the suzerain, were enjoined or forced into obedience, unless they were powerful enough to resist his mandates.

11. Such I believe to be a correct statement of the custom with regard to succession, as it has prevailed among the people of Omân, and of the prerogatives of their sovereigns over the territories comprehended within their dominions. The account is mainly based on a masterly paper given in Appendix (B.), and drawn up by the Reverend Mr. Badger from an Arabic History of the Kings and Imâms of Omân. I submit the Paper to the careful perusal of the Honourable the Governor in Council as a document of the utmost importance bearing on the Muscat-Zanzibar question now before the Government.

12. I am next called on to notice Syud Thoweynee's plea that the late Syud Saeed did not partition his territories, as has been asserted, either by will or otherwise. At first sight the letter addressed by Syud Saeed to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated 23rd July 1844 (see Appendix A.), seems conclusive that his Highness did intend that his African and Arabian possessions respectively should be given in full sovereignty to his sons, Khaled and Thoweynee. It is equally clear, however, that, according to the custom which had heretofore prevailed among the sovereigns of Omân, Syud Saeed did not legitimately possess the right either of nominating a successor or of partitioning his territories.

13. But I think it is fairly open to question whether, in the arrangement submitted to
O.116. R 3 the

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the Earl of Aberdeen, Syud Saeed did mean that the nomination of his two sons was to the *full sovereignty* of the respective territories assigned to them. Viewed in connection with the appointment of governors by his predecessors, and what the position of his two sons was at the time, Khaled being then Governor of Zanzibar, and Thoweynee Governor of Muscat, which offices it was most probable they would hold at and after his death, Syud Saeed may have referred merely to such governorships, without designing, in any way, to interfere with the succession or supremacy to which the precedents of his predecessors gave him no legitimate right to nominate, and which, after his death, might have devolved on either of his two sons, Khaled and Thoweynee.

14. As having an inferential bearing on this point, I beg to notice here a passage from Colonel Rigby's Letter, No. 46 of 1859, dated 14th April. He writes: "From his (Syud Saeed) having appointed his second son (Khaled) to inherit the African dominions, and his third son (Thoweynee) to succeed him in the Arabian possessions, it was evidently not the intention of his Highness that Zanzibar should be tributary to Muscat, but that the two states should be independent of each other." The force of the argument thus adduced in favour of the independency of Zanzibar, on the ground of the seniority of Khaled, is entirely destroyed by Colonel Rigby himself, in his continuation of the foregoing quotation. He subjoins: "The Prince Khaled was installed as ruler of the African dominions during his father's absence at Muscat, and on his death, which occurred on 7th November 1854, his Highness passed over two of his sons, and appointed his fourth son, Prince Majeed, to succeed his deceased brother in the government of the African dominions, and it was proclaimed to all the Chief Arabs in open Durbar that he was to be regarded exactly in the same position as Prince Khaled had held." Whereon I beg to remark that, as Syud Saeed, in this case, passed over two of his sons, and appointed Majeed to Zanzibar, leaving his *elder* brother, Thoweynee, at Muscat, the argument adduced in the former part of the above quotations in favour of the independency of Zanzibar, on the score of the seniority of Khaled, falls to the ground.

15. I come next to the will of the late Syud Saeed, a revised translation of which is given in Appendix C. This document, it appears, was found in a box belonging to Bint Seif, wife of his late Highness, one of the executors, who died at Zanzibar, and it subsequently came into the possession of her daughter Azza, residing at present at Muscat. The document bears the tokens of authenticity.

16. This will, as may be seen from the tenor of its several bequests, refers almost exclusively to the private property of the testator; and, although drawn up 10 years subsequent to the date of the late Syud Saeed's letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, no intimation is contained therein of the arrangement which had been submitted to his Lordship. Had Syud Saeed deemed himself to possess the right of nominating a successor, or of dividing his territories by will, it seems hardly credible that he should have been so minute in disposing of his personal property, and yet have omitted all notice of his wishes in those other more important particulars.

17. The only public legacy bequeathed in the will under consideration, is that of two ships, "to the Treasury of the Mussulmans." I subjoin some remarks by the Rev. Mr. Badger on this subject:—

"The term 'Mussulmans,' as here employed, is simply equivalent to that of 'subjects,' or rather 'citizens.' It occurs frequently in the history of the Kings and Imâms of Omân in that sense; as, for example, 'the pious Mussulmans met together to deliberate,' referring to the councils of the inhabitants of a town or district. The use of the designation owes its origin to the religious type of Mohammedan political administration. The phrase 'Treasury of the Mussulmans' doubtless designates the public exchequer. It occurs in the following extract from the history just referred to: 'My father went to Sultan (who was then virtually the Imâm), and said to him, My lord, I have examined to see whether Mohammed bin Khalfân has any houses or magazines belonging to him entered in the books of the kingdom; but I find that he has not; the houses and magazines which he had belong to the Treasury, and you are now master of the Treasury.'"

18. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the legacy under consideration was made to the public treasury. Only one such treasury is named, and from thence it may be argued, with some degree of plausibility, that at the time the bequest was made Syud Saeed only recognised one conjoined independent state.

19. The next point to be noticed is the claim adduced on behalf of Syud Saeed's right to dispose of his African possessions by will on the ground that several of them were his by conquest, and that it was chiefly owing to his administration that the whole was consolidated into one dominion.

20. The able historical summary given by Colonel Rigby, in his letter already referred to, of the original settlement of the Arabs on the coast of Africa, and the subsequent extension, together with the conquest of Zanzibar and the adjacent islands, leaves nothing for me to add on that subject. His account coincides in the main with the native records comprised in the history of the Kings and Imâms of Omân. Seif bin Sultan, according to the latter, at the opening of the 18th century, took Zanzibar, Mombasa, the Green Island (?), Kilwa, and other places on the coast of Africa from the Portuguese. These possessions

possessions formed thereafter a dependency of the kingdom, and succeeding Imâms ruled over them, either wholly or in part, according as they were successful against the different attempts made by the inhabitants under their native chiefs to shake off all subjection to the Arab Sovereigns of Omân. It was in this way that the late Syud Saeed obtained the sovereignty of Zanzibar and a few of the settlements on the coast. They became his in virtue of his succession to the Imâmship. True, he extended the empire in that direction and consolidated it; but it appears very questionable whether on such grounds alone he can be fairly held to have possessed the power of disposing of the same either by will or otherwise to his sons or to anyone else. As he himself became master of Zanzibar, and of other places which from time to time had been added to the dependency, when he was recognised as Sovereign of Omân, so, in like manner, it seems to follow as a matter of right that his successor in the sovereignty should succeed to the same privilege, unless on other more valid grounds he possessed the power of alienating the territories of the state, which, to say the least, is very doubtful. Judging, indeed, from the limited prerogative in such matters exercised by his predecessors, the inference would be decidedly against him.

21. I must now notice in the last place Syud Thoweynee's plea, that under the circumstances of his position, and agreeably with the custom of his predecessors in similar cases, he was fully justified in attempting to coerce his brother Syud Majeed into an acknowledgement of his supremacy.

22. His Highness here assumes that his title to the supremacy is unquestionable, and if that point could be admitted, I presume that few would dispute the inference. His object in the foregoing allegation is designed to prove that, in imitation of the almost uniform example of his predecessors for ages past, he was free to establish his *right* by the additional argument of *might*; and as the success of the latter has always prevailed to confirm the former, his claim would not have come short in that respect.

23. Apart from all considerations of the enlightened motives which led the Government to intervene, in order to prevent hostilities between Syud Thoweynee and his brother Syud Majeed, and regarding the matter simply in the light which custom immemorial leads the Arabs of Omân to regard it, the sanctions of so many precedents among their rulers whose titles to the sovereignty were established chiefly on the ground of their success against other competitors, give a plausibility to the argument of Syud Thoweynee which should not be overlooked.

24. It is perhaps difficult to say what the result would have been had the two parties come into collision on the occasion of Syud Thoweynee's expedition to Zanzibar in the early part of last year. Colonel Rigby,* in his account of the preparations made by Syud Majeed to resist the expected invasion, represents the means at the disposal of the latter as ample to destroy any force brought against him, dwelling especially on the enthusiasm of the people in his cause. Subsequently, however, and long after the expedition of Syud Thoweynee had returned to Muscat, his report of the state of affairs at Zanzibar led the Government to conclude that "the position of Syud Majeed at Zanzibar was not secure."† And later still, on the occasion of the outbreak, when the El-Harth Arabs rose in support of Syud Barghâsh, all the force which Syud Majeed could bring against them was ineffectual, and the rising was not suppressed until assistance from three British men-of-war had been sent to co-operate with them.‡ when, as it is averred, the Arabs yielded because they would not fight against the English.

* Letter, No. 19 of 1859.

† Resolution of Honourable Board, 16th November 1859.

‡ Letter, No. 98, 21st October 1859.

25. I have deemed it desirable, in giving Syud Thoweynee's arguments in his own behalf, to explain and illustrate them with the foregoing remarks. As some of the latter, however, may be open to modification hereafter, I abstain at present from any final expression of opinion on the general subject. Nevertheless, as what has already been advanced may have an important bearing on that opinion, I submit the same without delay to the careful consideration of Government.

Sohâr.

26. Before entering upon the merits of the question relative to the agreement alleged to have been made between Syud Thoweynee and Majeed for the payment of 40,000 dollars annually by the latter to the former, I consider this the most fit place in my Report to discuss the claim which has been set up in favour of the independence of Syud Toorkee, another of the sons of the late Imâm, who is at present located at Sohâr.

27. No documentary evidence whatever exists to support this claim. Colonel Hamerton, in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon,§ dated 10th November 1856, writes as follows: "I am fully aware what his Highness's (Syud Saeed's) intentions regarding the succession were; that Syud Thoweynee at Muscat should succeed to the government of his Arabian possessions, provision being made for certain of his sons as governors of certain places in his Arabian possessions; and that the Prince Majeed, whom his Highness considered in the place of his deceased son Khaled, should succeed to the government of his African possessions, provision being made for others of his sons as governors of various places in his African possessions." It is obvious that by the term "governor" in the above quotation nothing more is meant than a deputy with

§ Quoted by Colonel Rigby, Letter No. 19 of 1859, dated 17th February 1859.

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• Letter, No. 46 of 1859.

† Letter, No. 19 of 1859.

‡ No. 47 of 1859.

§ No. 686 of 1859.
Persian Department.

|| Government
Records, Persian
Gulf, p. 208.

¶ Idem, p. 232.

delegated powers from the ruling sovereign "Wali," the Arabic term generally applied to such officers, aptly expresses the same idea. Colonel Rigby * speaks of one Syud Sooliman as being at present "Governor of Zanzibar."

28. Colonel Rigby, indeed, seems to draw a somewhat different conclusion, and introduces Syud Toorkee by name. He writes,† "After the death of the late Syud Saeed no will was found, but his Highness's intention with respect to the succession to his various territories were so well known to all his subjects, he having during his lifetime placed Syud Thoweynee in the government of Muscat, and his possessions in the Persian Gulf, Syud Toorkee in possession of Sohâr, and Syud Majeed in possession of Zanzibar and his African dominions, that no dispute was expected." The only evidence adduced in support of this nomination of Syud Toorkee is the quotation already given from Colonel Hamerton's letter.

29. In a subsequent Despatch‡, Colonel Rigby, after stating how the late Syud Saeed obtained possession of Sohâr, adds, that his Highness "then assigned it to his son "Syud Toorkee;" and further on he gives the testimony of Syud Hilâl in these words: "Syud Saeed being anxious to avert the disputes which he foresaw would otherwise occur amongst his numerous sons after his death, had, during his own lifetime, divided his dominions amongst his three sons, the Princes Thoweynee, Toorkee, and Majeed, leaving all the details of administration in their hands, with the full understanding that they were to succeed to the full sovereignty of each after his own death. That the late Imâm considered this so plainly settled, that he did not consider any written will on the subject necessary. That he had long previously notified to the Foreign Governments in alliance with him his intention to divide his dominions between the Princes Thoweynee and Khaled, and that on the death of the latter Prince Syud Majeed was appointed his successor."

30. The foregoing extracts comprise absolutely all the arguments which have been advanced in behalf of the independence of Syud Toorkee as the ruler of Sohâr. In my opinion they are inconclusive, apart from the reflection that they are, moreover, open to complete refutation if the more general question of the right of the late Syud Saeed to divide his territories is decided in the negative.

31. But, further, it does not appear that Syud Toorkee himself ever urged his claim to be independent of Muscat until very lately; and even now his pretensions are shown more in the attempts which he is making to throw off all subjection to Seyyed Thoweynee than in any express declaration of independency: Sohâr, in fact, could not maintain that position. It yields a revenue which barely suffices for the support of the Governor and garrison, and for the entertainment of public guests. During the lifetime of the late Syud Saeed an allowance was made to Syud Toorkee of 120 dollars per mensem for the maintenance of a small body of horse, and Syud Thoweynee added 100 dollars to that sum for general purposes, which was paid out of the Customs of Muscat. The attempts made ever and anon by Syud Toorkee to form a coalition against Syud Thoweynee have more than once led to the suspension of the stipend, and it has lately been withdrawn in consequence of the more overt steps taken by Syud Toorkee to undermine his authority. These have already been detailed in my letter, No. 8, of the 27th ultimo. I may here add, however, that Syud Thoweynee has lately intercepted a letter written by Syud Majeed, of Zanzibar, to Syud Toorkee, at Sohâr, informing the latter that he had sent him 2,000 dollars, and a supply of powder and lead, by one Merhoon. The letter, I was informed, had been given to Captain Jones, who will doubtless bring it to the notice of Government.

32. Moreover, by the tenor of a letter addressed to Syud Thoweynee by Syud Toorkee about 20 months ago (See Appendix D.), it will be seen that the latter refers to the former as his superior; and as recently as the 2nd of September of last year, Hezekiel bin Yoosuf,§ then Acting British Agent at Muscat, reports that a compact had been entered into by the two brothers, "when it was agreed that he (Syud Toorkee) should always obey the commands of his Highness (Syud Thoweynee) in anything important or trifling, and that his Highness should pay him the allowance which he used to receive during the lifetime of his father." The above was confirmed by my own inquiries at Muscat.

33. The foregoing considerations taken together, form, in my opinion, a mass of evidence decidedly adverse to the claim set forth in behalf of the independence of Syud Toorkee. Further, it is equally apparent to me that, considered politically, and in its bearings on the welfare of the Muscat State, and the general peace of Omân, it is most undesirable that any such claim should be countenanced. Sohâr, as has been already stated, could not maintain its independence, and the almost inevitable result of such a claim being allowed, would tend to foster the intrigues for extraneous support, which Syud Toorkee is now active in fomenting. It does not appear certain that the Wahabees have absolutely withdrawn from their late compact with that chief. The importance of the position in a strategical point of view, has always excited their cupidity. As far back as 1836,|| Syud Saeed, who had called in the assistance of the Wahabee Agent to expel Hamood from Sohâr, abandoned the siege of that place on learning that the Agent designed to keep possession of it for Fysul, the Wahabee Ameer. And again, in 1851,¶ after Syud Saeed

Saeed had taken Sohâr, a demand was made by the same chief for its immediate cession to him. Appendix, No. 8.

34. Incorporated with the Muscat State, and under its support, Sohâr may be able to resist any such encroachments; separated, therefore, it is certain to fall into the hands of the Wahabees, or to become the focus of revolutionary movements throughout Omân. I trust, therefore, that the Government will deem it right to disallow the pretensions lately set up in behalf of the independency of Syud Toorkee, and by countenancing the just claims of Syud Thoweynee to the sovereignty over the district of Sohâr, strengthen the latter in securing it from foreign occupation, and in preventing the other evils which its alienation from the Muscat State would inevitably engender.

35. Reverting to the dispute pending between Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed, I proceed in the next place to examine into the agreement made between the two parties, whereby the latter engaged to pay to the former the sum of 40,000 dollars per annum.

36. Colonel Rigby's account of this transaction is as follows: * "I am informed that soon after the death of the late Imam, Syud Thoweynee sent his cousin, by name Mahomed bin Salem, from Muscat to Zanzibar to represent to Syud Majeed, that as the revenues of Muscat are much less than those of Zanzibar, and as their father had been in the habit of assisting the Muscat treasury with remittances from Zanzibar, he hoped his brother would likewise continue to afford him pecuniary aid. In consequence Syud Majeed agreed to remit Syud Thoweynee the sum of 40,000 German crowns annually, of which sum 10,000 crowns were for the payment to the Wahabees, 10,000 crowns to their mutual brother Syud Toorkee, who had been put in possession, by their father, of the territories of Sohâr, and the remaining 20,000 crowns were for Syud Thoweynee himself; but it was stipulated that the payment of the entire amount should be conditional on Syud Thoweynee refraining from hostilities with his brother Syud Toorkee; and as Syud Thoweynee has broken this agreement, and undertaken hostilities against Syud Toorkee, the money for the past year has not been remitted to Muscat." * Letter, No. 19, of 1859.

"After the return of Syud Mahomed bin Salem to Muscat, Syud Thoweynee agreed to the arrangement made by him, and wrote to the Customs Master here to receive the money and remit it to him. There appears to have been no formal written agreement on the subject, as the payment was not to be considered as a tribute, or in any way as acknowledging the dependency of Zanzibar upon the Sultans of Muscat; but it was as a free gift from one brother to the other, subject to the condition of his not doing any injury to a third brother."

37. In a subsequent Despatch (No. 46, of 1859) Colonel Rigby repeats verbatim the foregoing statement, adding that his informant was Syud Majeed himself, who is confirmed by Syud Soliman, Syud Hilâl, and all the principal Arabs,

38. Another repetition of the above occurs in Colonel Rigby's letter (No. 116, of 1859) with the following additional details: "On his leaving for Muscat, Mahomed bin Salem was paid the first half-year's allowance, viz. 20,000 crowns, of which 5,000 crowns were for Syud Toorkee, to enable him to pay the tribute due to the Wahabee Chief from the Sohâr State. Syud Thoweynee kept the whole of this money, and engaged in hostilities against Syud Toorkee."

39. In juxta-position to the above, I proceed to give Syud Thoweynee's account of the transaction. His statement is as follows: "On the death of Syud Saeed, I sent Mahomed Bin Salem and Mahomed Bin Saeed to Zanzibar, to make arrangements with Syud Majeed for the division of our father's property. When that was done, the subject was discussed as to what position Zanzibar was to occupy hereafter; my two agents pointed out to Syud Majeed, that he could only hold it as tributary to Omân. It was accordingly agreed that Majeed should remit 40,000 dollars annually, as tribute to the Muscat treasury." He denies *in toto* that any conditions whatever, such as are stated by the opposite party were attached to this agreement, or that any division of the sum stipulated for formed part of the compact. He meets the statement regarding the portion which it is alleged that Syud Toorkee was to receive of the 40,000 crowns by asking, "Why, if it was intended for Toorkee, was the amount to be paid to me? Was it an admission of his subjection to me? If so," he remarked, addressing the Rev. Mr. Badger, "please to note the concession. If not, why was it stipulated that the money should be paid through me instead of being paid to Syud Toorkee direct? My brother Majeed is not at a loss for means of sending money to Toorkee, as his later gifts remitted to Sohâr abundantly prove. And as to the statement that the 5,000 crowns were for Toorkee, to enable him to pay the tribute to the Wahabee Chief from the Sohâr State, it is notorious to every one that the tribute for Sohâr has always been paid by Muscat, and is so paid still."

40. In reply to the inquiry whether any written document existed relative to this transaction, Syud Thoweynee could not speak with absolute certainty. He himself had not seen it, though he has an impression that one exists, and that it may still be in the possession of Mahomed bin Salem. The latter informed him of all that had passed at Zanzibar on his return to Muscat, and as he (Thoweynee) had shortly after received a part of the tribute, he considered that the affair had been finally settled, and that no difficulty would arise in future respecting it. Mahomed bin Salem having long since retired to Mecca, a reference to him on this subject was impracticable; but Syud

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Thoweynee is assured that the agreement, in the sense in which he regards it, was known to the late Colonel Hamerton; that it was made with his cognizance; and that the French and American Consuls at Zanzibar were privy to the same.

41. In the course of our inquiries on this subject, Syud Thoweynee mentioned a circumstance which may afford a clew to its elucidation. He informed me (adding that the fact was too notorious to be denied) that on accomplishing his mission to Zanzibar, Mahomed bin Salem had succeeded in inducing Syud Majeed to make him an allowance of 12,000 crowns per annum. That the first year the entire sum was paid, and the second year only half, after which it was discontinued altogether. The money was remitted to Mecca through a Muscat merchant named Kdheyyed.

42. Supposing this statement to be true, it occurs to me as very probable that the agent, Mahomed bin Salem, for his own private ends, deceived both parties. (Syud Thoweynee did not mention what reward he had received from him, but there can be no doubt that he was adequately paid for his services.) At Zanzibar he was willing to accept the 40,000 crowns as a fraternal gift from Majeed to Thoweynee, while at Muscat he represented that the stipulated sum was tribute from Zanzibar to the Muscat State.

43. Further inquiries at Zanzibar may throw additional light on the foregoing transaction. The matter may have been recorded at the French and American Consulates, and a reference to them, in a prudential way, may be desirable. The point, however, whether Zanzibar in future should be tributary or not to Muscat will, I presume, depend on the decision arrived at on the more general and important questions regarding the succession and the respective claims of Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed to the sovereignty of Muscat and Zanzibar respectively.

44. I now proceed to notice Syud Thoweynee's vindication of himself from a number of charges brought against him in the course of the official correspondence which has taken place on the foregoing subjects. I do so, in the first place, because I candidly believe that statements have been made to the prejudice of his cause, which the explanations given will tend in some degree to remove; and, secondly, because the said explanations will serve to throw additional light on the untoward disturbances which occurred at Zanzibar, after the return of Syud Thoweynee's expedition to Muscat.

45. The first charge occurs in Colonel Rigby's letter, No. 34, of 1859, and is to the following effect: "His Highness (Syud Majeed) some months ago sent one of his trading ships to Muscat, and instructed the Commander to sell it if he got a good offer. The ship was sold at Muscat for 11,000 dollars, and Syud Thoweynee has forced the agent to pay him this money."

46. In reply, Seyud Thoweynee admits the charge, but justifies the act on the grounds that Syud Majeed had seized his portion of the inheritance of his two younger brothers, Jemsheed and Hamadan, who had lately died at Zanzibar. Also that Majeed had prevented the proceeds of a house belonging to him, which had been sold at Zanzibar for 12,000 dollars, from being transmitted to him. The house in question had been the property of Bint Seif, the wife of the late Imâm, on whose death it fell to her sister, who made it over to Seyud Thoweynee. It was eventually bought by Aysha bint Saeed, daughter of the late Imâm, but Syud Majeed has forbidden her to transmit the purchase money. The seizure of the price of the ship, therefore, Syud Thoweynee regards as a just act of retaliation.

47. As indirectly connected with this subject, I may here notice Syud Thoweynee's justification of himself for having made a demand on Syud Majeed, in behalf of the late Imâm's younger children, for which he appears to have incurred some blame. Colonel Rigby, in his letter, No. 59, of 1859, says that he, Syud Thoweynee, had demanded (of Majeed) "the renunciation of the custody, as his father's executor, of the property of the younger children of the late Imâm." Syud Thoweynee admits having done so, but refers to the Imâm's will as a proof that Syud Majeed was not nominated one of the executors. He further adds that his demand was coupled with a request that the property should be committed to the safe custody of a third and disinterested party. This, he maintains, was a necessary precaution, and adduced, in proof, a letter addressed to him by six of the surviving children, showing the abject state of want to which they were reduced through the neglect of Syud Majeed. A translation of this letter is given in Appendix E.

* Letter, No. 40, of 1859.

48. The next charge mentioned by Colonel Rigby is,* that Abdallah bin Salem and others of the El Harth tribe had "been writing to Syud Thoweynee, inviting him to dethrone his brother, and promising him the aid of their tribe and their slaves." Syud Thoweynee does not deny that, prior to his expedition to Zanzibar, several of the El Harth tribe did correspond with him on the subject, but he denies ever having encouraged them to any act of insubordination. He maintains that it was quite natural for the El Harth tribe, who regarded Omân as their native country, and who were ill affected towards Majeed, to endeavour to enlist his sympathies in their behalf."

49. With regard to Syud Barghâsh and his confederacy with the El Harth at Zanzibar, Syud Thoweynee denies ever having held any correspondence with him on the subject. "Think you," said he, "that I would correspond with a lackbrain; such he

"he is?" To this charge generally Syud Thoweynee sent me the following vindication in writing: "Whatever may have taken place between the brothers Majeed and Barghash is no affair of mine. I know nothing about it, neither did I interfere in any way between them after I had referred the matter to the British Government. How comes it, then, that Majeed ruins my houses (at Zanzibar) and destroys what they contain; so much so that even the windows and doors are carried away? Can matters ever be made straight with him while he continues to act in this way? As yet the British Government knows nothing of these things, but I state them to you in order that you may prove their truth."

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50. In a subsequent letter from Colonel Rigby,* Syud Thoweynee is charged with not acting "in good faith." Firstly, he states (in a letter to Lord Elphinstone), "that he had sent orders to Hamed bin Salem to prevent hostilities, and to bring the army back, and that he had charged him to refrain from all communication with Syud Majeed; whereas Syud Majeed sent for my perusal a letter written to him by Syud Thoweynee, just after his return with his expedition to Muscat, informing him that he was about to send Hamed bin Salem to Zanzibar in his ship 'Caroline' to arrange all differences between them. This, too, was just after he had agreed to refer those differences to the arbitration of his Lordship the Viceroy and Governor General of India."

* No. 46, of 1859.

51. As the foregoing charge called forth a severe censure on Syud Thoweynee from the Government of India,† it is but fair that his explanation should be recorded. It is to the following effect: After receiving the communication from Government, through Colonel Russell, which induced him to abandon the expedition, and to submit his case to the arbitration of the Governor General, he understood that an officer would be sent to Zanzibar to institute the necessary inquiries; and as he deemed it desirable to have an agent on the spot to represent him, he decided to send Hamed bin Salem in that capacity. He states further, that his intention in this respect was communicated to Colonel Russell. He does not deny having written the letter alluded to above, but declares that it was one of friendship merely, and that any overtures which might have been made by Hamed bin Salem, in consequence of that letter, were by no means designed to set aside the final arbitration of the Governor General. His intentions were, by previously establishing a more friendly understanding with Syud Majeed, to render the work of arbitration easier, and the result more satisfactory to both parties.

† Letter, No. 4590. Foreign Department.

52. In the same letter Colonel Rigby states, "It has since been discovered (that Syud Thoweynee) sent 40,000 dollars to Zanzibar, to be expended in exciting the people to revolt against his brother." And again, in his letter (No. 103, of 1859) it is stated, "Syud Barghash had been provided with a large sum of money by the ruler of Muscat purposely to stir up a revolution." Syud Thoweynee, in explanation, says that a month before sailing he had sent 1,000 doubloons to Zanzibar for the payment of his troops, and for the general purposes of the expedition after it should arrive there. The remittance had been sent to Barghash, but he denies altogether that it was for the objects above attributed to him.

53. Further, in Colonel Rigby's Letter, No. 94 of 1859, Syud Thoweynee is accused of having "seized and confiscated a large new Cochin-built ship belonging to Abdallah bin Salem, the principal Chief of El-Harth tribe, and one of those still in confinement." This act of Syud Thoweynee is attributed to a report which had reached him that the El-Harth had "appropriated among themselves the money he had sent there for the purpose of exciting a revolution." In confutation of this, Syud Thoweynee has produced two letters from the owner of the said ship (translations of which will be found in Appendix F.), from which it appears that the owner, fearing that his vessel might be confiscated by Syud Majeed, had, of his own accord, made it over to Syud Thoweynee, begging that he would undertake to look after his interest therein.

54. In reply to the many charges brought against his agent, Hamed bin Salem, as being "a very intriguing and unscrupulous person," as "active in fomenting rebellion," and as having "bribed with three thousand dollars a confidential albamair jemadar, in the household of his Highness (Syud Majeed), to assassinate his Highness."† Syud Thoweynee adduces three notes written by Syud Majeed to Hamed bin Salem; then on the point of returning to Muscat, wherein the latter is addressed in the most friendly terms, and his pardon asked for any seeming harshness which he may have shown towards him. Translations of these notes will be found in Appendix (G).

† Rigby letter, No. 94, of 1859.

55. Syud Thoweynee, indeed, most emphatically denies having taken any part whatever in exciting the disturbances which arose at Zanzibar several months after the return of his expedition to Muscat, and he complains bitterly of the numerous misrepresentations which have been sent in against him to Government by Her Majesty's consul at Zanzibar, whilst the British agency at Muscat was left in the hands of an illiterate Jew who could neither read nor write. Further, he does not hesitate to express his persuasion that the rising at Zanzibar was mainly owing to the persistency of the British representative in a course of uncalled-for harshness towards Syud Barghash and the chiefs of the El-Harth tribe. In confirmation of which, he handed me a letter addressed to him a few months ago by Suleiman bin Hamed, the vizier of his Highness Syud Majeed. Without venturing

Appendix, No. 8. venturing to express any opinion on the foregoing statement, I have deemed it my duty to report it, and in Appendix (H.) have given a translation of the vizier's letter above referred to.

* Letter, No. 46, of 1859. 56. I come lastly to the numerous charges made against Syud Thoweynee of acting under French influence. Colonel Rigby* "believes that the French Government have "had some secret negotiations with Syud Thoweynee, and will strongly endeavour to "have Zanzibar declared a dependency of Muscat, and then obtain the cession of a port "on the African coast, within the dominions of Zanzibar, from Syud Thoweynee." Again, he writes:† "I have strong grounds for believing that Syud Thoweynee is "acting entirely under French instigation for the furtherance of their aggressive designs "on the Zanzibar dominions." And again:‡ "I have a strong impression that Syud "Thoweynee's only object in wishing to obtain possession of the port of Mombasa, is to "make it over to the French in some form." Lieutenant Chester also, late British agent at Muscat, in a letter to Government (copy of which was supplied to Mr. Rassam) reports the circumstance of the Viscomte Fleuriot de Langle, commodore commanding the corvette "Cordeliere," having had several private interviews with his Highness Syud Thoweynee, and notices the suspicious rumour of a paper which had been submitted to him by the Commodore, having been secretly signed by the former.

† Letter, No. 53, of 1859.

‡ Letter, No. 59, of 1859.

57. To all the foregoing motives attributed to him in his occasional relations with the French, Syud Thoweynee gives the most solemn denial; and he further denies that any proposition was ever made to him by them for the cession or occupation on any part of the territories either of Muscat or Zanzibar. His correspondence with the French Government, he avers, has been confined to announcing the death of his father, Syud Saeed, and the very few letters which have passed between himself and the French Consul at Zanzibar, have been letters of official courtesy, and nothing more. In proof of this, he submitted to me the originals of three letters from the last-named official, copies of which I have annexed in Appendix I.

58. The origin of the rumour connected with the paper said to have been submitted for his signature, he explains as follows: The paper, he said, was drawn up either by Syud Majeed, or at his dictation. It set forth Syud Majeed's view of the agreement respecting the 40,000 dollars, and how he had intended that it should be divided, precisely as had been represented by him to the British Government." "After reading this paper," said Syud Thoweynee, "the Commodore offered to mediate between me and my brother. "To which I replied that the British Government had already tendered their good offices "in that respect which I had accepted. That the case was still in their hands, where I "was satisfied to leave it; but if they should hereafter decline to proceed in the matter, "I might then avail myself of his (the Commodore's) offer."

Slave Trade.

Slave Trade.

59. Having thus noticed the principal charges alleged against Syud Thoweynee, and his vindication of himself from the same, I pass on to the subject of slavery, respecting which Government had directed me to institute such inquiries as might be suggestive of some more effectual means for its suppression.

60. Circumstanced as Syud Thoweynee is at present, an expectant of the favour of the British Government through the final arbitration of the Governor General of India, his professions of readiness to co-operate heartily in this cause must be received with caution, though for the same reason his suggestions may be the more worthy of attention. His idea is that the traffic will continue to flourish, in spite of every attempt made to arrest it, unless the limitations within which it is still lawful to prosecute it, are removed. By the terms of the last treaty with the late Imâm of Muscat, "such as are engaged in the "transport of slaves from one port to another of his own dominions in Africa, between "the port of Lamoo to the north and its dependencies, the northern limit of which is the "north point of Kaghoo Island in 1° 57' south latitude, and the point of Keelwa on the "south, and its dependencies, the southern limit of which is Longa Munara or Pagoda "Point in 9° 2' south latitude, including the islands of Zanzibar, Pembea, and Menfea," are exempted from all restriction. Here is a line of coast, 420 miles in extent, within which the *transport* of slaves may still be carried on with impunity, and affording many facilities for the transport to be converted into *traffic*. Moreover, as far as my knowledge extends, these are the principal limits within which the slave trade is prosecuted on the eastern coast of Africa.

61. Syud Thoweynee's idea, therefore, that these facilities for evading the provisions of existing treaties should be removed, seems deserving of consideration. He believes that, backed by the influence of the British Government, the ruler of Zanzibar might be equal to the task of carrying into effect a law which should prohibit his subjects from transporting slaves from one point to another of his dominions. That effected, the next point would be for the British Government to intimate to the independent maritime chiefs of Arabia, including those bordering on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf, that they were determined to suppress altogether the purchase and sale of human beings on the coast of Africa; and that, therefore, any of their vessels or subjects found engaged in such traffic should be subject to seizure and punishment.

punishment. This, as Syud Thoweynee admits, would be a stretch of legitimate authority on our part; but he maintains that anything short of it will fail; and, moreover, that to render the scheme effectual, British agencies should be established along the coast, and British steamers employed there, who should act in concert with the local authorities to carry out its provisions.

62. The foregoing suggestions are not devoid of plausibility, but the policy of adopting the arbitrary measures proposed is fairly open to question, especially at the present juncture when the idea prevails that the chief of Bahrein has sought the protection of the Persian flag, partly with a view of ridding himself and his people of the restriction imposed upon him, with regard to the slave trade, by his treaty with the British.

63. It is obvious, moreover, that foreign European governments would hesitate unless their concurrence was first secured, to grant to the ruler of Zanzibar, or to his officials on the coast, the authority requisite for effectually carrying out the provisions of this scheme towards their subjects, or towards vessels sailing under their flags, and any attempt to execute the same, without such concurrence, might lead to serious complications, and eventually, perhaps, to measures subversive of the existing native sovereignty. Therefore, as at present advised, I deem it prudent to withhold any decided opinion on the subject of slavery on the eastern coast of Africa until by personal inquiries at Zanzibar, I shall be better able to judge of the feasibility of the foregoing and of other suggestions which have been advanced for its suppression. Much, doubtless, will depend on the temper of those foreign powers who have commercial and other interests in that quarter, and their concurrence is most likely to be enlisted by our propounding measures, which, whilst conducive to the attainment of the benevolent object contemplated by the British Government, will be devoid of every feature calculated to wound their national sensibilities. Such a concert secured, the ruler of Zanzibar might, without fear of the consequences, carry into execution, within his own territories, the recognised prohibitive laws towards any of the subjects of those Eastern States, or chiefdoms bordering on the Persian Gulf, whose rulers have hitherto declined to co-operate in any effectual measures for the suppression of the slave trade.

64. The importance of the topics discussed will, I trust, be deemed an ample apology for the length of the foregoing Report. I conclude by submitting the same to the favourable consideration of Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. M. Coghlan*,
Brigadier.
In charge Muscat Zanzibar Commission.

APPENDIX (A.)

[COPY of a LETTER from Lieutenant Colonel *Hamerton*, to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Aberdeen*.]

My Lord,

Zanzibar, 31 July 1844.

WITH reference to the communication from his Highness the Imâm to your Lordship's address, under date the 23rd instant, relative to his Highness's intention to appoint his sons Syud Khaled and Syud Thoweynee to succeed on the death of his Highness to the government of his African and Arabian possessions respectively, I beg leave to represent, for the information of your Lordship, that the object his Highness has in view in making this communication, is to ascertain whether he may look to Her Majesty's Government to guarantee the succession to his sons Khaled and Thoweynee, as it is the intention of his Highness to set aside his eldest son, Syud Hilal, and disinherit him altogether, but in doing which, considerable difficulty is likely to arise. His Highness's eldest son, Syud Hilal, being the greatest favourite of the Imâm's Arab subjects; but who has lately fallen under the displeasure of his father the Imâm, he has been deprived of all his confidential followers, and is closely watched by the Imâm. His Highness well knowing the feeling of the people towards him, could not permit him to reside in any part of his dominions where his Highness himself is not present. This prince, Syud Hilal, is the most shrewd and energetic of all the Imâm's sons, and has the good will and sympathy of all his Highness's Arab subjects; they always say, in talking of him, that he is the model of what his father was.

The prince, Syud Khaled, the Imâm's second son, who his Highness wishes to succeed to his African possessions, is unfortunately not esteemed by the Imâm's Arab subjects; he is penurious and grasping to a degree which will always prevent his being beloved or respected by the Arabs.

The prince, Syud Thoweynee, the Imâm's third son, who his Highness wishes to succeed to his Arabian possessions, is in every way superior to his brother Syud Khaled; but it is not supposed he could maintain his position in Arabia in opposition to his brother Syud Hilal.

[The copy, which is in the handwriting of the late Lieutenant Colonel *Hamerton*, here ends abruptly.]

Appendix, No. 8.

TRANSLATION of a Communication from his Highness the Imâm of Muscat, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen; dated Zanzibar, 23rd July 1844, 6th Rujeeb 1260.

A.C.,

BE it known to your Lordship that we are always grateful for, and sensible of, the kindness of the British Government. We are, as it were, overwhelmed with a sense of received favours.

2. In the treaty between us and Her Majesty Queen Victoria of England, concluded and signed at Muscat, on the 22nd July 1840, it is mentioned that the obligations are binding on us, and our posterity, and for which we all feel happy; please God, during our lifetime, all will be duly fulfilled on our parts, we will abide by it.

3. And after us (on our death), we constitute and appoint our son Syud Khaled to be the ruler of all our African possessions; that is to say, all places on the continent of Africa, between Magadosha, situated in about 2° 10' north latitude, and Cape Delgado, situated in in about 10° 42' south latitude, together with the adjacent islands, now subject to our rule, and under our dominion. And in like manner our son, Syud Thoweynee, to be ruler over all our possessions in Oman, in Arabia, in the Persian Gulf, and on the coast of Persia. And please God the two before mentioned, our sons, Syud Khaled and Syud Thoweynee, will strictly conform to the stipulations of the treaty, and, furthermore, do all things in conformity with the wishes of the British Government; and our hope and desire is, that the British Government may be favourably disposed towards these our sons, Syud Khaled and Syud Thoweynee. And we feel certain that the Government will not withhold its friendship from them.

Whatever you require of us, it is for you to signify.

From the expectant of God's mercy.

(signed) Saeed bin Sultan.

(True Translation.)

British Consulate, Zanzibar,
14 April 1859.

(signed) Atkins Hamerton.

APPENDIX (B.)

THE quotations in the following paper are taken from a recent Arabic work on the Kings and Imâms of Omân, written by Sheikh Hameed bin Mohammed bin Razeek about two years ago. It is extremely valuable in this inquiry on account of the information which it affords on the question of the succession. Therefrom it will be perceived that primogeniture has hardly ever been regarded by the Arabs of Omân as conferring a claim to the succession; and, further, that election or recognition by the tribes has heretofore been deemed essential to confirm a successor in the Sovereignty. Moreover, among all the Sovereigns given in the following list not one occurs who is recorded to have assumed or exercised the right of nominating a successor, or of disposing of his territories by will or otherwise. On the death of a ruler, the member of his family who happened to exercise the greatest influence at the time, either put himself forward, or was put forward by the people, to succeed to the sovereignty. The claim was frequently disputed by other of the relatives of the deceased, and intestine family wars followed, the strongest ultimately gaining the ascendancy; but even in such cases the right to the sovereignty does not appear to have been regarded as valid without the concurrence of the principal tribes.

I have deemed it unnecessary to retrace the succession further back than the beginning of the seventeenth century. "At that period," writes the historian under notice, "there had been great dissensions among the people of Rastak [then the capital of the kingdom] on divers matters, their king at the time being Mâlik bin Ali el Arab. So the learned Mussulmans met together, men upright in their religion, and consulted about appointing an Imâm, who, in ruling, should order what was lawful and forbid what was unlawful. Their choice fell on Mâsir bin Moorshid, and they proposed the thing to him. There were seventy present, he being one of the members, and after considerable hesitation he finally agreed to accept the office, and they appointed him Imâm."

Nasir bin Moorshid ruled for 26 years, and on his death "the learned Mussulmans met together, and deemed it fit to confer the Imâmship on his cousin Sultan bin Seif, with the concurrence of the people of Oman."

Belarab

* Considerable misapprehension has arisen about the meaning of this title. As applied to the rulers of Omân, the word must not be understood to imply any special authority in religious matters, but merely a moral or religious fitness for the office, which was regarded as being quite as necessary, in a ruler over pious Mussulmans, as any other qualification. The title appears to have signified originally a "presiding sovereign," i.e., one having supreme authority over the minor kings, sheikhs, &c. In the history of Sheikh Hameed, it is applied to all the predecessors of the late Syud Saeed except to that ruler, and at the present day no one of his sons is generally styled "Imâm" by the Arabs. They are usually addressed and designated as "Syuds," i.e., lords or chiefs, according to the literal signification of the word, and not in the sense in which the same term is more commonly used to designate one descended from the family of Mohammed.

Belarab bin Sultan, son of the preceding, succeeded his father, "*after the Imâmship had been confirmed to him.*" On this occasion also "great dissensions arose between Belarab and his brother, Seif bin Sultan, and many sided with the latter." Ultimately, "*the majority of the people of Omân met together to confer the Imâmship on Seif bin Sultan,*" who had prevailed against his brother, and besieged him in one of his forts, where he died.

Seif bin Sultan ruled over all Omân, and on his death the Imâmship was given to Sultan bin Seif bin Sultan. When the latter died "grave disputes arose among the people of Omân; some of the unlearned were for setting up his son, Seif bin Sultan bin Seif, as the successor to his father; but at that time he was under age, and had not attained to years of discretion. Others, again, and these were the wise and learned, were for preferring Mohenna bin Sultan, another brother, who was in every way fit for the office. They deemed the Imâmship of a child improper in every way. It was not lawful in prayer (reference is here made to the one who leads in the Mohammedan services, and who is also styled 'Imâm'), how then could he administer the Government, have the control of the finance, and exercise the power of life and death? . . . But as the people appeared intent on this matter, the Sheikh, Ada bin Soleiman, in order to quell the disturbances which had arisen, proclaimed Seif bin Sultan as their Imâm. Subsequently, however, Mohenna bin Sultan, his brother, was introduced into the citadel, and the Imâmship was conferred on him."

On the accession of Mohenna bin Sultan the people of Rastak urged his cousin Yaarab bin Belarab bin Sultan to dispute the sovereignty with him. They were so far successful that Mohenna bin Sultan was treacherously killed. Yaarab bin Belarab ruled at first as regent for his cousin Seif bin Sultan, but the tribes subsequently absolved him from his treachery, and "confirmed him in the Imâmship."

This arrangement, however, gave dissatisfaction to the people of Rastak, who adhered to Seif bin Sultan, and the latter was eventually proclaimed Imâm, his uncle, Belarab bin Nash, acting as Regent. Mohammed bin Nasir, another uncle, took part against Belarab, and, after many battles, overcame him. "Then Mohammed bin Nasir sent for the chiefs of the tribes, and for the learned men of Omân, and requested them to appoint a Regent with Seif bin Sultan. The council was held with closed doors, Mohammed bin Nasir himself being with them. They proposed that he should succeed to the Imâmship, which he at first refused, but, being urged thereto, he at length consented, they taking oath to obey him."

Mohammed bin Nasir was killed at the siege of Sohâr about A.D. 1724, when his nephew, Seif bin Sultan, succeeded him. Hearing of this, his other uncle, Belarab bin Nasir, laid claim to the sovereignty, and was recognised as Imâm by several of the tribes. Intestine wars followed, and Seif bin Sultan called for the assistance of the Persians, and was present with them at a later siege of Sohâr, then ably defended by Ahmed Bin Saeed, the grandfather of the late Seyyed Saeed. Alienated from the cause of Seif bin Sultan on account of his confederacy with the Persians, and regarding him as the cause of all the disasters which the foreign troops had brought upon Omân, "*the learned men of Nehla, Nezwa, and Ozka, with the chiefs of the Beni Ghafer and those of Maawel, met together, and conferred the Imâmship on Sultan bin Moorshid*" (who also appears to have been an uncle to Seif bin Sultan).

Sultan bin Moorshid effectually checked the advance of the Persians, and was recognised as Imâm by most of the tribes of Oman. On his death, which occurred at the siege of Sahâr, Ahmed bin Saeed followed up his successes, eventually expelling the Persians, and reducing the entire country to obedience. "*Then the chief men of Oman assembled together, and conferred the Imâmship on Ahmed bin Saeed.*" This occurred about A.D. 1738.

On the death of Ahmed, "*the chiefs of Rastak and others of Oman chose Saeed bin Ahmed (second son) as his successor.*" They wished to elect Hilâl, as being the eldest and wisest, but he suffered from a cataract in his eye, and proceeded to Scinde to have it cured, and died there."

Saeed bin Ahmed soon became obnoxious to his subjects, and they consulted together to remove him, and to appoint Kees bin Ahmed (his next brother) in his stead. The usual disturbances followed, some of the brothers siding with one party, and some with the other. Saeed bin Ahmed eventually triumphed, chiefly through the energy of his fourth son, Hamed Saeed, who virtually became the ruler of the kingdom. "*After Hamed bin Saeed had taken Muscat (from the opposite party), and his father, Saeed bin Ahmed, had made over to him all the forts which he possessed in Omân the chiefs of Omân recognised him.*"

Hamed bin Saeed was opposed by his uncle, Seif bin Ahmed, until the latter died. Then his uncle, Sultan bin Ahmed, disputed the sovereignty with him, and civil wars continued till the death of Hamed bin Saeed by small-pox, about A.D. 1790. At this time Saeed bin Ahmed, the father of Hamed, was still living at Rastak, and again assumed the Imâmship. He confided Muscat to the governorship of his eldest son, Ahmed bin Saeed, and the province of Burka to his nephew, Ali bin Hilâl, retiring himself to Rastak, and so far neglecting the Government and the people that the kingdom was transferred to Sultan bin Ahmed" (his fifth brother).

Sultan bin Ahmed reigned about 14 years, and was killed in one of his expeditions to the Persian Gulf. He left three sons, viz. :—

Salim bin Sultan.
Saeed bin Sultan.
Hamed bin Sultan.

Appendix, No. 8.

"On the death of their father," writes the historian, "there was great attachment between the brothers Salim and Saeed." This continued during the lifetime of the former, and for several years the two brothers appear to have ruled conjointly, and to have acted in concert against the many attempts made by other members of the family to wrest the sovereignty from them. "The cause why Saeed was preferred to his brother Salim," says the author quoted, "was as follows: first, such was the wish of the daughter of the Imâm, and his brother Salim consented thereto." Saeed then "sent for the chiefs of Omân, and bound them to aid him against all enemies. To this they agreed, all being well pleased with him."

Recapitulating the names of the sovereigns enumerated in the foregoing list, from about A.D. 1618 to the accession of his late Highness Syud Saeed, we find the order of the succession to have been as follows:—

1. Nâsir bin Moorshid.
2. Sultan bin Seif, cousin to the above.
3. Belarab bin Sultan, son of preceding, who is displaced by his brother.
4. Seif bin Sultan.
5. Sultan bin Seif, son of preceding.
6. Seif bin Sultan bin Seif (a child) proclaimed, but his elder brother
7. Mohenna bin Sultan succeeds.
8. Yaarab bin Belarab bin Sultan, cousin to preceding.
9. Seif bin Sultan (6) again proclaimed Imâm, his uncle, Belarab bin Nasir, being Regent.
10. Mahomed bin Nâsir, another uncle to preceding, elected Imâm. Dies, and
11. Seif bin Sultan (6 and 9) again proclaimed, but some of the tribes acknowledge his uncle, Belarab bin Nasir.
12. Mohammed, another uncle of preceding, is made Imâm while his nephew is living. Is killed at Sohâr, and is succeeded by
13. Ahmed bin Saeed, Governor of Sohâr, the first of a new dynasty.
14. Saeed bin Ahmed, second son to preceding, the eldest being afflicted with cataract.
15. Hamed bin Saeed, fourth son of preceding, is recognised as joint ruler with his father; Hamed dies, and his father rules alone for a short time, but is eventually displaced by his brother.
16. Sultan bin Ahmed, the fifth son of Ahmed bin Saeed (13). On his death, his sons
17. Salim bin Sooltan and Saeed bin Sultan conjointly, until, with the consent of the former, Saeed, the late Imâm, succeeded to the individual sovereignty.

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (C.)

TRANSLATION of the WILL of his late Highness Syud Saeed.

In the name of the Most Merciful God,

SYUD SAEED bin Sultan bin el Imam Ahmed bin Saeed, Al boor Saeedy, wills, with regard to what is incumbent upon him, from his property, after his decease, in respect of all the funeral rites after his death until his burial, 500 dollars of his property, after his death, to whoever washes his body with the washing of the departed, and to whoever digs the grave in which he is interred after his death. Also 500 dollars of his property, after his death, to his relatives who do not inherit anything from him. Also 1,000 expiatory prayers, each expiatory prayer (to be of the value of) what will feed 60 poor people. Also remuneration to whoever shall fast for him for the space of 50 months, in lieu of what was incumbent on himself for his transgression of the fast of the months of Ramadhân; and the remuneration is to be defrayed from his property, after his death, at the discretion of his executors. Also remuneration to whoever shall perform in his stead the pilgrimage of the Mussulmans to the Holy House of God, which is in the renowned (city of) Mecca, and shall visit in his stead the Tomb of our Prophet Mohammed (upon whom be peace), which is at the Medinah of Yathrib, and shall in his stead offer up the salutations of peace to him and to his two companions, the faithful Aboobekr and Omar ibn-el Khattâb (God be gracious

gracious to them), and shall perform in his stead in such pilgrimage and visitation the proper duties and ceremonies, and whatever God has ordained as well-pleasing (to Him); the remuneration for this is to be defrayed from his property, after his death, at the discretion of his executors. And whatever arms or weapons of war he possesses he bequeaths to his male children. And his two ships, the "Feidh Alim" and "Caroline," he gives, after his death, as a legacy to the treasury of the Mussulmans. And whatever other ships he possesses, besides those two ships, are to be sold after his death, and their value to be divided among all his heirs, according to what God has ordained in His law, to each one his share of the inheritance. And the said Syud Saeed declares to be free all the male and female slaves which shall remain in his possession after his death, excepting those who are at his plantation, for the sake of Almighty God, and in hope of His mercy. And he bequeaths to each one of them whatever each may possess, it is to be theirs. And he bequeaths to every Abyssinian male or female slave 50 dollars, out of his property, after his death. And to each of his concubines 100 dollars out of his property after his death, and whatever she may possess, it is to be hers. And the said Syud Saeed has constituted all his houses at Bunder Muscat, and all which are at Bunder Zanzibar, and at the Watiyyah, an endowment for ever to his heirs collectively as a bequest from him. The said Syud Saeed bequeaths whatever shall remain of his apparel, after his death, to his male children. And he has forbidden the sale of whatever furniture or utensils his houses may contain; but they are to be divided among his heirs, according to what God has ordained in His law, to each one his share of the inheritance. And the said Syud Saeed has appointed his wife, the daughter of Seif bin Ali, and his nephew, Mahomed bin Salem bin Sultan, and his son Khaled bin Saeed, his executors in regard to whatever he may possess or owe; he appoints them his executors therein to execute this will which he has willed. And he confirms all that he has directed to be placed to his account, and directs that it be done and carried into effect out of his property, after his death, whether the same be obligatory upon him or not. He has made it obligatory upon himself hoping that his executors will duly execute the same, and that his heirs will be satisfied therewith. God is the witness over all. Done on Monday the 26th day of Ramadhân of the months of the year of the Hegira of the Prophet 1266, and written for him, at his direction, by the hand of his servant, the poor towards God, Saeed bin Nasir bin Khalf, il Maooly.

The following, in the Original, is in the Handwriting of the late *Syud Saeed*, the Testator.

What is written in this will is true, and it was (written) of my own free will, and in my sight. This is written by the hand of the vile Saeed.

Codicil.—And I bequeath to the liberated slaves, Georgians and Abyssinians, who have no children, or whose children are not grown up, as also to the Abyssinians, eunuchs, the produce of the plantation of Showein; all its proceeds are for their subsistence, except the female slaves who may marry, such are to have nothing; and if any shall separate from their husbands, those are not to have anything. Salâm.

Written by the vile Saeed, with his own hand.

Codicil.—The male slaves at the plantation of Showein are also to share in the plantation for their subsistence.

True translation.

(signed)

George Percy Badger.

APPENDIX (D.)

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from *Syud Toorkee* to *Syud Thoweynee*.

A. C.

UNDER your auspices there is nothing but good to report of these parts. We pray God to continue the same. Furthermore, brother, a letter has reached us from the consul of Bushire regarding the affair which has taken place against the Shehiyeen whilst we were at the village of Mijiz of the Al Waheeba. I have already informed you, brother, of the act done by the Naeem* of Kabil. They were not subjects, so that I could not restrain them. They came to me of their good will. Now, it is for you to decide, for you are the father, and I am like your son Salem, and you can restrain all. The fact is not hidden from anyone that the act complained of was committed by the people of the Edh-Dhâhara [subject to the Wahabee Ameer]. We cherish the best thoughts of you, and whatever you may require, a hint will suffice. Be in safety, peace, 8 Rebia el Awwal, 1275.

True translation.

(signed)

George Percy Badger.

* Naeem is a tribe subject to Fysul bin Saood; the Wahabee Ameer. They were in the service of Syud Toorkee until very lately, when the Wahabees left him, or were dismissed.

Appendix, No. 8.

APPENDIX (E).

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from Six of the younger Children of the late *Syud Saeed* at Zanzibar, to *Syud Thoweynee* at Muscat.

A. C.

We inform you, dear father (brother), that our dependence is on God first, then on you, to relieve us from the cruelty with which Majeed is treating us. We were wretched after the death of our father Saeed, and Majeed took no care of us whatever, neither did he notice us either for good or for evil, so that we were abandoned, and had no one to sympathise with us. For a whole year Majeed has forsaken us, he neither visits us nor inquires after us, whether we be dead or alive. Hence we are perplexed, knowing no one, and possessing nothing. All this, in reality, comes through Mahomed bin Salem, who left us here with Majeed, may God not forgive him for leaving us with Majeed, who does not fear God, for if he feared God he would not have neglected us; but he does not fear God. For a month he has cut off our supply of food, and we have nothing to eat, and he has treated us with cruelty such as no one would be guilty of. When our brother Barghash was in Zanzibar, though he was poor like ourselves, yet we bore it patiently; now, however, that our brother Barghash has been expelled Zanzibar, we can remain here no longer. Our reliance, therefore, is on God and on you to take us away from Zanzibar, for you are now in the place of our father Saeed. Moreover, when they stopped the water from our brother Barghash, it was also ordered that no water should be brought to us, and we were three days without water. Is all this agreeable to God's will? But were we to relate all the cruelty we have received from Majeed this sheet would not contain it. If such things are pleasing (to God) and all the cruelty which we have received from Majeed, then we refer the matter to Him, for He alone is sufficient for it. Barghash used to pity us, and was kind to us, but now he has been taken away from Zanzibar and we are desolate. We make this known to you that you may take cognisance thereof. From Khaleefa, and Meneen, and Sheneen, and Nâsir and Abder-Rabb and Bedrân, to Syud Thoweynee; 25 Rebiaa-ool-awal, 1276.

(True translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (F.)

TRANSLATION of EXTRACTS of two LETTERS from Abdallah bin Salem at Zanzibar to Syud Thoweynee.

A. C.,

YOUR servant Abdallah bin Suleiman (Nakhoda) has informed me that on his return, and after his safe arrival at Muscat, he purposes coming to Zanzibar to visit his relations; but if you can detain him in the ship for another year, that is what I desire; but, if not, be good enough to find a man who will be useful to me, and apt for the business, (i.e., to take care of the vessel); I leave everything in your hands.

7 Jamad-el-Awwal, 1275.

A. C.,

WE entreat you not to cease taking an interest in your servant Abdallah bin Suleiman (the Nakhoda), in the matter of your ship the "El Harethy," doing whatever you may deem best by the same. I make over the case to God and to you. Please to excite your servant to be diligent therein, and to return from Calcutta to Muscat (i.e., to sail between the two places). Salâm.

10 Sefer 1276.

From your servant and slave,

(signed) *Abdallah bin Salem.*

(True translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (G.)

TRANSLATION of LETTERS from *Syud Majeed* to *Hamed bin Salem*, at Zanzibar.

YOUR esteemed letter has reached, and your brother (Majeed) understands what you have said. The intelligence with which you enjoined me when leaving for the plantation has also reached. The French vessel which we sent to Sohâr has arrived: She comes back from Bombay after a voyage of 32 days. The people of Bombay report that the English Government take the side of our brother Thoweynee; but as yet no information has been received

received from the Kingdom (England), and it is believed that none will come for five years. No certain intelligence had been received at Bombay from Muscat for three months. Beloved friend, your servant Mahomed Khamees was to sail (from Bombay?) six days after the (French) vessel, which has now arrived. He was busy getting the soldiers and guns on board, and the English Government took a great interest in the matter. They saluted the ship with 21 guns from the fort as she was moved into the sea, and a steamer was made to tow her. And it is reported that there are great disturbances in the (European) Kingdom, and the English are sending 20,000 sailors for the ships, besides those that have already gone, and material of war in large quantities. The French are doing the same; they have already despatched about 50,000, and God only knows what the result will be. Whatever you may require, only give me a hint thereof. Peace.—From your loving brother,

Majeed.

YOUR esteemed letter, brother and lord, has reached, and your brother understands what you have stated. What has been done by you and by me was not on your account; but what has occurred has been on account of another from whom you have come. Brother, I ask you to excuse and pardon me. In what has taken place, I trust you will escape any accusation from the people of Muscat, for, as regards yourself, I call God to witness, on my soul, that we have only good to say of you. To-morrow the "Clive" will pass by you, should she be in time; but you had better sail before her, that intelligence may go that you have left Zanzibar. Whatever you may require, a hint will suffice.—Your loving brother,

Safar 1276.

Majeed,
(in his own hand.)

YOUR esteemed letter, brother and lord, has reached us. Be good enough to weigh from this place and anchor before Showeynee, that we may not always appear to lie to him (Rigby), and though our face may appear pinched towards you, yet you are of those who forgive. Salâm.—Written by the hand of your loving brother,

Majeed.

(True Translations.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (H.)

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from *Sulciman bin Hamed*, Vizier of *Syud Majeed*, to *Syud Thoweynee*.

AFTER the departure of your brother, Syud bin Salem, the Consul began to oblige your brother, Syud Majeed bin Saeed to rise against Syud Barghâsh, to make him leave Zanzibar, on the ground that, if the said Syud Barghâsh remained at Zanzibar, there would be no end of sedition, for he misleads the people. So he sent me to Syud Barghâsh, and I went to him and spoke to him, and counselled him, on account of my love for the children of the late Syud Saeed. I said to him, "Syud Barghâsh, this affair is mixed up with the English, and they have sent this steamer (the "Assaye") in order to expel the El-Harth Arabs from Zanzibar, and to expel you also." But Syud Barghâsh would not believe my words, so I reiterated my advice, saying, "Syud Majeed bids you to embark on board the ship "Piedmontse," and he will disburse to you your past salary, and the same for the future, and give you, besides the allowance, something additional, and go you to Muscat and remain there for a year, and after that remove your relatives and return to Zanzibar in safety. He would not consent to this; so I returned to Syud Majeed with the reply, that his brother Syud Barghâsh asked to delay his departure till the monsoon opened. To this Syud Majeed would not consent, so he said to me, tell him to go in any vessel he pleases, seeing that he does not wish to leave in one of my ships; but go he must, otherwise we must confine him. So I went again to Syud Barghâsh and told him that unless he sailed he would be confined. He replied: No doubt I have deserved what my brother Majeed is doing to me! So he was confined. Afterwards I went to Syud Barghâsh and remonstrated with him, so that he consented to leave, asking a month's delay, after which he would depart. I returned to Syud Majeed who gave him the month's delay to prepare; and Syud Barghâsh wanted money from your servant Ludda, the agent of your servant Zirâin; but Ludda, as would appear, refused and consulted me, whereon I told him I would obtain something for him from his brother Majeed, so I went to Syud Majeed and asked for something from him for his brother, and he gave me 10,000 dollars. After which I went to Syud Majeed again, and took from him the remainder of the inheritance still due to him

Appendix, No. 8.

viz., 2,200 dollars, as also the remainder of the portion of his sister Khola, 1,560 dollars, and we gave it to Syud Barghash, the total being 13,760 dollars, and I told Ludda to give him besides 240 dollars to make up the sum to 14,000 dollars, and I sent it to Syud Barghash, and he received the money and he paid Ludda the sum of 7,000 dollars, so that 7,000 remained to him. And Syud Barghash chartered the ship belonging to Ahmed bin Moobarek of the chief of Ras-el-Hadd, and put his baggage on board, and we were assured that Syud Barghash was about to leave. And the consul used to send your servant Ahmed bin Naaman every day to urge Syud Majeed not to allow his brother Syud Barghash to remain in the country; that he must go. They replied that he was to go; and on the 10th he removed to the plantation belonging to your brother Syud Khaled, where there is a strong stone house, and fortified himself therein, and distributed money among the El-Harth Arabs, and the Arabs all removed from the town, so that not one Harethy remained in it except Hussein bin Mahomed and a few other men, and they were in reality all on his side. When we perceived this we sent first Seif el Waly and Ahmed bin Moobarek, the chief of El-Hadd, but they effected nothing. Afterwards we sent Sheikh Hussein bin Mahomed and Saleh bin Ali, and Hamood bin Seif Moosselim, and Seif, and Khamees Walad Khalfan bin Kadeeh, and Seif el Wali, and Ahmed bin Moobarek, to confer with the El-Harth, in order to induce them to separate themselves from Syud Barghash, and to let him depart. The ship which he had chartered had come near the plantation of Hamood bin Hamed at Boo-Boo-Boo; but the Arabs would not listen, for they had attached themselves heart and soul to Syud Barghash. When the above-named returned, your brother Syud Majeed bin Saeed collected his troops, those which remained in the town, Arabs and Sowahilis and also soldiers, and went against his brother on the 17th of Rabi'aa el Awwal. They arrived at 3 p.m., and there was an engagement, and the El-Harth Arabs only stood half-an-hour, when they fled and left Syud Barghash alone in the house, and he asked for quarter, and it was conceded. And Syud Majeed and his troops returned to the plantation of Et Taif, and the army began to attack the plantations of the El-Harth, destroying, burning, and plundering, so that nothing remained to them, whilst the Arabs of the El-Harth were scattered in the uncultivated districts. After this, we asked your brother to give them quarter, seeing they were his servants and subjects, and no sovereign can stand without them. So he gave them quarter, and at this date most of them have come back, and have visited Syud Majeed, so that they have saved themselves, but lost their property. My Lord, the Consul and the English have bewildered us in this affair of Syud Barghash. Whenever we spoke to Syud Majeed in behalf of his brother, the Consul set at naught our words, and it is needless for me to enlarge on this matter to you, as you will hear all from the lips of Syud Barghash. And the Consul went in person to the Beiter Ras belonging to Syud Saeed to escort his friends (the officers) on their departure on the same day that Majeed went to see Syud Barghash off. Whatever you may require a hint will suffice.

26 Rabia-el-awal 1276.

From your servant and slave,

(signed) *Suleimen bin Hamed.*

(True Translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (I.)

COPIES of LETTERS addressed by the Consul of France at Zanzibar to Syud Thoweynee at Muscat.

Consulat de France à Zanzibar à son Altesse le Sultan de Muscate.

Très illustre et très magnifique Seigneur,

Je profite du départ pour Muscat du navire du commerce Français la Gironde pour accuser réception à votre Altesse de la lettre qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire, et pour la remercier des affaires obligeantes qui y sont contenus.

Je suis heureux de savoir que la paix n'est point troublée à Muscate et je fais des vœux ardents pour que les états de votre Altesse en jouissent le plus long temps.

Zanzibar a été dans ces derniers temps cruellement éprouvée, deux fléaux, la petite vérole et la choléra, ont exercé de terribles ravages, et parmi les nombreuses personnes qui en ont été victimes, nous déplorons particulièrement la perte de Seïd Djemchir et de Seïd Hamdan. En ce moment ces deux épidémies ont presque entièrement disparu de la ville, et c'est avec joie que je viens en informer votre Altesse.

Je ne finirai pas cette lettre sans assurer votre Altesse du plaisir que j'aurai toujours à recevoir ses nouvelles, et sans lui offrir mes services empressés pour tout ce qui lui sera agréable.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.

Le Consul de France,
(signed) *Ladislas Cochet.*

L. S.

Zanzibar, le 27 Février 1859.

Consulat de France à Zanzibar.

Très illustre et très Magnifique Seigneur.

J'ai l'honneur de renvoyer à votre Altesse la lettre qu'elle adressait à Sèid Bargash, et qui m'est parvenue après son départ. Je la remercie en même temps de tout mon cœur de l'intention qu'elle a de m'envoyer un nouveau cheval, et je la prie instamment de n'en rien faire, car il m'est expressément interdit de recevoir des cadeaux. Je prie toute fois votre Altesse de croire que je suis extrêmement sensible à cette nouvelle marque de la bienveillance dont je conserverai un éternel souvenir.

Je renouvelle encore ici à votre Altesse mes offres de service en tout ce qui sera compatible avec la position officielle que j'occupe ici. Je prie seulement votre Altesse de ne pas mettre dans les lettres qu'elle me fera l'honneur d'écrire d'autres pour les Arabes de Zanzibar, attendu qu'il ne m'est pas permis de m'en charger.

L. S.

Je suis, etc.
Le Consul de France:
(signed) *Ladislav Cochet.*

A son Altesse Sèid Tovèni, Sultan de Muscate,
Zanzibar, le 28 Decembre 1859.

Consulat de France à Zanzibar.

Très Illustre et très Magnifique Seigneur.

J'ai l'honneur d'adresser cette lettre à votre Altesse par Mr. le Vice Consul des états-unis, pour vous demander des nouvelles de votre santé et de celle de tous les vôtres qui, j'espère sont en bonne état; puis pour remercier votre Altesse de la lettre qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire par le trois-mâts Américain "Inam," et que la Capitaine m'a remise en personne aussitôt après son arrivée ici.

Je ne puis faire à votre Altesse, très illustre et très magnifique seigneur, le plaisir qu'elle m'a causé en m'apprenant qu'elle avait espoir que les difficultés qui troublent la tranquillité du pays s'arrangeront bientôt; je ne cesse d'adresser au Tout Puissant de ferventes prières pour qu'il en soit ainsi, et que la paix rende à ce pays son ancien prospérité, et qu'elle le dégage, au plutôt, de la pression étrangère qui pèse aujourd'hui sur lui.*

La Cordelière a du quitter Mascate, je me plais à croire que votre Altesse a pu s'entendre avec notre commandant dont la Mission, comme toute celle qui vient à votre Altesse de la part de mon auguste Souverain, était empreinté de l'amitié la plus désintéressée.

Je termine cette lettre en recommandant votre Altesse à la garde de Dieu, et en La priant de disposer en tout de mes services.

L. S.

Je suis, etc.
Le Consul de France.
(signed) *Ladislav Cochet.*

A son Altesse Sèid Tovèni, Sultan de Muscate,
Zanzibar, le 28 Decembre 1859.

From Assistant Surgeon *James Welsh* to Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*, in charge Muscat
Zanzibar Commission.

Sir,

Bombay, 5 July 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you four sets of the photographic views taken at Muscat, and request that you will be good enough to forward the same to Government. The views, as the result of my amateur attempts, are devoid of artistic merit; nevertheless, as being probably the first taken of Muscat and its harbour, they may prove acceptable, and, perhaps, useful.

2. I have also annexed, in a tabular form, an abstract of meteorological observations, made during our late trip to Muscat. These also may not be without interest, if no such observation, during the same season, and in the same localities, have hitherto been recorded.

3. Our

* The Arabic transcript which accompanies this letter reads as follows: "and that peace may free the territories which are suffering from the heavy pressure of the foreigners who are now resident therein."—
(Signed) *G. P. Badger.*

Appendix, No. 8.

3. Our stay at the island of Hallania, as well as at Muscat, was too short to enable me to form a reliable opinion on the climate of the two places. The temperature of Hallania was similar to that which generally prevails at Aden at the same period; the excessive heat being tempered by light breezes from the south-west. Two or more of the telegraph staff had been suffering from slight fevers of the intermittent type, but the use of quinine sufficed to remove the disease. Their isolation on this barren island, the total want of recreation, and, perhaps, the superadded impression of insecurity from attack by the Arabs of the mainland, form together a sufficient cause why the Europeans and Indo-Britons of the telegraph station are not as healthy as they might otherwise be. The few resident natives who are very poor, living mostly in caves, and migrating to different parts of the island, as the seasons change, for fishing purposes, fish being their principal, and often their only, food, seem a hardy race. If their testimony is to be relied on, Hallania is never subject to endemics of any kind.

There are several wells on the island, all of native construction, and some of the water obtainable, though slightly brackish, is generally considered very wholesome. Many Arab boats and bungalows touch here for a supply on their way from the southward towards Muscat and the Persian gulf.

4. The accompanying meteorological statistics suffice to prove that the heat of Muscat is excessive; and I may further add, that the range of the thermometer very inadequately indicates the degree of sensible heat experienced. Occasionally during the day the air was so intensely scorching that chairs became uncomfortable to sit upon, and glass-ware unpleasantly hot to the touch. In like manner, during the night, gusts of scorching wind prevailed for several hours, which seemed as if proceeding from the mouth of an open furnace.

According to the testimony of the natives this extreme heat would last till the beginning of July, after which the place would be cooled by, light breezes from the north-east and south-west.

5. The only resident Europeans at Muscat are four gentlemen connected with the telegraph station there. As might reasonably be expected, they complained of the depressing influence of the climate at that season of the year, and one or more of them had been suffering from fever. The natives, who are by no means insensible to the heat, are, nevertheless, a healthy, sturdy-looking race, and I could not learn that any particular form of disease prevailed among them. Hoopingcough was very general among the children, and many fatal cases had occurred. Several of his Highness's Syud Thoweynee's younger children were suffering from it, and an infant grandchild of his had died of it the day before we arrived.

6. There being no sanatory laws in force at Muscat, and an entire absence of sewerage, it is surprising that the town should be so comparatively healthy, encircled as it is on three sides by high hills, with a population dense for a place of such limited extent. Viewed in connection with these drawbacks to salubrity and health, the rapid desiccation consequent on the excessive heat may be considered as the safeguard of the place.

7. The foregoing observations refer to the shore. The heat was not less felt afloat, but, as far as I could learn, no particular ill effects were produced by it beyond those of lassitude and prostration. The crew of the "Punjaub" continued as healthy as before, except a few cases of old complaints which reappeared for a time; and the sick-lists of the "Elphinstone" and "Maké," (which vessels had been several days at Muscat before our arrival), did not show any marked increase attributable to the climate of the locality. All were indeed glad to get away; and it is by no means improbable that a protracted stay at that place, at this season of the year, might be deleterious to the health of Europeans confined together within the narrow limits of a ship.

I have, &c.
(signed) J. Welsh,
Assistant Surgeon.

ABSTRACT of METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS made on Board Her Majesty's Steamer "Punjab," Indian Navy, and off Shore at Muscat, from the 1st to the 24th June 1860, inclusive.

Date 1860.	Ship's Barometer.		Thermometer in the Air.			Wet Bulb.		Rain.	Winds.		Latitude, North.	Longitude, West.	Course and Distance in Miles.	GENERAL REMARKS.
June.	10 a.m.	4 p.m.	6 a.m.	1 p.m.	Maxi- mum.	6 a.m.	1 p.m.		Direction.	Force.				
1	29 87	29 77	86	90	90	78	80	none	Southerly	2	18 30	70 44	S. 79 30 W. 131	a.m. cloudy, with cirri and cirro-cumuli; 6 p.m. cloudless sky.
2	29 85	29 76	87	89	89	79	79	"	S. Westsly	3	18 06	68 10	W. 9 S. 164	a.m. as yesterday; swell from S. W. increasing.
3	29 82	29 76	86	90	92	79	80	Light showers	"	3 to 4	17 35	65 39	W. 12 S. 149	a.m. cloudy, with cirri, cirro-cumuli; 5 p.m. slight shower.
4	29 75	29 65	83	86	86	80	78	Showery	"	3	17 21	62 59	W. 5 S. 164	a.m. cloudy, as above; p.m. showery, with distant thunder.
5	29 72	29 65	83	87	87	77	78	Heavy shower	"	3 to 4	17 13	60 22	W. 3 S. 150	Clouded, several showers.
6	29 73	29 73	85	87	87	78	80	Showery	"	3	16 56	57 35	W. 6 S. 160	a.m. partially clouded and showery; 5.45 p.m. Kooria Mooris Islands in sight.
7	29 82	29 73	84	92	92	80	80	"	W. to N.W.	1 to 2	17 31	56 00	-	8 a.m. anchored at Hallania, in Telegraph Bay.
8	29 77	29 68	84	91	91	80	78	none	South	1 to 2	-	-	-	At anchor, moderate S. W. breeze, with swell.
9	29 70	29 63	84	92	92	78	80	"	S. Westsly	3 to 4	-	-	-	6 a.m. up anchor; and steered for Jibbi Island; fresh breeze from S. W. with long swell.
10	29 75	29 65	83	91	91	78	81	"	"	2 to 3	19 28	58 54	N. 51 E. 188	Cloudy, with cirri and cirro-cumuli.
11	29 69	29 58	84	87	90	80	75	"	"	3 to 4	22 21	60 05	N. 21 E. 198	Partially clouded as yesterday; at noon hazy.
12	29 67	29 56	87	102	102	78	80	"	Variable	-	23 37	58 40	-	Light cumuli and cirri; hazy, with great mirage.
13	29 62	29 53	93	104	105	76	78	"	"	-	-	-	-	Sky clear; the air intensely dry and hot.
14	-	-	100	102	115	78	80	"	"	-	-	-	-	Sky cloudless; scorching hot wind at night, coping in gusts.
15	-	-	98	98	98	77	81	"	"	-	-	-	-	Clouded, with cirri and cirro-cumuli.
16	-	-	98	106	106	71	75	"	"	-	-	-	-	Hazy, without clouds, but with mirage; air intensely hot, and very dry.
17	-	-	98	101	101	71	78	"	"	-	-	-	-	Clouds, with light cirri. Sensibly as hot as yesterday.
18	-	-	94	99	99	70	81	"	"	-	-	-	-	Hazy. Light North-Easterly breeze blowing.
19	-	-	90	92	95	75	85	"	"	-	-	-	-	Fresh breeze from N.E.; partially clouded; much cooler.
20	-	29 63	88	95	96	74	84	"	"	-	-	-	-	Partially clouded and hazy. At 1 p.m. left for Bombay.
21	29 72	29 62	85	86	87	81	80	"	Southerly	3	22 25	60 48	-	Light cirri and cirro-cumuli. Moderate swell from S.W.
22	29 67	29 62	82	87	87	80	81	"	"	2 to 3	20 53	63 39	S. 59 47 E. 183	a.m. cloudy, with cirri and cirro-cumuli; sea moderate; evening with cloud- less sky.
23	29 73	29 67	85	86	86	81	81	"	S. Westsly	1 to 3	19 39	67 27	S. 70 E. 225	a.m. partially clouded, with moderate sea. Light rain in afternoon. Cloud- less evening.
24	29 71	29 63	83	86	86	80	82	Showery	"	1 to 4	18 53	71 02	S. 77 E. 206	a.m. cloudy, with cirri and cirro-cumuli; less swell; evening cloudy.
25	At 12° 15' a.m. anchored in Bombay Harbour.													

(signed) J. Welsh, Assistant Surgeon.

Appendix, No. 8.

RESOLUTION by the Honourable Board, dated the 17th July 1860.

Resolved, The Honourable the Governor in Council will defer his opinion on the various questions discussed in Brigadier Coghlan's report, until he shall have received the final statement of that officer's views on the respective pretensions of the members of the late Imam's family, after his intended visit to Zanzibar.

In the meantime copies of the Report and of its appendices, inclusive of the photographs, should be forwarded to the Government of India and to Her Majesty's Secretary of State. These authorities the Honourable the Governor in Council feels certain, will consider that satisfactory progress has been made in this important investigation.

Brigadier Coghlan may be requested to express to Assistant Surgeon Welsh the acknowledgments of Government for his interesting contributions to the Appendix of the Report.

The Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy should be requested to prepare the "Punjab" for sea, in order that the Commission may, at as early a date as shall be practicable, proceed to Zanzibar. The Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy should also be instructed to engage freight to convey to Zanzibar a sufficient quantity of coals for supplying the "Punjab" after reaching that place during the strength of this monsoon.

(signed) G. Clerk.
W. Mansfield.
H. W. Reeves.
W. E. Frere.

(No. 3767—Foreign Department.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay; dated Fort William, 31 August 1860.

Sir,

In reply to your letter, No. 35, dated 30th ultimo, with which was submitted a Report from Brigadier Coghlan describing his proceedings on the occasion of his visit to Muscat, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to state that the decision of the Supreme Government will be deferred until Brigadier Coghlan completes his inquiries, and reports the result of his visit to Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(signed) C. U. Aitchison,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

(No. 16, of 1860—Secret Department.)

MUSCAT-ZANZIBAR COMMISSION.

From Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, to H. L. Anson, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay; dated Bombay, 19 November 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council, my return to Bombay this day, the 19th of November, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Badger and Dr. Welsh.

2. The "Punjab" reached Zanzibar, *via* Gallé and the Mauritius, on the 29th of September. The letter of the Honourable the Governor to Syud Majeed was delivered the same day; and after the usual interchange of compliments with his Highness, no time was lost in commencing the inquiries specially connected with the subject of this mission.

3. Lieutenant Colonel Rigby had accompanied Captains Speke and Grant to the African mainland to see them fairly started on their journey of exploration into the interior, but, on hearing of our arrival, he returned on the 5th of October. I take this early opportunity of recognising the ready aid afforded me by that officer in prosecuting my researches at Zanzibar.

4. Several days were occupied in private interviews with Syud Majeed, the conferences being conducted by the Rev. Mr. Badger in Arabic. Two of his Highness's secretaries were also present, who took notes of what passed on each occasion. A written statement of his claims and grievances was subsequently drawn up and presented to me by his Highness, at whose request it was forthwith translated into English by Mr. Badger. This, with numerous other documents bearing on the dispute pending between their Highnesses Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed, will be forwarded to Government in the course of a few days, attached to my Zanzibar Report.

5. Every opportunity was availed of, during our stay, to obtain reliable accounts of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa and the adjacent islands. In pursuance of the same inquiry, after leaving Zanzibar on the 18th ultimo, we touched at Mombasa on the mainland,

mainland, where I fortunately met the eminent African missionary and traveller, the Rev. Mr. Rebmaun, whose intimate acquaintance with the Sowahili and with the adjacent heathen tribes (among whom he has resided for 14 years, and by whom he is universally respected) enabled him to impart some valuable information on the slave-trade, as also on other matters connected with the social and political condition of the natives of those parts. In recognition of Mr. Rebmaun's kind offices, and knowing how acceptable such a gift would be to himself and wife, obliged as they are to live for months together on exclusively native food, I ordered a few supplies to be sent to him from the ship's stores, and added thereto a donation of 50 dollars. These grants will, I trust, be confirmed by the sanction of Government.

6. I have also to report that his Highness Syud Majeed, on learning that we intended visiting Mombasa, expressed a wish, through Colonel Rigby, that, as he likewise purposed going thither, the "Punjaub" might be allowed to tow him in his frigate the "Victoria." As the distance was short, and the commander of the "Punjaub" concurred in the arrangement, I readily acceded to the request. On reaching Mombasa the following morning, his Highness expressed his warmest thanks for the favour, declaring that he would ever retain a grateful remembrance of the honour thus conferred on him through one of the ships of Her Majesty's Indian Navy.

7. After leaving Mombasa we steamed to Aden, arriving there on the 26th ultimo. I deemed it desirable to make that short détour in order to carry out the instructions of the Honourable the Governor in Council, to forward by the earliest opportunity, direct to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, the result of my inquiries regarding the slave-trade. The report was accordingly prepared, and a copy despatched on the 3rd instant, and I herewith enclose the original for the information of Government. Judging that a further delay of a week would be compensated by such an object, I detained the "Punjaub" at Aden until the arrival of the overland mail of the 26th ultimo, and taking on board the Post Office packets, proceeded forthwith to Bombay.

8. I also took the liberty of forwarding direct to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India a copy of the enclosed letter (No. 15), containing a few additional particulars relative to the loss of the ship "St. Abbs," in June 1855.

9. Dr. Welsh has succeeded in taking a number of photographs of the different places visited during the voyage. When printed, several copies of each, together with Dr. Welsh's notes, shall be duly forwarded to Government.

10. I enclose herewith the reply of Syud Majeed to the letter addressed to his Highness, through me, by the Honourable the Governor of Bombay.

11. Trusting that the foregoing general summary of my proceedings will receive the approval of Government,

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. M. Coghlan*, Brigadier,
In charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

(Office No. 49.)

(No. 6 of 1861.)

From *H. L. Anderson*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, *Bombay*, to the Secretary to the Government of *India*, in the Foreign Department, *Fort William*.

Sir,

Secret Department, 15 February 1861.

In continuation of my letter, No. 35, dated the 30th July 1860, I am directed to transmit to you, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the accompanying copy of a report and its several appendices (marked A to M) from Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, dated the 4th December last, submitting a detailed account of his inquiries regarding the dispute between his Highness Syud Thoweynee of Muscat and his Highness Syud Majeed of Zanzibar.

2. I am also desired to transmit, for the same purpose, the transcript of a resolution recorded by this Government on Brigadier Coghlan's report, reviewing the various points submitted for consideration by that officer in connection with the important inquiry entrusted to him.

3. In submitting the case for the final decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, I am instructed to solicit an early expression of the opinion of his Lordship in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Anderson*,
Chief Secretary.

Appendix, No. 8.

(No. 17 of 1860.—Secret Department.)

MUSCAT-ZANZIBAR COMMISSION.

From Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*, in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, to *H. L. Anderson, Esq.*, Chief Secretary to Government, *Bombay*; dated *Bombay*, 4th December 1860.

Sir,

BRIGADIER
COGHLAN'S
REPORT.

HAVING already in my letter (No. 16) of the 19th ultimo, forwarded to Government a general summary of the proceedings of this Commission during the recent voyage to Zanzibar, I proceed in the present report to submit, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council, a detailed account of my inquiries there regarding the dispute pending between their Highnesses Syud Thoweynee of Muscat, and Syud Majeed of Zanzibar.

2. Deeming it a necessary precaution, before entering on the investigation entrusted to me, to secure Syud Majeed's formal consent to abide by the final arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, I requested Lieutenant Colonel Rigby to obtain a written paper from his Highness to that effect, similar in substance to the bond which had been required of Syud Thoweynee. I submitted to Colonel Rigby at the same time a series of questions touching the rival claims of the two brothers, and other matters connected with the pending dispute, requesting that he would, in reply, furnish me with all the information in his power. The correspondence, together with the bond executed by Syud Majeed, is attached in the accompanying Appendices, from A. to K., and in the two letters which precede them. An original statement of his claims and grievances by his Highness Syud Majeed, with an English translation, is also attached in Appendix L. As these documents throw considerable light on several important points in this inquiry, they will frequently be quoted in the succeeding remarks. To avoid confusion in the text, the references are noted in the margin.

3. I now proceed in the first place to state, as succinctly as possible, the various arguments adduced in support of the claims of his Highness Syud Majeed to the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its African dependencies.

4. In the year 1807, his late Highness Syud Saeed, second son of Syud Sultan, was elected by the principal tribes of Oman to succeed his father as Sultan, his elder brother Salim acquiescing in his promotion to the supreme power.* During his lifetime, Syud Sultan had taken from the Portuguese the islands of Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Pemba, as also Kilwa and other places on the east coast of Africa.† These remote possessions fell to Syud Saeed, as forming part of the kingdom of Oman; and although the authority of his predecessor over several of them had been but nominal, or at least precarious,‡ and Syud Saeed may fairly be entitled to the merit of having extended and consolidated the empire in those parts, nevertheless it was undoubtedly in virtue of his election in succession to Syud Sultan that he acquired the right of sovereignty over the African dependencies of Oman.

5. Syud Saeed during his lifetime ruled over the conjoined dominions of Oman and Zanzibar. The seat of his government for many years was Muscat; but about the year 1840 his Highness selected Zanzibar as his permanent residence, committing the subordinate rule of Muscat and other provinces to his sons or relatives.

6. On the 24th of July, 1844, Syud Saeed addressed a letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, then Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wherein his Highness thus expresses his wishes regarding his two elder sons Khaled and Thoweynee (Hilal, the eldest, being entirely overlooked in the projected arrangement):—"And after us (on our death), we constitute and appoint our son Khaled to be Ruler of all our African possessions; that is to say, all places on the continent of Africa between Magadosha, situated in about 2° 10' north latitude, and Cape Delgado, situated in about 10° 42' south latitude, with the adjacent islands now subject to our rule and under our dominion. And, in like manner, our son Syud Thoweynee to be Ruler over all our possessions in Oman, in Arabia, in the Persian Gulf, and on the coast of Persia."§ Syud Saeed's object in writing this letter, as stated by Colonel Hamerton, was "to ascertain whether he might look to Her Majesty's Government to guarantee the succession to his sons Khaled and Thoweynee."|| According to Colonel Rigby, no reply exists in the records of the Zanzibar Consulate either to Syud Saeed's letter above quoted, or to that from Colonel Hamerton, which appears to have accompanied it.¶

7. Syud Khaled died in 1854, and in a letter announcing the death of the late Syud Saeed to Lord Aberdeen, dated Zanzibar, November 10th, 1856, Colonel Hamerton writes:—"All things here at present are quiet, and the government in the African possessions administered by his son Prince Majeed, who has administered the government by order of his Highness since the death of Prince Khaled on the 7th November, 1854. I have been given to understand that his Highness left a will, and a written statement of his wishes regarding the succession. I am perfectly well aware what his Highness' intentions regarding the succession were; that Syud Thoweynee, at Muscat, should succeed to the

* Muscat Report, No. 10 of 1860, Appendix B.

† Muscat Report, Appendix B., paragraph 20.

‡ Appendix B, reply to Query 22.

§ Muscat Report, Appendix A.

|| Idem.

¶ Appendix B, reply to Query 4.

the government of his Arabian possessions, provision being made for certain of his sons as governors of certain places in his Arabian possessions; and that the Prince Majeed, whom his Highness considered in the place of his deceased son Khaled, should succeed to the government of his African possessions, provision being made for others of his sons as governors of various places in his African possessions.*

Appendix, No. 8.

8. No written statement of the late Syud Saeed's wishes regarding the succession, as mentioned by Colonel Hamerton, has ever been found; and the only will hitherto forthcoming, as executed by his Highness, makes no provision whatever of that nature, but is confined almost exclusively to the disposal of his personal property.† Colonel Rigby, however, confirms Colonel Hamerton's statements regarding the promotion of Syud Majeed to the post which had become vacant by the death of his elder brother Khaled, in these words: "The Prince Khaled was installed as ruler of the African dominions during his father's absence at Muscat; and on his death, which occurred on the 7th November 1854, his Highness passed over two of his sons, and appointed his fourth son Prince Majeed to succeed his deceased brother in the government of the African dominions; and it was proclaimed to all the chief Arabs in open durbar that he was to be regarded exactly in the same position as Prince Khaled had held, and that he had succeeded to all his rights, and the future sovereignty of Zanzibar and the African dominions. The Prince Majeed thus continued to administer the government, acknowledged by all as the rightful heir to the sovereignty, by virtue of his father's act, as publicly proclaimed.‡

* Letter from Colonel Rigby, No. 19 of 1859.

† Muscat Report, Appendix C.

‡ Colonel Rigby's letter, No. 46 of 1859.

9. It does not appear, however, that this substitution of Syud Majeed in the place of Syud Khaled was ever officially notified by his Highness Syud Saeed, either to the British or to any other foreign Governments in alliance with him;§ and Syud Majeed was unable to produce any native records attesting the arrangement as the act of the late sovereign. But the death of the latter was communicated by his Highness to Great Britain, France, and the United States of America; and letters of condolence were received by him in return from Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, and from the President of the United States.|| The two former contain no recognition of Syud Majeed's sovereignty; but in the reply of the Emperor of the French, and in that of the President of the United States, his Highness is congratulated on his accession to "the supreme power," and to "the throne of the sultanry." As no special mention, however, is made either of Muscat or Zanzibar in these documents, and Syud Thoweynee's position and claims are entirely overlooked, it is highly probable that the two above-named Governments were unacquainted with the actual state of the case, and wrote under the impression that Syud Majeed was the sole, rightful, and acknowledged successor to the sovereignty of all the dominions of his deceased father, Syud Saeed.

§ Appendix B, reply to Query 6.

|| Appendices C, D, E. F.

10. The foregoing is a fair statement of the facts adduced from extraneous sources in support of Syud Majeed's right to the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its African dependencies. His Highness himself rests his pretensions on similar grounds,¶ namely, on the fact that, when his elder brother Khaled died, Syud Saeed appointed him *Governor of Zanzibar* in his stead, and notified the same to all the chiefs of Africa, as well as to the foreign consuls residing at Zanzibar; that he was duly recognised as such by them, and that he had occupied that position two years prior to the death of his father, which event occurred while on a voyage from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1856. His Highness then proceeds to establish his claim to the sovereignty of Zanzibar on the ground of his having been elected thereto by the people. He writes, "When I heard the report of my father's death, I called together my brothers and family (only those, of course, who were present at Zanzibar at the time), and all the people in these parts from Tink (Delgado) to Marbat, in order that they might recognise me. To this they all agreed, and they accordingly elected me to be ruler over them, and entrusted me with the direction of their affairs." He moreover considers that his sovereignty over Zanzibar and its African dependencies has already been acknowledged by the representatives of the different foreign powers who were in alliance with the late Syud Saeed, and he alleges that a similar recognition was virtually made by his brother Syud Thoweynee through his agent Mahomed bin Salem, who, on the death of their father, was sent from Muscat by the former fully empowered to treat with Syud Majeed on his behalf. The yearly grant which on that occasion he agreed to remit to his brother Thoweynee, Syud Majeed maintains was a purely friendly subsidy, and by no means a tribute recognising in any way the suzerainty of his brother Syud Thoweynee of Muscat.**

¶ Appendix I.

** Appendix L, paragraphs 2 and 5.

11. Unfortunately no documentary proofs are forthcoming to decide the important question involved in the above transaction.†† Syud Thoweynee contends that the grant was given and received as tribute, and the two brothers (who nevertheless now join in representing Mahomed bin Salem as a villain) confidently appeal to his statements formerly made in support of their opposite assertions. My original impression therefore is confirmed, namely, that the agent, for his own private ends, deceived both parties, accepting the yearly grant at Zanzibar as a fraternal gift from Majeed to Thoweynee, and representing to the latter at Muscat that he had stipulated for it as a tribute involving the recognition by his brother of his suzerainty over Zanzibar and its African dependencies.‡‡ Two documents, however, indirectly bearing on this point, are attached in the Appendix.§§ The first is a letter from Mahomed bin Salem at Muscat to Luddah, the customs master at

†† Appendix R.

‡‡ Muscat Report, paragraph 42.
§§ Appendices G and H.

Appendix, No. 8.

Zanzibar, desiring him to pay to bearer the balance of the "Musaadeh;" that is, the aid or subsidy granted by Syud Majeed to his brother Thoweynee. The other contains the original order drawn up in Syud Majeed's own writing, authorising the said Luddah to pay his brother Thoweynee every year "a subsidy" of 40,000 crowns.

12. All the arguments adduced or adducible in favour of Syud Majeed's claims are, I believe, fully and fairly stated in the foregoing summary. They are based on the following grounds, viz.:—

1. The will, or rather wishes, of his late Highness Syud Saeed.
2. His recognition by foreign powers.
3. His virtual recognition by his rival brother Syud Thoweynee of Muscat.
4. His election as their Sovereign by the chiefs of Zanzibar and its African dependencies.

I shall now proceed to make a few remarks under these several heads.

* Muscat Report,
paragraph 7.

13. Although the tenor of the late Syud Saeed's official communication to Lord Aberdeen, in 1844, is not absolutely conclusive that he contemplated dividing his empire by constituting Zanzibar and its African dependencies a separate kingdom under the sovereignty of his second son Khaled; and although there is still less certain ground for inferring that, on the death of Khaled, he purposed carrying out the same intention in behalf of his fourth son Majeed; nevertheless, I am of opinion that the evidence on that side outweighs the argument on the other,* that his late Highness, in his arrangements actually made, or prospectively designed, had nothing more in view than to allot subordinate governorships to one or more of his sons under the paramount Sovereign of Oman.

† Colonel Rigby's
letter, No. 46 of
1859.

14. Thus much conceded however, the question arises whether the late Syud Saeed, in conformity with pre-existing usage, possessed the right of dividing his dominions, or of disposing of them at will. Syud Majeed, during one of the Rev. Mr. Badger's official interviews with him, attempted at first to maintain that he had; but on being requested to adduce one single corroborative instance in the past history of the rulers of Oman, or to explain how it fell out, if such was the recognised law on the subject, that the succession in the existing dynasty had so often been diverted from the direct line, and the supreme power successfully usurped, his Highness at once abandoned the argument as untenable, admitting that the sovereignty of Oman had hitherto depended on election, the principal tribes generally choosing the candidate who was either most beloved by them, or who possessed the greatest power to enforce his pretensions. His Highness's testimony in this respect is in exact accordance with the account given by Syud Hilal, as reported by Colonel Rigby, of the mode of succession to the sovereignty of Oman; "Might, coupled with election by the tribes, is the only right." And again, "The one who had most influence with the tribes was elected."†

‡ Appendix B, reply
to Query 7.

§ Appendix B, reply
to Query 11.

15. Colonel Rigby seemingly admits the same; for in explaining his former use of the word "election," as applied to the succession of the late Syud Saeed, he says,—“By the term ‘election,’ I mean that he was proclaimed and accepted as their ruler by the Arabs of Oman, to the exclusion of his elder brother.” And further on,—“The late Imam evidently considered that he possessed the right to dispose of his dominions as he pleased, from having, during his lifetime, disinherited his eldest son Hilal. But if the successor thus nominated were not acceptable to the people, I think they would refuse to accept him.”‡ And again,—“I think, if a ruler of Oman were to appoint as his successor a person who was not acceptable to the Arab tribes and chiefs, that they would refuse to acknowledge him, and elect as their ruler a person who was more popular with them.”§

16. These admissions, however, are somewhat qualified by two or three examples adduced by the way in support of the opposite view. First, the case of Syud Hilal, just mentioned; but that instance proves nothing, even supposing that his being disinherited implied his exclusion from the succession, since, if the succession was ultimately by election, his father at best could only have nominated him to the sovereignty, and his confirmation in that dignity would have depended on the temper of the tribes.

|| Appendix B, reply
to Query 7.

17. The next case is that of Ahmed bin Saeed, grandfather of the late Syud Saeed, and the first of the reigning dynasty, who, according to Colonel Rigby, “divided his dominions during his own life, having appointed his son Kees to be chief of Sohar, and his seventh and youngest son to be chief of Suik.”|| Although it is true that in after years, owing to the incessant struggles for the sovereignty, and the fierce strife of parties in Oman, the two small provinces above-named did eventually attain a nominal independence, nevertheless it is highly improbable, from the peculiar circumstances of his own accession to the supreme power, that Ahmed's original concession either contemplated or sanctioned their detachment from the paramount state. They were most probably granted as appanages, but held on feudal tenure, their “syuds,” or lords, being bound to render military aid to the suzerain whenever called upon to do so.

18. In another place, replying to a query whether the tribes of Oman, to whom the late Syud Saeed owed his election to the sovereignty, and who had co-operated with him in the extension and consolidation of the African dependencies of the kingdom, might not justly claim a voice in the disposal of those territories, Colonel Rigby writes,—“The late
Imaum•

Imaum succeeded in establishing his power over the East Coast of Africa chiefly through the mutual jealousies and dissensions of the petty chiefs, who frequently sent envoys to Muscat to solicit his interference. I do not think that it would ever occur to any Arabs in Oman that they had any voice in the succession to the government of the African possessions on the ground supposed. I think they were regarded as being at the absolute disposal of the Imaum; and the fact that all the property of the State, such as ships of war, arms, &c., were considered as the private estate of the Imaum, strengthens this opinion.”*

Appendix, No. 8.

* Appendix B, reply to Query 23.

19. To this I reply that the mutual jealousies of the native petty chiefs were undoubtedly availed of by the late Syud Saeed to extend his conquests in Eastern Africa; but it is equally certain that he acquired the sovereignty over Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mombasa, as also over several other localities on the African continent, in virtue of his having been elected to succeed his father Syud Sultan, who had conquered them from the Portuguese. Hence, as the suffrages of the tribes of Oman contributed to invest the late Syud Saeed with supreme authority over those dependencies, it is but reasonable to suppose that the tribes at the present day claim the same privilege still. And further, as Syud Sultan does not appear to have arrogated to himself the right to dispose of the foreign possessions of the kingdom, there is no valid ground for presuming that his son could legitimately exercise that prerogative. Moreover, the argument drawn from a comparison of the sovereign's right to dispose of the *sovereignty*, because *the property of the State* was considered to form part of his private estate, is fallacious. The sovereignty, as we have seen, depended on election, and, strictly speaking, the State property of Oman, was confined almost exclusively to the fortresses of the kingdom, which a successor generally inherited, though not unfrequently obliged to coerce some of the garrisons to recognise his supremacy. All other movable and immovable property, including what he originally possessed, as well as what he had added thereto during his reign from the public revenues, were held as belonging to the private estate of his predecessor. Such, undoubtedly is, and ever has been, the law of inheritance in the succession among the Imams and kings of Oman, and it serves to explain what otherwise seems most anomalous in the will of the late Sultan Syud Saeed. By that instrument the testator directs that, after the payment of certain legacies, all his property, including his ships of war (two only excepted, which are bequeathed to the “Treasury of the Mussulmans,” that is, to the State), his money, palaces, furniture, plantations, &c., shall be divided among his surviving children “according as God has ordained in His law;”† but no provision whatever is made for the succession, and no bequests devised from any property which, agreeably with pre-existing usage, was considered to be public, and therefore as belonging of right to his successor in the sovereignty. It was in accordance with this law that his Highness Syud Majeed (who nevertheless claims the sovereignty of the Zanzibar territories and all the rights appertaining thereto) only shared equally with his brothers in the inheritance left by their father. Thus Colonel Rigby says, “The ships of war, guns, stores of every description, even the arms in the possession of the troops, were set down at a valuation, and charged against the new ruler as a debt due to his father's estate.”‡

† Muscat Report, Appendix C.

‡ Appendix K, paragraph 11.

20. The only logical inference deducible from the foregoing considerations is in strict accordance with the conclusion arrived at by the Reverend Mr. Badger after a careful inquiry into the laws which have regulated the succession among the Imaums and Kings of Oman for several centuries. He writes—“Among all the sovereigns * * * not one occurs who is recorded to have assumed or exercised the right of nominating a successor, or of disposing of his territories by will or otherwise. On the death of a ruler, the member of his family who happened to exercise the greatest influence at the time, either put himself forward, or was put forward by the people, to succeed to the sovereignty. The claim was frequently disputed by other of the relations of the deceased, and intestine family wars followed, the strongest ultimately gaining the ascendancy; but even in such cases the right to the sovereignty does not appear to have been regarded as valid without the concurrence of the principal tribes.”§

§ Muscat Report, Appendix B, paragraph 1.

21. Having thus, as I conceive, fairly answered all arguments adduced in support of the contrary view, and proved, as well by the admission of His Highness Syud Majeed and of Colonel Rigby as by historical evidence, that the sovereigns of Oman did not, in accordance with pre-established law or usage, possess the right of disposing of their dominions, it results that the claims of Syud Majeed to the sovereignty of the Zanzibar territories, as in any degree founded on the will or wishes of the late Syud Saeed, are invalid and nugatory.

22. I proceed, in the next place, to consider the argument adduced by Syud Majeed in behalf of his claims to the sovereignty, on the ground of his having been recognised as the ruler of Zanzibar and its African dependencies by several of the foreign powers which had previously been in alliance with his predecessor and father, the late Syud Saeed. It is unnecessary, however, to enlarge on that point, which has already been sufficiently discussed in paragraph 9 of this Report; for even admitting that the alleged recognition has actually been tendered by France and the United States of America, and subsequently by the Hanseatic Republic,|| after a full investigation into the merits of the dispute regarding the sovereignty still pending between Syud Majeed and Syud Thoweynee (which, at best, is very doubtful), the fact that the two brothers have voluntarily referred the settle-

|| Appendix B, replies to Queries 13 and 21.

Appendix, No. 8. ment of their differences in that respect to the Right honourable the Governor General, is a plain avowal of the existence of their rival claims, and effectually invalidates any such recognition unless eventually found to be in accordance with the final decision of the elected arbitrator.

* Appendix L, paragraph 4. 23. The argument next adduced by Syud Majeed, on the ground of his having been acknowledged as sovereign by his elder brother Syud Thoweynee of Muscat, being based on one-sided evidence, is inadmissible. His Highness alleges* that Mahomed bin Salem, the envoy of Syud Thoweynee, who was fully authorised to come to an understanding with him on all public as well as private matters connected with the death of their late father, did fully recognise that Zanzibar and its African dependencies belonged of right to him; on the other hand, Syud Thoweynee disavows that any such concession was ever authorised or made by or for him, and unhappily no documentary evidence is forthcoming to verify the assertion of either party. For a similar reason, no satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from the contradictory statements regarding the yearly grant of forty thousand crowns which Syud Majeed agreed to pay to Syud Thoweynee, the latter affirming that his agent accepted it in his behalf as *tribute*; whereas Syud Majeed insists that it was given and accepted as a *friendly gift*, and on the express condition that he should be recognised by his brother Thoweynee as the supreme ruler of Zanzibar and its dependencies. The only two documents produced by Syud Majeed in support of his assertions have already been described in paragraph 11. In the letter written by Mahomed bin Salem from Muscat to the Customs master at Zanzibar, he does, indeed, speak of the grant made by Majeed to Thoweynee as a "*masaadeh*"—that is, an aid or subsidy;† but, on the one hand, it is by no means apparent that Syud Thoweynee sanctioned such a definition of the money; and, on the other, it is just the style which Mahomed bin Salem might be expected to adopt in writing to Zanzibar, supposing, what I believe to be now generally believed, that the said agent, in his transactions between the two brothers, had managed to deceive both parties to his own advantage. The other document—namely, Syud Majeed's order to the customs master at Zanzibar to pay to his brother a "*subsidy*" of forty thousand crowns per annum—may go a certain way to indicate what His Highness's own views were in bestowing the grant; but it fails to prove in any degree that Syud Thoweynee had accepted it in that light. His Highness, in his written statement, also alludes to a declaration which Mahomed bin Salem had drawn up, previous to quitting Zanzibar, for presentation to Syud Thoweynee on his return to Muscat. According to him it was to the following effect:—"I, Mahomed bin Salem, ask of Majeed bin Saeed an annual subsidy of forty thousand crowns in behalf of his brother Thoweynee bin Saeed."‡ No such paper is forthcoming; and the circumstances under which it is stated to have been prepared are so improbable as to throw considerable doubt on His Highness's veracity.

‡ Appendix L, paragraph 5.

24. Summing up the foregoing considerations, I am led to conclude that Syud Majeed's claims to the independent sovereignty of Zanzibar, as based on his alleged recognition by Syud Thoweynee of Muscat, through the medium of his agent and plenipotentiary, Mahomed bin Salem, must be pronounced untenable.

§ Appendix B, reply to Query 14. 25. I shall now proceed to discuss the last argument urged in behalf of Syud Majeed's claims, namely, his election as their sovereign by the chiefs of Zanzibar and its African dependencies. His Highness's own statement to that effect, already quoted in paragraph 10, is fully confirmed by the testimony of Colonel Rigby, who believes that, if the suffrages of the principal chiefs were taken, the majority would undoubtedly elect Syud Majeed in preference to Syud Thoweynee.§ And again, referring to the meditated attack from Muscat in 1859, the same officer writes: "When the invasion of the Zanzibar dominions by Syud Thoweynee was expected, the inhabitants of the Sowahili rose *en masse* to support Syud Majeed. Many tribes under their own chiefs came over to Zanzibar; every accessible point on the coast was occupied; and when some of the dhows which had Syud Thoweynee's troops on board endeavoured to procure wood and water, they were driven from every point at which they attempted to land, and at length were obliged, in consequence, to surrender to Syud Majeed's ships-of-war. At Zanzibar the Sowahili population and the natives of the Comoro Isles were all in arms to support Syud Majeed, and I heard many of them state, as a reason for doing so, that the Muscat Arabs come here to kidnap their children and carry them away as slaves. The northern Arabs are feared and hated at Zanzibar.||

| Appendix B, reply to Query 16.

26. Without attempting to analyse the causes which led to this general preference of Syud Majeed to Syud Thoweynee, there is no good reason to doubt the fact of its existence. That being the case, the question naturally arises whether such recognition of his claims validly entitles Syud Majeed to the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its African dependencies.

27. I have already pointed out (paragraph 14) that the supreme power over Oman was conferred by election, and (paragraph 3) that, in virtue of that election, his late Highness Syud Saeed acquired the right of sovereignty over the African dependencies of the parent state. It does not appear, however (in fact, it is highly improbable), that the people of those dependencies enjoyed the privilege of sharing in the election of the sovereign. Up to

† The distinction between the import of the Arabic terms which I have throughout expressed by the English words "*subsidy*" and "*tribute*" is most explicit. The former denotes a gift accorded solely by the will of the giver; the latter implies obligation, and a proof of subjection to superior authority.

to the period referred to, they were doubtless regarded as a conquered race; as subjects, not citizens. They were ruled by local authorities generally sent from the seat of government at Muscat, and, as a people, were not allowed any part in the public administration. For obvious reasons, such must necessarily have been the state of those countries on the accession of the late Syud Saeed. Their conquest by his predecessor was of recent date, and their subjection to Oman was, in many instances, merely nominal. Moreover, their importance, both in a political and commercial point of view, was then inconsiderable, the Arabs valuing them more as a nursery from whence they could readily procure an abundant supply of slaves than for any other cause. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the people of Zanzibar and its African dependencies should have had no voice in the election of their sovereign.

Appendix, No. 8.

28. But during the reign of his late Highness Syud Saeed, extending over a period of 50 years, the general condition of those countries underwent a surprising change: his sovereignty over them was firmly established; large numbers of Arabs from Oman settled on the African mainland and the adjacent islands; agriculture and commerce were extensively promoted; and Zanzibar, which in 1834 was described by the commander of Her Majesty's ship "Imogene" as having "little or no trade," possessed in 1859 an aggregate trade estimated at 1,664,577 *l.* sterling.* Moreover, the revenue derivable from those dependencies has increased in the same rates. Colonel Rigby writes: "Twenty-five years ago the late Imaum did not receive more than 50,000 crowns of annual revenue from his African possessions. In 1847 it had increased to 145,000 crowns; and at present the revenue amounts to 206,000 crowns."† In 1840 Syud Saeed removed the seat of government from Muscat to Zanzibar, ruling Oman mostly through a deputy; and it was doubtless owing to the presence and energy of the sovereign that the African possessions of the kingdom made such remarkable and social commercial progress. Those possessions are actually more extensive, and far more fertile and valuable in every way, than the Arabian territories, and their annual revenue exceeds the revenue of the latter to the amount of 77,000 crowns, or about 16,000 *l.* sterling.

* Colonel Rigby's letter, No. 39, of 1860.

† Appendix B, reply to Query 39.

29. Such being the altered condition and circumstances of the African dependencies, it seems consonant with reason and justice (considering the form of government which prevailed in Oman) that the people of those countries should have a voice in the election of the sovereign. They accordingly availed themselves of the prerogative on the death of the late Syud Saeed, and chose his son Syud Majeed to be their ruler in preference to Syud Thoweynee, who had succeeded to the sovereignty of the parent State. Regarded from one point of view, the Act may be characterised as a national revolution, and as such, Syud Thoweynee, the sovereign of Oman, was justified in counteracting it, and in attempting to establish his own claims by an appeal to arms if success was unattainable in any other way. Apart from all consideration of the alleged cause which eventually induced him to project an invasion of the Zanzibar territories for that purpose, namely, the non-payment by Syud Majeed of the stipulated sum of 40,000 crowns after the first year; the custom in similar cases which had invariably obtained, especially in the family of the reigning dynasty on the demise of the sovereign, fully warranted Syud Thoweynee in regarding the attitude assumed by Syud Majeed as an usurpation of the hereditary rights of the sovereigns of Oman.

30. Syud Thoweynee prepared accordingly to contest the sovereignty of the African dependencies with his brother Majeed. With that object in view, he probably resorted to every available stratagem to secure ultimate success; and there can be little doubt that, when his expedition sailed from Muscat, he had won over a party at Zanzibar, chiefly among the El-Harth tribe, who were ready co-operate with him. Syud Majeed, on the other hand, made corresponding preparations to repel the invasion, and it may fairly be presumed that he was equally active in the use of all the intrigues sanctioned by Arab warfare to thwart the schemes of his antagonist. There is every reason, indeed, to believe that to this end he took advantage of the misunderstanding which existed at the time between Syud Thoweynee and Syud Toorkee of Sohar, and by dint of persuasions and promises succeeded in enlisting the latter on his side.

31. Such was the attitude of the belligerent parties when the Government of Bombay interposed to prevent a collision between them. At the solicitation of the late Lord Elphinstone, Syud Thoweynee agreed to abandon the expedition to Zanzibar, and to refer his claims to the arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, Syud Majeed at Zanzibar consenting, through Colonel Rigby, to abide in like manner by his Lordship's decision.

32. The intrigues and counter-intrigues which followed this arrangement, and which, in October of last year, resulted in an insurrection of the El-Harth tribe at Zanzibar, headed by Syud Barghash, call for notice, chiefly with a view to determine the culpability of the respective parties in fomenting them. Under the plea of recalling a part of the expedition which had preceded him to Zanzibar, Syud Thoweynee is severely censured‡ for having attempted, through his agent Hamed bin Salem, to settle the differences subsisting between himself and his brother Syud Majeed, after he had consented to submit his claims to the arbitration of the Governor General of India. His Highness's explanation of that transaction is to the following effect:—"After receiving the communication from Government through Colonel Russell, which induced me to abandon the expedition and to submit my

‡ Letter from the Government of India, No. 4590, of 1859, Foreign Department.

Appendix, No. 8.

* Muscat Report, paragraph 51.

† Muscat Report, paragraphs 44 and 45.

‡ Appendix B, reply to Query 14.

§ Muscat Report, paragraph 54, Appendix G.

|| Muscat Report, Appendix H.

¶ Muscat Report, paragraphs 56, 57, and Appendix I.

** Muscat Report, paragraph 58.

†† Appendix L, paragraph 14.

‡‡ Appendix B, reply to Query 32.

§§ Muscat Report, Appendix I.

|| Appendix B, reply to Query 33.

•• Letter No. 8, Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

*** Colonel Rigby's letter, No. 116, of 1859.

††† Muscat Report, paragraph 51.

case to the arbitration of the Governor General, I understood that an officer would be sent to Zanzibar to institute the necessary inquiries, and as I deemed it desirable to have an agent on the spot to represent me, I decided to send Hamed bin Salem in that capacity. My intention in this respect was communicated to Colonel Russell. I do not deny having written the letter to Syud Majeed, but I declare that it was one of friendship merely, and that any overtures which might have been made by Hamed bin Salem, in consequence of that letter, were by no means designed to set aside the final arbitration of the Governor General. My intention was, by previously establishing a more friendly understanding with Syud Majeed, to render the task of arbitration easier, and the result more satisfactory to both parties.** Allowing for a certain degree of native disingenuousness in this apology, it is not devoid of plausibility; and further, it is very questionable whether Syud Thoweynee fully appreciated the extent of restraint which he had voluntarily incurred by accepting the arbitration of a third party. On all such points of international law, Syud Majeed had the advantage of Colonel Rigby's constant advice and guidance; whereas the British agent at Muscat at the time was an illiterate Jew, who was as incapable of advising Syud Thoweynee as his Highness was naturally backward to consult him.

33. For the remaining charges brought against Syud Thoweynee, of having, through his agents and others, created disaffection at Zanzibar, and excited the El-Harth tribe to rebel against Syud Majeed, I must refer the Honourable the Governor in Council to my Muscat report, where his Highness's vindication of himself is also recorded.† On a careful review of the whole, it appears to me that, although Syud Thoweynee had not ceased to correspond directly with the disaffected at Zanzibar, and endeavoured to maintain a party there favourable to his ulterior views, nevertheless he is not justly chargeable with many of the acts alleged against his agents, nor with having instigated the rebellion of the El-Harth in October 1859. I am confirmed in this conclusion by the opinion of Colonel Rigby, who, in writing of that tribe, says—"Their rebellion last year was not intended to favour either Syud Thoweynee or Syud Barghash, but with the hope of getting rid of the whole family of the late Imam, and then obtaining possession of the government."‡ Moreover, the charges made against Hamed bin Salem, as Syud Thoweynee's principal agent, in fomenting the insurrection at Zanzibar, are considerably qualified by the friendly tenor of the letters addressed to that individual on his final departure for Muscat by Syud Majeed himself; § and Suleiman bin Hamed, his Highness' Vizier, in whose integrity Colonel Rigby formerly placed great confidence, but whom he has since had cause to regard as a most unprincipled man, did not hesitate, in a letter to Syud Thoweynee, to imply that Colonel Rigby was in some degree responsible for the rebellion of 1859, and for the subsequent conduct of Syud Barghash. ||

34. The numerous charges made against Syud Thoweynee, of having acted throughout under French influence, were rebutted by his Highness in the manner already reported. ¶ I am further able to confirm his account of the paper submitted to him by the French Commodore De Langle** by the admission of Syud Majeed, who, in his written statement, †† relates that, on being appealed to by the former to do so, he had directed his vizier, Suleiman bin Hamed, to draw up a document of precisely the same import as that described by Syud Thoweynee as having been handed to him at Muscat by the French Commodore. Equally inconclusive in proof of this general imputation is the statement of Colonel Rigby that "the French Consul was known to be carrying on a very active correspondence with Syud Thoweynee. The letters from Muscat to the disaffected Arabs here (Zanzibar) were sent under cover to the French Consul." ‡‡ That no collusion existed in this matter between the parties referred to is evident from the tenor of the French Consul's official despatch to Syud Thoweynee, wherein he specially requests His Highness "not to enclose any letters for the Arabs at Zanzibar in the letters which he may do him the honour to address to him." §§ Moreover, Syud Majeed frankly acknowledged that he had no evidence to prove that his brother had been acting under the influence of the French; and Colonel Rigby himself, who had framed several of his inferential charges against Syud Thoweynee, in that respect, on the assertions of the then French Consul at Zanzibar, now writes—"From subsequent experience, I have very little faith in anything the French Consul said on any subject." |||

35. But if Syud Thoweynee is justly chargeable in any degree with having intrigued against Syud Majeed after he had consented to refer the settlement of his claims to the arbitration of the Governor General of India, Syud Majeed is equally open to the imputation of having kept up a secret correspondence with Syud Toorkee of Sohar, who was well known to be disaffected towards his suzerain at Muscat, and was actively plotting with the tribes and with the Wahabees to undermine his authority over Oman. ¶¶ The explanation given by Syud Majeed of the guns, money, and munitions of war, despatched by him to Syud Toorkee in March 1859, is undoubtedly very plausible; *** but under the circumstances of the case, it fails to carry conviction to the mind of anyone well versed in the sophistry and equivocation of the Arabs. The letter also written by Syud Majeed at the commencement of the current year to his brother at Sohar, advising him of a remittance of 2,000 dollars, which letter was intercepted by Syud Thoweynee, ††† is another ground of suspicion against the former; and in a subsequent part of this report I shall have occasion to add some further considerations which will tend to confirm the opinion here expressed—that His Highness, Syud Majeed, chiefly with a view to strengthen his own position,

tion, was not less actively engaged against Syud Thoweynee through the medium of Syud Toorkee of Sohar, than was Syud Thoweynee, through his agent at Zanzibar, to weaken the authority of his brother Syud Majeed. Appendix, No. 8.

36. I have deemed it pertinent to enter into the foregoing discussion of the mutual attitude and conduct of the two rival brothers as a precaution against any unfair bias towards either. That done, it is of some importance to inquire what would have been the probable result had the two parties come into actual collision on the occasion of Syud Thoweynee's projected invasion of Zanzibar.

37. As regards the chances of Syud Thoweynee, I have already written as follows:—
“Colonel Rigby,* in his account of the preparation made by Syud Majeed to resist the expected invasion, represents the means at the disposal of the latter as ample to destroy any force brought against him, dwelling especially on the enthusiasm of the people in his cause. Subsequently, however, and long after the expedition of Syud Thoweynee had returned to Muscat, his report of the state of affairs at Zanzibar led the Government to conclude that the position of Syud Majeed at Zanzibar was not secure;† and later still, on the occasion of the outbreak, when the El-Harth Arabs rose in support of Syud Barghash, all the force which Syud Majeed could bring against them was ineffectual, and the rising was not suppressed until assistance from three British men-of-war had been sent to co-operate with them, when, as it is averred, the Arabs yielded because they would not fight against the British.”‡ Subsequent inquiry confirms me rather than otherwise in the obvious drift of the foregoing quotation. The elaborate account given by his Highness Syud Majeed§ of the insurrection at Zanzibar in October 1859, divested of its vain colouring, shows that he was hard pressed by the insurgents; and Colonel Rigby, in attempting to reconcile a former statement of his, that the faction opposed to Majeed was “utterly contemptible” with the position which that faction had secured on the occasion referred to, renders it highly probable that, without the opportune assistance of the British, the struggle would have been prolonged, and the final result at least doubtful. ||

* Letter No. 19 of 1859.

† Resolution of the Honourable Board, 16th November 1859.

‡ Muscat Report, paragraph 24.

§ Appendix L.

|| Appendix B, reply to Query 15.

38. On the other hand, however, it is by no means certain that the success of the insurgents would have placed Zanzibar in the hands of Syud Thoweynee. Colonel Rigby is of opinion that the El-Harth were actuated by private aims, and availed themselves of Syud Thoweynee's antagonism to Syud Majeed—not for his sake, but for their own, anxious, if possible, “to get rid of the whole family of the late Inam.”¶ Besides which (and the reflection is of considerable importance in this inquiry), there is strong reason for believing that, had Syud Thoweynee persisted in the invasion of Zanzibar, the tribes in Oman would have thrown off their allegiance to him, and elected another sovereign in his stead. This contingency was foreseen by the late Lord Elphinstone, and recorded by him in an able Minute, dated 10th August 1859. His Lordship writes—“When Colonel Russell was at Muscat, he heard it said openly that it was well for Syud Thoweynee that he had listened to the advice of this Government and returned to Muscat; for if he had not done so, Syud Toorkee would undoubtedly have attacked Muscat in his absence, and would probably have succeeded in making himself master of it, and of all the Imam's possessions in Oman. In grasping at the shadow of sovereignty in Zanzibar, Syud Thoweynee would have lost the substance in Muscat.” Considering that Muscat would have been almost denuded of ships and troops; that the restless and mercenary tribes of Oman have never failed to seize any promising opportunity for bartering their influence and acquiring gain; and that Syud Toorkee was on the spot quite prepared to avail himself of so favourable an occasion for promoting his own ambitious views—there is good ground for believing that a civil war would have followed the continued absence of Syud Thoweynee, and that the sovereignty of Oman would have been lost to him perhaps for ever. Syud Majeed was doubtless fully aware of these weak points in the position of his antagonist, and was not backward to take advantage of them. His strategy could best be carried out through his brother at Sohar, who was accordingly subsidised by him to that end. Under the circumstances of the case, “it was quite natural,” so writes Lord Elphinstone, “that Syud Majeed should send arms and ammunition to Syud Toorkee with the view of Syud Toorkee's creating a diversion in his favour at Muscat.”**

¶ Appendix B, reply to Query 14.

** Resolution of the Honourable Board, 16th November 1859.

39. To sum up:—Considering the fact that the people of Zanzibar and its African dependencies did, on the death of the late Syud Saeed, elect his son Syud Majeed to be their ruler in his stead;†† considering that the altered condition of those dependencies during the last half century fully entitled them to that privilege;‡‡ considering that, if Syud Thoweynee, the elected sovereign of the parent state, was justified in coercing them into submission, the people of the African dependencies, on the other hand, were equally justified in resisting him;§§ considering that it is very doubtful whether any such attempt on his part would have been successful; ||| and considering the probability that, if persisted in by Syud Thoweynee, the projected invasion of Zanzibar would have led to the forfeiture of his supremacy over Oman, ¶¶ I arrive at the conclusion, on these grounds exclusively, that Syud Majeed's claims to the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its African dependencies are superior to any which can be adduced in favour of Syud Thoweynee.

†† Paragraphs 25 and 26.

‡‡ Paragraphs 28 and 29.

§§ Paragraph 30.

||| Paragraph 37.

¶¶ Paragraph 38.

40. But further, the argument on the score of expediency, involving the future prosperity of the Muscat as well as the Zanzibar state, preponderates unquestionably in favour of the foregoing conclusion. This is so forcibly pointed out by Colonel Rigby in reply to one of the queries submitted to him, that, to secure for his remarks the consideration which they

Appendix, No. 8.

they merit, I reproduce them entire from the Appendix. That officer writes—"I consider that the connection which existed between Oman and a country so far remote as East Africa, was always an unnatural one, and ever prejudicial to the interests of both countries. This I mean with reference to the want of all system and regularity in the government of Arab states, in which everything depends on the personal influence and presence of the ruling chief. The selections from the records of the Bombay Government relating to the Persian Gulf abundantly prove the dangers and disorders which constantly threatened the late Imam's possessions in Oman in consequence of his absence at Zanzibar. On several occasions the danger was only averted by the influence and intervention of the British Government. Had the late Imam continued to reside at Muscat, it is probable that, with his energetic, shrewd character, he would have greatly extended his power, and firmly established it. In 1846 Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton writes to the Secretary to Government as follows:—'I brought to the notice of his Highness the injury which was occasioned to his interests in Arabia from his protracted stay at Zanzibar, and that the Government at Muscat was but ill-administered. His Highness replied that this had been a matter of much distress to him lately.' And in another letter, during the same year, he writes to the Secretary to Government, Bombay—"I have, in obedience to instructions, most fully communicated to his Highness the Imam the state of his affairs in Arabia, as appears from the copies of the documents enclosed with the letter. His Highness was aware of everything, but did not appear to consider matters so serious as perhaps they are. The Imam has always appeared to me to care little for his Arabian possessions further than the seaports. His Highness's influence in the interior of Oman is irretrievably lost, from the feeble nature of his government; and he knows and feels it. His Highness last year deputed Sheikh Alli bin Massood to proceed to Oman from Zanzibar, to try to procure men from the different tribes in Oman to assist his Highness in the war he is now carrying on against the people of Sewee; but the Sheikh has returned without being able to procure a single sword from the tribes in Oman."

"As an Arab chief, the late Imam was a very superior man; it may be many years before his equal is found among his successors. From his personal bravery, his wealth, and his long reign, he had far more influence amongst those by whom he was surrounded than is likely to be possessed by either of his sons. Nevertheless, his absence from Oman destroyed his influence with the tribes, and nearly caused him the loss of all his Arabian possessions.

"With respect to the Zanzibar dominions, I think their complete severance from Muscat would soon lead to the stoppage of the northern slave-trade. The ruler of Zanzibar would feel independent of the northern Arabs, who every year swarm at Zanzibar during the north-east monsoon, to prey upon him." The sum distributed by Syud Majeed amongst these people every year is a serious drain upon the Zanzibar Treasury. I imagine that the only reason why these Arabs are thus paid is with the idea that their aid may one day be required. If these payments were stopped, and vigorous measures were adopted for one or two seasons by an English gunboat to capture the boats of these piratical tribes when found carrying slaves, I think they would soon discontinue visiting this coast, and probably find some more honest occupation.

"I think, if Zanzibar is governed with prudence, it may perform a very important part in the future commerce and civilisation of East Africa. From Port Natal to Cape Gardafui, the only state from which any progress or stability can be hoped is Zanzibar. Its commerce has rapidly increased within the last few years, and it bids fair to become the chief emporium of trade on the east coast. Its population possesses valuable elements for commerce in the wealthy and numerous settlers from India, and the enterprising Arabs and Sowahilis who travel over Central Africa, distributing foreign goods in exchange for the products of the country. The Portuguese possessions on the east coast are in a hopeless state of decay, and there is not the slightest probability of the Portuguese ever advancing the civilisation or commerce of the interior. If Zanzibar should be an independent state, the dominions of its ruler would probably soon extend into the interior, and his power would be consolidated, and in time it might form a considerable African kingdom. But supposing that, from the non-residence of the ruling chief, from its being continually held as a dependency of Muscat, from neglect or feeble rule, such as Oman has suffered from for so many years in consequence of the late Imam being a non-resident, the Zanzibar state were gradually to lose its power over the territories of the mainland, the petty sultans and chiefs would soon become independent; the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade would be disregarded, foreign settlements would be established, and all hope of progress be destroyed."

* Appendix B, reply to Query 36.

41. It would be superfluous to add anything to these considerations in favour of the independent sovereignty of Zanzibar. Fortunately the expediency on which they are based, and which alone would hardly suffice to justify the severance of that state from the parent state of Muscat, is adequately supported and confirmed by the arguments founded on right, which have already been discussed in the foregoing pages.

42. But if, notwithstanding these combined considerations, Syud Thoweynee, as the overlord of Oman, may still be deemed to have some claim on the African territories of the kingdom, either in virtue of the relationship which has hitherto existed between those dependencies and the parent state, or by way of indemnity for any chance which, through having consented to forego his projected invasion of Zanzibar, he may consider that

that he has forfeited for himself and his successors, or in consideration of his recognition of the future independence of the Zanzibar state, I judge that the compensation offered on that behalf by Syud Majeed is a fair equivalent for such pretensions. The amount of that compensation is more than Syud Thoweynee is ever likely to gain from the revenues of Zanzibar, were it to continue a dependency of Muscat, and would, moreover, by enabling him to establish his authority over Oman, be of far greater use to him than the sovereignty over a distant possession, the population of which are notoriously ill-affected towards him. I should be less disposed to insist on this point, were it not that the obligation was acknowledged by Syud Majeed himself when he first volunteered to grant to Syud Thoweynee a yearly subsidy of 40,000 crowns. Colonel Rigby states that, during the lifetime of the late Imam, "10,000 crowns were annually sent from Zanzibar to Muscat on account of the tribute to the Wahabee Ameer, that this was a fixed payment. Other sums were sent as required; some years 10,000 crowns, and some years, if hostilities were going on in Oman, considerably more."* On the death of his late Highness, Syud Majeed, according to his own statement, wrote to Syud Thoweynee offering to remit him this sum of 10,000 crowns to assist him in paying the Wahabees; (a) and further, in case of emergency, to assist him with his money, his influence, and his troops.† Subsequently, yielding to the arguments or solicitations of Mahomed bin Salem, Syud Majeed engaged to raise the amount to an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns.‡

Appendix, No. 8.

* Appendix B, reply to Query 28.

† Appendix L, paragraph 3.

‡ Idem, paragraph 5.

43. With regard to the conditions averred by Syud Majeed to have been insisted on by him in voting this grant, namely, first, that he should be recognised by Syud Thoweynee as his father's successor over the Zanzibar territories; and secondly, that Syud Thoweynee should abstain in future from all hostilities with their common brother Syud Toorkee,§ there is no evidence whatever to corroborate his Highness's allegation, and my firm conviction is that no such terms were attached to the concession. It is, moreover, worthy of note that Syud Majeed, in his written statement, entirely overlooks what he had before repeatedly declared, namely, that 10,000 of the stipulated sum of 40,000 crowns were to be transferred to Syud Toorkee, and that it was on account of Syud Thoweynee's infringement of that condition that he discontinued the payment of the subsidy to the latter. Colonel Rigby, who had formerly hazarded these statements on the authority of his Highness,|| now writes: "I consider it very unlikely that any stipulation was made relative to one-fourth of the promised subsidy being paid to Syud Toorkee. I have always had great doubts on this point, because Thoweynee and Toorkee were on bad terms with each other at the time the agreement with Mahomed bin Salem was made, and also because I was informed that the allowance made from the Muscat Treasury to Sohar during the life of the late Imam was only 1,200 crowns per annum. If the whole of the tribute to the Wahabee Chief is, and always has been, paid from the Muscat Treasury, it is, I consider, a strong confirmation of the doubts which I entertain, for Syud Toorkee could have no possible claim to such a payment from the Zanzibar Treasury."¶ These suspicions are confirmed by the tenor of Syud Majeed's note to the customs master at Zanzibar, wherein he states as follows:—"We have granted to our brother Thoweynee bin Saeed a subsidy of 40,000 crowns every year from the beginning of the year 1274, half (to be paid) during the south-west monsoon, and the other half during the north-east monsoon,"*** without hinting that the payment of the said gratuity was to be dependent on the observance of any condition by his Highness Syud Thoweynee.

§ Idem, paragraph 5.

|| Letter No. 116 of 1859.

¶ Appendix B, reply to Query 25.

** Appendix H.

44. Under these circumstances, I am of opinion that Syud Majeed is bound to Syud Thoweynee in the sum of 40,000 crowns per annum; and further, considering that the existing variance between the two brothers originated in the non-fulfilment of that obligation by the former, under the false plea that the latter had violated the attached condition, I judge that it would be only fair that Syud Majeed should be called upon to make good his original promise, by disbursing to Syud Thoweynee the arrears of the stipulated subsidy due since the date when its payment was suspended.

45. A question of considerable importance, touching the duration of this subsidy, here suggests itself. The arrangement as it stands has respect to the two brothers only, no provision whatever being made that it should continue in force beyond their own lifetime. But although the strict letter of all we know of the mutual agreement might be held to sanction that limitation, the grounds upon which the subsidy was first offered by Syud Majeed, and the considerations which subsequently induced him to increase the amount to 40,000 crowns per annum,†† clearly imply that he was negotiating on the part of the Zanzibar state, and that the subsidy was to be a permanent charge on its revenues in behalf of the Sovereign of Muscat. The transaction indeed, as far as I can judge from the evidence adduced, was a family compact, entered into by Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed as the representatives of their brothers and of the subjects of the two states, whereby it was agreed to divide the sovereignty exercised by their late father into two nearly equal shares, the Zanzibar state engaging, through Syud Majeed, to compensate the Muscat state for the loss which it would sustain by the partition to the extent of 40,000 crowns per annum.

†† Appendix L, paragraph 5.

46. Recapitulating the conclusions arrived at through the foregoing discussions, I submit

(a) The annual tribute to the Wahabees, including presents, amounts to 12,000 crowns.

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submit the following results as the most equitable terms for settling the existing dispute between the rival parties:—

*Terms of the
Arbitration.*

1st. That Syud Majeed should be confirmed in the independent sovereignty over Zanzibar and its African territories.

2nd. That as regards the succession to that sovereignty, neither the ruler of Muscat, nor the tribes of Oman, shall have any right whatever to interfere; but the Sovereign of Zanzibar, or the sovereign in conjunction with the people, shall be left absolutely free to make whatever arrangements they may deem expedient for appointing future successors to Syud Majeed.

3rd. That in consideration of these concessions, Syud Majeed shall be bound to remit to Syud Thoweynee the stipulated yearly subsidy of 40,000 crowns; and further, to liquidate all the arrears due on that account since the payment was suspended.

4th. That this subsidy of 40,000 crowns per annum shall be a primary and permanent charge on the revenues of the Zanzibar state, payable by the Sovereign of that state to the ruling Sovereign of Muscat and Oman.

47. The liberty accorded me by the Honourable the Governor in Council, of recommending a fair adjustment of the differences existing between their Highnesses Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed, has warranted me in submitting these terms as, in my opinion, the best which can be proposed to that end. I do not feel authorised to exceed the limits of my commission by advising any precautionary measures for the due observance of those terms by the rival parties; nevertheless, as it does not appear that the Right Honourable the Governor General has undertaken to guarantee that his final arbitration shall be carried out, and as it is more than probable that pretexts will be constantly devised on both sides to evade the obligations imposed by his Lordship's decision, pretexts which, by re-opening the existing dispute, will entail the most disastrous consequences to the welfare of the two states, I venture with much diffidence to suggest whether the following subsidiary terms might not be insisted on as a safeguard against such evasions:—

5th. That no cause whatever, other than an open attempt on the part of Syud Thoweynee or his successors to infringe upon the independence of the Zanzibar sovereignty, shall be held to justify Syud Majeed or his successors in withholding the stipulated subsidy.

6th. That in the event of any such attempt being made by the ruler of Muscat, or, on the other hand, in the event of the Sovereign of the Zanzibar state failing, under any plea whatever, to pay the aforesaid subsidy, the aggrieved party shall submit the case to the Viceroy and Governor General of India before proceeding to settle the dispute by an appeal to arms.

* Appendix K,
Enclosure.

48. I have deemed it desirable to insist on the payment of the subsidy agreed on between the two parties, because various excuses are urged by Syud Majeed to evade that obligation.* The most reasonable of these is the actual condition of his Highness' finances. On this subject Colonel Rigby writes: "The difficulty arises from the embarrassed state of the Zanzibar treasury. Syud Majeed is entirely dependent on the will of his customs master for supplies of money, and were he now to bind himself to the payment of an annual sum, and the customs master subsequently refused to advance the amount, Syud Majeed might be compelled to break his engagement without any fault of his own." As an offset, however, against the difficulty, Colonel Rigby subjoins—"But if his Highness could be persuaded to establish a small force of disciplined troops, with a few light guns, in place of the useless rabble now in his pay, and would also get rid of most of the large ships which he now has, and which are of no use whatever, and in place of them keep two or three small vessels efficiently manned, it would be a great direct saving to him; and knowing that he had troops he could rely on, he would feel more independent of the Arabs from the north, and of the chiefs of tribes, amongst whom he squanders so much money."† Syud Majeed himself estimates the amount which he pays yearly in gratuities to the northern Arabs at 15,000 crowns;‡ and Colonel Rigby gives a list of several of the principal chiefs of Zanzibar who are subsidised by Syud Majeed, and whose aggregate incomes from his treasury exceed 10,000 crowns per annum.§ The saving of these sums alone (and there would certainly be no reason for their being continued when once the sovereignty of Zanzibar was secured to Syud Majeed) would suffice to cover more than one-half of the Muscat subsidy; and if, in addition thereto, his Highness would abstain from other useless expenditure, there can be no doubt that he would be able to meet the obligation with comparative ease. As regards his debts to the customs master, amounting to 327,000 crowns,|| and those to his orphan brothers, whose share of their father's inheritance he has borrowed to the extent of seven lacs of crowns,¶ Colonel Rigby, after reviewing Syud Majeed's financial position, comes to the conclusion that, "with prudence and care, his existing liabilities might soon be paid off."**

† Appendix B, reply
to Query 40.

‡ Appendix L, para-
graph 6.

§ Appendix B, reply
to Query 17.

|| Appendix K,
Enclosure.

¶ Appendix K.

** Appendix B, re-
ply to Query 39.

49. But the finances of Syud Thoweynee are comparatively as much embarrassed as those of Syud Majeed, and the payment annually of 40,000 crowns by the latter, considering the capabilities of the Zanzibar territories, will still leave him in better circumstances than the

the ruler of Muscat (a). In fact, without that aid I do not perceive how Syud Thoweynee can continue long to administer the government of Oman. Hence, as so many grave considerations are involved in the prompt and regular payment of the stipulated subsidy, I trust that the Right honourable the Governor General (should his Lordship coincide in the view here taken of the subject) will attach such sanctions as he may deem expedient to ensure the faithful discharge of that obligation by his Highness Syud Majeed.

Appendix, No. 8.

50. I shall now proceed to notice briefly several collateral points connected with the main subject of this report. And first—Colonel Rigby's recommendation that some steps should be taken to provide for the future succession to the sovereignty of Zanzibar in the event of that state being permanently severed from Muscat. He writes thus—"I think it will be extremely advantageous to the future prosperity of the Zanzibar state, if some arrangement as to the future succession can be made in the event of Syud Majeed being declared its independent chief; for this prince has no male issue, and I think it not likely that he will have any. I think that it might be left to the choice of all the family of the late Imam, or Syud Majeed might nominate one of his brothers to succeed him, subject to the ratification of the principal chiefs at Zanzibar. If the members of the Syud's family could be induced always to admit in future the claims of primogeniture, I think it would be a very great advantage. At present the subject is always in doubt, and leads to quarrels and assassinations in the family."* I fully concur with Colonel Rigby in believing that great advantages might reasonably be anticipated if any such arrangement could be made. In fact, I once entertained some hope of being able to effect it,† but increased experience of the peculiar political constitution (if it may be so called) of these petty sovereignties, and of the intractable temper and inveterate prejudices of the Arab tribes on all matters in any way connected with their inherited rights, to say nothing of their gross venality, has induced me, however reluctantly, to abandon the idea as impracticable. There would, indeed, be little difficulty in securing the consent of Syud Majeed's brothers at Zanzibar, and of the principal chiefs there, to almost any scheme for providing for the succession which might be proposed to them by us; but no such concurrence would be regarded on their part as depriving them of the privilege of acting in direct opposition to their most solemn obligations in a matter of this nature, or of bartering whatever influence they might possess in the election of a new sovereign to the highest bidder. Hence, unless the British Government undertook to guarantee the arrangement and enforce compliance with its provisions, no pre-organised scheme of the kind is likely to succeed better than the custom which has hitherto prevailed among the tribes of Oman. And as I do not conceive that Her Majesty's Government is disposed to entangle itself with responsibilities of that nature, I judge that it will be far more expedient to leave such questions to be settled by the people without any interference on our part. Failing male issue, Syud Majeed's present idea is, should the sovereignty be awarded to him, to associate one of his brothers with himself in the administration, so that, in the event of his death, the people, from having been accustomed to regard that brother as his successor, will be prepared to ratify his claim to the sovereignty. Under the peculiar circumstances of the government and people of the Zanzibar territories, his Highness' scheme is, in my opinion, as good as any other that could be adopted.

* Appendix B, reply to Query 38.

† Letter No. 1 of 1860, paragraph 13.

51. Another point which I deem it desirable to notice is Syud Thoweynee's grievance, submitted by him to the late Lord Elphinstone, that Syud Majeed had wrongfully assumed the guardianship of the younger orphan children of the late Syud Saeed at Zanzibar, and had either appropriated, or taken into his hands, the management of their shares in their father's inheritance.‡ It is undoubtedly true that Syud Majeed has taken on himself the office of guardian to his younger brothers and sisters who are under age, and has so far appropriated their property as to borrow and use it; nevertheless, he openly acknowledges his liability to them to the extent of seven lacs of crowns.§ He, moreover, justifies this proceeding on the ground of having been appointed an executor of his father's will conjointly with Bint Seif and Mahomed bin Salem, and maintains that, as the former has since died, and the latter retired to Mecca, the entire responsibility of executing his father's will devolves on him. By the only will of the late Syud Saeed, hitherto forthcoming, and which is dated eleven years back, the testator nominates his son Khaled, Mahomed bin Salem, and his wife Bint Seif, as joint executors; || and as Khaled and Bint Seif are dead, and Mahomed bin Salem has declined to act, Syud Thoweynee, as the eldest brother, demands that the "property of the orphans shall be given up by Majid and deposited with a trustworthy person, in whose custody all parties may feel satisfied that it will be safe."¶ On the other hand, Syud Majeed avers that, on the death of Khaled, his father appointed him a joint executor with Bint Seif and Mahomed bin Salem, and he promises to obtain the said will from the latter, and to have it forwarded, through the British

‡ Letter No. 205 of 1859, Persian Department.

§ Appendix K, paragraph 10.

|| Muscat Report, Appendix C.

¶ Letter No. 205 of 1859, Persian Department.

(a) Zanzibar.		Crowns.
The revenue of Zanzibar is estimated at		206,000
Syud Majeed's outstanding liabilities, independent of seven lacs of crowns borrowed from his orphan brothers (for the greater part of which, however, he holds their shares of the movable and immovable property which fell to them by inheritance from their father), at		327,000

(b) Muscat.		Crowns.
The revenue of Muscat is estimated at		129,500
Syud Thoweynee's liabilities at		81,000

0.116.

x 3.

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* Appendix L.

British Consul at Jeddah, to the Government of Bombay.* Should such a document be found, it will put an end to this sore question between the rival brothers, whose only object is, I fear, to despoil their orphan relatives. Any interference therefore on our part may be postponed until the will referred to is produced; and in the event of the document not being forthcoming, and Syud Thoweynee persisting in his demand, the Government might then take such steps as may seem most expedient to prevent an open rupture between the two brothers, which this dispute is not unlikely to occasion.

† Colonel Rigby's letter, No. 103 of 1859.

‡ Appendix L, paragraphs 10, 11, 12.

52. I take it for granted that some opinion will be expected from me on the case of Syud Barghash, who has already been here nearly a year a pensioner on the bounty of the Government. His Excellency in Council is doubtless aware that he was expelled from Zanzibar on account of the leading part which he took in the rebellion against Syud Majeed in October 1859, and that before leaving he signed a formal engagement, swearing on the Koran to abide by the same, that he would quit Zanzibar for ever, and never attempt to return without the express permission of Syud Majeed.† There is every reason to believe that most of the charges urged against him by Colonel Rigby and confirmed by Syud Majeed,‡ of having conspired with the El-Harth tribe to overturn the Government, are substantially true. It is very probable, moreover, that, whereas he was in reality merely a tool in the hands of the El-Harth, he himself entertained the ambitious design of dethroning his brother and of ruling in his stead. It is equally clear that, before and throughout the disturbances, he wished to be guided by the counsels of the French party. The following extract from a letter written by him to the address of the French Consul at Zanzibar, and picked up in the fortified house which he had vacated on the second approach of Syud Majeed's troops, accompanied by a detachment of British sailors, leaves no doubt on that point:—"My brother Majeed's wish is to give the country to the English, and he has spoken thereof openly, not once, nor twice, but often. We, however, will not give our country either to the English or to the French, or to the Americans, or to any one else; but if we sell it, we shall do so only at the cost of our blood, and of war to the death. As to yourself be fully confident: if you are buying or selling in the plantations be not afraid, your transactions will be safe."

§ Muscat Report, paragraph 49.

53. The only excuse which can be urged in palliation of Syud Barghash's conduct (apart from Syud Thoweynee's estimate of his character when he styled him a lackbrain),§ is the complicated state of the political affairs which existed at Zanzibar at the period of the insurrection. Syud Majeed's right to the sovereignty was disputed by the powerful tribe of the El-Harth; and, on the other hand, Syud Thoweynee was endeavouring to secure what support he could to establish his own claim to the territories of Zanzibar. The commotion which ensued in consequence of this rivalry was a mere repetition of similar disturbances which, from time immemorial, have accompanied every fresh succession to the sovereignty of Oman, and generally speaking, even the ringleaders, as well as the abettors of the losing party, have uniformly been treated with the greatest lenity by the successful candidate on his confirmation in the sovereignty. Such has always been the normal mode of proceeding among the Arabs of Oman. Open rebellion in such cases has been considered an honour rather than a crime; so much so, indeed, that the popular voice would hardly be in favour of a new ruler who had attained the supremacy without a struggle with his competitors.

54. Should the independent sovereignty be awarded to Syud Majeed, I think that, under proper guarantees, he might with safety exercise a corresponding leniency by permitting Syud Barghash to return to his home and family at Zanzibar. His Highness has apparently succeeded in reducing the disaffected among the El-Harth to subjection; and the principal chiefs of that tribe who headed the insurrection are still in confinement, and within his absolute power. Hence, there is little chance of Syud Barghash being able, even were he so disposed, to organize a party in opposition to his brother Majeed, but, judging from appearances, I believe that the young prince has sincerely repented of his folly. I understand that he has lately written a letter to Majeed, couched in the most abject terms, soliciting permission to return, and promising solemnly to conduct himself in future as a loyal subject. No answer has as yet been received from his Highness, and I am inclined to believe that none will be sent. Under these circumstances, it becomes a difficult question how Syud Barghash is to be disposed of. A suggestion from the Government, that he might be allowed another trial of his sincerity, with the superadded offer that he should be placed under the surveillance of the resident British consul, would at once ensure his return to Zanzibar; and, as I have already observed, I do not think it probable that he will abuse the indulgence.

Sohar.

55. As intimately connected with the principal subject of this report, I avail of the present occasion to submit to Government the result of my ulterior inquiries at Zanzibar regarding Sohar. The Honourable the Governor in Council is aware that a claim was set up some months ago in behalf of Syud Toorkee, third surviving son of the late Syud Saeed, entitling him to the independent sovereignty of the Sohar district. The ground on which this claim was based is thus stated by the Under Secretary to the Government of India: "The late Imam divided his kingdom among his three sons, giving Zanzibar to Majeed, Muscat to Thoweynee, and Sohar to Toorkee, with the full understanding that they were to succeed to the full sovereignty of each after his own death."||

| Letter No. 1120 of 1860, Foreign Department.

56. In

56. In my report from Muscat, after carefully examining all the arguments which had been adduced in support of this claim, I came to the conclusion that they were "inconclusive, apart from the reflection that they were, moreover, open to complete refutation if the more general question of the right of the late Syud Saeed to divide his territories is decided in the negative;" and again, that the considerations which had been urged on the opposite side "formed, in my opinion, a mass of evidence decidedly adverse to the claim set forth in behalf of Syud Toorkee."*

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57. Additional research at Zanzibar fully confirms me in the foregoing conclusion. On submitting to Colonel Rigby, for further information, the statements which he had incidentally transmitted to Government in behalf of Syud Toorkee, he replied: "From what I had always been told by Arabs at Zanzibar, and also from what Syud Hilal said, I was under the impression that Syud Toorkee had been placed in possession of Sohar by his father as an independent state, in the same manner as it had been formerly granted by the Imam Ahmed, during his own life, to his son Kees." In paragraph 17 of this report, I have already pointed out the inaptness of the comparison here instituted; but Colonel Rigby subjoins, "My impressions having been formed from the statements of interested persons were probably erroneous."†

* Muscat Report, paragraphs 30 to 33.

58. Another consideration which led Colonel Rigby to conclude that Sohar was independent of Muscat, he expresses in these words: "I think that Sohar must have been regarded as an independent state, as an engagement was entered into between the British Government and Seif bin Hamood, Chief of Sohar, dated 22nd May 1849, for the prevention of the slave trade, and an Act of the British Parliament, 16 Vict. c. 16, dated 9th May 1853, was passed to give effect to this engagement (*vide* Hertslet's Treatise, vol. IX., page 715).‡ In the year 1849 Sohar had acquired, through the lapse of nearly a century, a nominal independence, though it is extremely improbable that the original concession by Sultan Ahmed involved any such privilege; § but however that may be, Colonel Rigby appears to overlook the fact that Sohar was captured by the late Syud Saeed in 1851, and continued up to his death a dependency of Muscat."||

† Appendix B, reply to Query 41.

‡ Appendix B, reply to Query 8.

§ *Vide supra*, paragraph 17.

|| Government Selections, Persian Gulf, page 231.

59. Syud Majeed, when questioned on the subject, frankly admitted that no proof existed to establish Syud Toorkee's pretensions to the independent sovereignty of Sohar; and in his appended written statement, his Highness says, "I do not know what Toorkee's real position is, whether he is independent or subject to the ruler of Muscat. What I only know is, that our late father made over Oman and its dependencies to my brother Thoweynee, in the same way that he made over Zanzibar and its dependencies to our brother Khaled, and on his death he made them over to me."¶

¶ Appendix L, paragraph 5.

60. The foregoing arguments will, I trust, be regarded as decisive against the claims of Syud Toorkee to the independent sovereignty of Sohar. In a political point of view, more especially in its bearings on the future tranquillity of Oman, and the peace of the maritime tribes in the Persian Gulf, it is fortunate that the question admits of no other solution; for Syud Toorkee is represented as being a dangerous intriguer and a most extortionate ruler. In my letter No. 8 of the 27th June, I submitted to Government a general account of his sinister proceedings, and what steps I had taken to arrest them. The letter which I addressed to him on that occasion was so far successful that he subsequently sought an interview with Syud Thoweynee; but his Highness declined any negotiations with him until the final decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General was made known. Syud Toorkee's reply to my letter, which I have since received through Mr. Rassam, is attached in Appendix M.

61. Should the Honourable the Governor in Council concur in the conclusion which I have formed on this subject, it will be most desirable, in justice to the ruler of Muscat, as also in order to put an end to the unsettled state of affairs in Oman, owing to the equivocal position of Syud Toorkee, that his Highness Syud Thoweynee should be officially informed of his recognition by the Government of India as the paramount sovereign of Sohar. It is equally expedient that the same decision should be formally made known to Syud Toorkee; and also that, after due deliberation, his claim to be independent of the Sultan of Muscat has been disallowed. A superadded friendly injunction to both parties to act in concert for the welfare of the country might lead to a permanent reconciliation between them; and I know no person better qualified than Mr. Rassam to make these communications, or more likely to bring about a good understanding between the two brothers. As Mr. Rassam's appointment is only temporary, I venture to suggest that his services may be secured in this matter before his departure from Muscat.

62. I presume that Syud Majeed is, in some measure, prepared for the tenor of the foregoing decision regarding Sohar; nevertheless, considering the relations which have hitherto existed betwixt him and his brother Syud Toorkee (relations which the doubtful position of the latter and his own misunderstanding with Syud Thoweynee may have justified for the time), it appears to me advisable that his Highness should be informed that the Government of India have fully recognised the right of Syud Thoweynee to the sovereignty of Sohar. Such a formal declaration, by putting his Highness on his guard against fostering any future intrigues of Syud Toorkee, may prove an additional security for the peace of Oman.

63. Before bringing this report to a close, I venture to offer one or two suggestions

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with regard to Muscat and Zanzibar, should the final arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General decide that the latter shall hereafter form a separate kingdom. In the first place, I think it would be expedient, under such circumstances, to conclude separate treaties of commerce and agreements for the suppression of slavery with the rulers of both states, inasmuch as those now in force were entered into between the British Government and the late Syud Saeed as the paramount sovereign of the conjoined provinces. Several important alterations would be required in the wording of those documents, and the occasion might be availed of to introduce any modifications in the existing commercial treaty which the interest of British trade, as well on the east coast of Africa as at Muscat, may render desirable. Moreover, should Her Majesty's Government concur in the recommendations which I submitted in my late report on the slave trade, the same opportunity might be taken to embody them in a formal agreement for the effectual abolition of that traffic on the east coast of Africa, and within the territories dependent on Muscat.

* Government
Selections, Persian
Gulf, page 211.

64. My next suggestion is that, in the event of Muscat being permanently severed from Zanzibar, a proper and duly qualified British agent should be accredited to the ruler of the former state. I learn from the "Persian Gulf" Government selections that a British Resident was appointed to Muscat in 1840, who was shortly after created a consul by the Home Government, and subsequently directed to establish his consulate at Zanzibar, where the Imam thenceforth principally resided.* By the tenor of the original appointment, it would seem that the Resident or Agent at Muscat was placed under the general superintendence of the Resident of the Persian Gulf; but I am not aware how the removal of the former to Zanzibar affected that arrangement. The Government, however, appears thereafter to have been represented at Muscat by a native Jew, a very good man, I understand, in his way, but perfectly unfitted, both from want of social status and general capacity, to occupy such a position. This person, I believe, was required to correspond on all matters affecting British interests, as well as on the current political affairs of the country, with the Government of Bombay, the Resident in the Persian Gulf, and with his immediate superior, the British Agent at Zanzibar; nevertheless, the man himself being unable to write, was obliged to employ an Arab to indite his letters. Such was the state of our representative relations with Muscat until a few months ago, when Lieutenant Chester, of the Indian Navy, held the post for a short time, and subsequently Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, one of the Assistant Politicals at Aden, was put in temporary charge of the British Agency at that place.

65. There is valid ground for believing that many of the fierce contests which have arisen between rival parties in Oman, and among the tribes bordering on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, might have been restrained had there been a British representative on the spot with sufficient authority and judgment to exercise a salutary influence over them. The Agent at Muscat, even had he been so qualified, was not empowered to act, and the time which necessarily elapsed before instructions could be received from the Resident at Bushire must have been a serious drawback on his efficiency. I am further of opinion that the late serious misunderstandings between Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed might have been prevented in a great measure had there been a discreet and competent British Agent at Muscat capable of affording timely advice to the former. As it was, his Highness, of course, disdained to consult Hezkiel the Jew; and Captain Jones, the Resident at Bushire, if in every other respect fit and acceptable to the sovereign, was at too great a distance to effect any good. As in some measure a fair proof of the truth of the foregoing remarks, I may instance the fact that, since Mr. Rassam took up his residence at Muscat, no disturbances whatever have occurred among the tribes of Oman, and those which were rife at the period of his arrival have been arrested.

66. Under any circumstances, therefore, it appears to me that an officer of becoming respectability and of proper qualifications should be appointed to the agency at Muscat. But such an arrangement will almost be indispensable in the event of that state being permanently separated from Zanzibar. Muscat will then cease to be what it had virtually become, a mere dependency since the late Syud Saeed fixed his abode at Zanzibar. It will be the residence of an independent sovereign, and the seat of the government of Oman, exercising considerable influence, for good or for evil, over a large portion of Arabia, including the western shores of the Persian Gulf; besides which, our commercial interests in that quarter call for such a provision on the part of the Government. There is a large trading community of British-Indian subjects within the territories of Muscat; that town itself has become a station for the electric telegraph; and it seems highly probable that regular communication by steamers will shortly be established between Bombay and the Persian Gulf, *via* Muscat, which will give an increased stimulus to the trade of those countries.

67. These considerations will, I hope, induce the Honourable the Governor in Council to recommend the appointment here suggested. It is to be regretted that Mr. Rassam, who was originally engaged for Aden, is not available for the post. He respectfully declines to remain permanently at Muscat; and arrangements will, I trust, be made by Government to relieve him as soon as practicable. Moreover, Mr. Rassam is urgently required at Aden, where his services hitherto have been eminently useful; I had almost said indispensable. The difficulty, perhaps, will be to find a competent successor; for the Agent at Muscat should be well acquainted with the Arabic language; have some know-
ledge

ledge of Arab laws and customs; and, together with firmness of disposition, should possess a temper calculated to conciliate the natural impetuosity and obstinate puerility of the Arab character.

68. In addition to the foregoing suggestion, it appears to me desirable that the British Agent at Muscat should be independent of the Resident in the Persian Gulf, and under the immediate orders of Government. The greater nearness of Muscat to Bombay is, of itself, an adequate ground for that arrangement; and if a duly qualified officer is appointed to the post, there seems to be no reason whatever why he should be subject to any immediate control. Moreover, judging from experience of the past, I do not think that the system hitherto prevailing has worked satisfactorily. The settlements in the Gulf, which are farmed by the ruler of Muscat from the Persian Government, as also the intimate relations existing between the tribes dependent on Oman and those more or less under Persian domination, undoubtedly call for frequent intercommunication between the British Agent at Muscat and the Resident at Bushire; but whilst his official independency need not interfere in any way with the due discharge of those duties, the Agent at Muscat will be enabled thereby to render more effectual support to British interests, and to exercise a more powerful influence over the sovereign and people of Oman.

69. The range of topics embraced in the foregoing pages, and the important bearing which the final decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General on the main subject discussed will exercise over the future welfare of Arabia and the East Coast of Africa, must be my apology for the length of this report. I cannot conclude, however, without gratefully acknowledging the obligation I am under to the Rev. Mr. Badger, my associate in the Commission. Unaided by his special qualifications, and by the cheerful zeal which he has applied to his laborious task, I should certainly have failed to unravel some important points in the case before me, and my report would have been deficient in that accuracy and completeness which I trust it will now be found to possess. It is not easy for me to say how much I am indebted for his assistance on this, as well as on other occasions of importance, which have already been acknowledged by me in various despatches to your address; but as this is possibly the last service of its kind which the Rev. Mr. Badger will have the opportunity of rendering to the Government of India, I indulge the hope that this accomplished public servant may carry into his retirement a suitable recognition of the ability for which he is so conspicuous, and the generous zeal which has ever prompted the application of that ability to the best interests of the State.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. M. Coghlan*, Brigadier,
In charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

APPENDICES to LETTER No. 17, dated 4th December 1860.

MUSCAT-ZANZIBAR COMMISSION.

(Secret Department.—No. 12 of 1860.)

From Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*, in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, to Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby*, Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar.

Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

Dated Zanzibar, 1 October 1860.

Sir,

I have the honour to apprise you of my arrival at Zanzibar, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Badger, commissioned by Her Majesty's Government of Bombay to institute an inquiry into the rival claims of their Highnesses Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed, which is to precede the final arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

2. It is perfectly understood that Syud Majeed has accepted that arbitration; nevertheless, in order to guard against any doubt or misunderstanding which might otherwise arise hereafter in a matter of so much importance, it appears to me desirable that his Highness should engage to abide by the decision of the Governor General in the same formal manner as was required of his Highness Syud Thoweynee of Muscat. I append a copy of the bond executed by the latter, and shall feel obliged by your obtaining for me, with as little delay as possible, an engagement of like import from his Highness Syud Majeed.

3. Being, moreover, most desirous of securing your co-operation in the inquiry entrusted to me, and also of profiting by your intimate acquaintance with all the transactions which have transpired between the rival claimants since the death of their father, the late Syud Saeed, I have drawn up the accompanying list of queries (marked A),* begging that, in your reply,

* As these queries, marked A., and a subsequent list marked B., re-appear in Colonel Rigby's replies, I have thought proper to omit them here.

Appendix, No. 8.

reply, you will be pleased to afford me all the information in your power on the different points therein submitted.

Several of those points have reference to occurrences and statements which have already formed part of your official correspondence on this subject, and on which I am anxious to obtain further elucidation. Others are proposed with the view of eliciting your opinion on the best means for securing the independence and prosperity of his late Highness's dominions, subsequent to the award of the Right honourable the Governor General in the matter of the dispute now pending between the two brothers. Any suggestions from you on such points will be most acceptable.

5. Having been further directed by the Honourable the Governor of Bombay in Council to make careful inquiries as to the extent of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, and on the best means for its prevention or suppression, I have drawn up a separate list of queries on that subject (marked B),* to which I solicit the favour of your reply. Your extensive local knowledge, combined with your strenuous exertions to arrest the nefarious traffic in the territories dependent on Zanzibar will enable you to afford me valuable assistance in my researches, and I shall be most thankful for your co-operation in suggesting any measures likely to effectuate the earnest wishes of Her Majesty's Government for the abolition of slavery on the east coast of Africa. More especially do I request the aid of your counsel as to the feasibility and desirableness of a revision of the existing treaty with the late Imam, and on the probable results of any attempt on our part to obtain the abrogation of the immunity which still permits the free transport of slaves between Lamoo and Kilwa on the mainland, and several of the adjacent islands.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. M. Coghlan*, Brigadier,
In charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

[TRANSLATION of the Arabic Bond whereby Syud Thoweynee engaged to abide by the arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, in the dispute regarding the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its dependencies, now pending between his His Highness and his brother Syud Majeed.]

I, the Syud Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultan, declare that, whereas the high Government of India have required of me that I should not proceed against Zanzibar, I, in accordance with their request, have abstained from so doing; and all the claims I have against my brother Majeed, I have submitted for the information of Government by the kind hands of Colonel Russell.

And now, whatever the esteemed award of his Excellency the Governor General may be in his arbitration between me and my brother Majeed; whatever he may decree I shall abide by it. I am quite willing to abide by his decision, whatever that may be; and further, I hereby bind myself that I will do nothing against, and will in no way molest, now or hereafter, my brother Majeed, until I have received the award of his Excellency the Governor General Sahib, and the issue of his arbitration between us.

(Signed by my own hand) *Thoweynee*.

Dated 22nd Suffer, 1276.

Signed by his Highness Syud Thoweynee, in my presence, this 21st day of September 1859.

(signed) *C. J. Cruttenden*, Commander,
Commanding Her Majesty's Sloop "Ferooz," Indian Navy.

(Secret Department.—No. 53 of 1860.)

From Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby*, Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar, to Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*, in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission at Zanzibar, dated Zanzibar, 5 October 1860.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 12 of 1860, Secret Department, dated the 1st instant, relative to the rival claims of their Highnesses Syud Thoweynee of Muscat and Syud Majeed of Zanzibar.

2. As desired in the second paragraph of your letter, I herewith forward you a bond in the Arabic language (annexed, marked A), which was written and sealed in my presence by his Highness Syud Majeed, and in which he engages to abide by the decision of his Lordship the Viceroy and Governor General of India in all matters of dispute between himself and his brother Syud Thoweynee.

3. I also

* These, together with Colonel Rigby's replies, have already been submitted to Government in my Report on the Slave Trade, No. 14, dated 1st November 1860.

3. I also forward the accompanying list of answers (marked B) to the queries, relative to the disputed claims of their Highnesses, which accompanied your letter. Appendix, No. 8.

4. With reference to the above answers, I beg to remark on the difficulty that exists in procuring any testimony on many points that can be relied on. There is little or no documentary evidence, as the Arabs very seldom keep any written record of even the most important affairs. The records of the British Consulate are also very imperfect. For a considerable period prior to his death, Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton, my predecessor, was generally incapacitated by severe illness from attending to business. With the exception of one Arabic and Persian writer, he had no office establishment whatever. The late Hajee Khaleel, who was the writer alluded to, was also completely worn out by sickness, and died a few months after my arrival here. When I took charge of the Consulate in July 1858, I found no regular files of letters later than 1852, and no index to letters received or forwarded. During the absence of Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton at Muscat, the Consulate here remained closed, and in his last visit to that place he was absent from Zanzibar from the 11th of April 1851 to the 3rd of February 1853.

5. The secretary to his Highness Syud Majeed, a Persian, by name Ahmed bin Naaman, who was for many years the confidential secretary of the late Imam, is now in so feeble a state of mind and body that he is unable to give any information, and from the experience I have acquired of Zanzibar Arabs, I do not think that the slightest reliance can be placed on the statements of any of them.

6. I will prepare the answers to the second series of queries which accompanied your letter, and forward them to you as soon as possible.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Lieutenant Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar.

APPENDIX (A.)

[Translation of the foregoing Arabic Bond.]

Appendix (A.)

In the name of God the Most Merciful.

I, the unworthy Majeed bin Saeed, declare, in respect of the dispute and contention which have arisen betwixt me and my brother Thoweynee regarding the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its African dependencies, that I have referred the settlement of the said dispute, and the termination of the said contention, to his Lordship the Governor General, the Viceroy of Her Exalted Majesty in the Government of India. And whatever the said Governor shall decide, I will accept the same, and I will agree to whatever he may award to me. This I declare on my affirmation, with an upright mind, and binding myself and my actions thereto. Let this be known to all. Salaam.

Written by the hand of the unworthy Majeed bin Saeed.
Rabiah-el-Awwal, 1277.

L. S.

Written and sealed in my presence, by his Highness Syud Majeed bin Saeed, this 3rd day of October 1860.

(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Lieutenant Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

(True Translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger*.

APPENDIX (B.)

Lieutenant Colonel *Rigby's* Answer to the List of Queries marked A. in Brigadier *Coghlan's* Letter to his Address, No. 12, of 1860. Appendix (B.)

[The number and date of the letters referred to in the body of the Queries are noted in the margin. They are those addressed by Colonel Rigby to Mr. Secretary Anderson in the Secret Department.]

Query 1.—Have you any additional arguments in favour of Syud Majeed to the sovereignty of Zanzibar and its dependencies?

Answer.—None.

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Y 2

Q. 2.—Was

Appendix, No. 8.
No. 19, of 1859.

Q. 2.—Was any reply received from the Foreign Office to Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton's letter to Lord Clarendon, dated 10th November 1856, wherein he states what the late Syud Saeed's intentions had been prior to his death regarding the succession.

A.—Yes; a reply was received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated 31st March 1857, together with a letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to his highness Prince Majeed bin Saeed. Copies of both these letters are annexed, marked C. and D. respectively.

No. 19, of 1859.

Q. 3.—In Colonel Hamerton's letter just referred to, after stating that Syud Saeed had regarded Syud Majeed in the place of his second son Khaled, since the death of the latter in 1854, he observes, "But it is now difficult to perceive what turn affairs may take." What meaning do you attach to this remark?

A.—I think that it may have had reference to the late Imam not having left any written will of his intentions regarding the future position of his different sons, and also to the conduct of Syud Barghash and the El-Harth tribe of Arabs. The only member of the late Imam's family who was with him at the time of his death was Syud Barghash, and as he cherished ambitious designs, he no doubt destroyed any documents left by his father. The ship of war "Victoria," on board of which the death of the late Imam occurred, and the "Artemise," which was in company, anchored about 5 p.m., five miles south of the harbour, and about midnight Syud Barghash secretly landed, before it was known that his father's death had occurred on board, and endeavoured to obtain possession of the Fort of Zanzibar. The Belooch Jemadar in command refused to admit him. He then secretly purchased arms and ammunition, and endeavoured to collect a party to aid him in seizing the government; but on the following morning, when the death of the Imam became known, the people hailed Syud Majeed as their Sultan. The El-Harth tribe, which had always been disaffected towards the Imam's family, showed signs of rebellion, and the wealthiest chief of the tribe, by name Abdallah bin Salim, called on Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton, and asked him what they should do, as the island was without a ruler. Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton told him that if he attempted to disturb the peace, his head would fall within 24 hours, and turned him out of the Consulate. The expression quoted in the question may probably have referred to these circumstances which had occurred just before.

No. 46, of 1859.

Q. 4.—Syud Saeed's intentions with regard to his sons Khaled and Thoweynee are clearly stated in his own letter to Lord Aberdeen, dated 23rd July 1844. Was any reply to that letter received by his late highness from the British Government?

A.—No reply exists in the records of the Consulate.

No. 46, of 1859.

Q. 5.—Syud Hilal informed you that Syud Saeed had notified to the other foreign Governments in alliance with him, his intention to divide his dominions between the Prince Thoweynee and Khaled. Are you aware whether any replies were received to the notification, and what was the tenor of them?

A. I really do not know whether the notification was made to any other Government. The French Government had no Consul or Agent accredited to the late Imam prior to 1846.

Q. 6.—Syud Majeed's promotion to the position which the late Syud Saeed had intended for Syud Khaled rests at present on the testimony of Colonel Hamerton as to what his highness's intentions were prior to his death, and on your own statement that the succession of Majeed to Khaled was proclaimed, after the decease of the latter, in open durbar. Are you aware whether Syud Saeed notified this appointment to any of the foreign Governments? Do any native records exist attesting it as the act of the late sovereign?

A. I am not aware whether the appointment was notified to any foreign Governments. I believe no native documents or records exist on this or almost any other subject, or, if any such do exist, that no person about his highness Syud Majeed knows where to find them.

No. 46, of 1859.

Q. 7.—You prove satisfactorily that primogeniture has generally been disregarded in the succession to the sovereignty of Oman, but you speak of the late Syud Saeed as having been "elected" to the exclusion of his elder brother. Who elected him? If elected, then his predecessor did not nominate him. Are you aware how Saeed's predecessors attained the sovereignty? The only instance which you adduce of any of the Imaums having exercised the right of nominating a successor is that of Syud Saeed. Do you know of any other instance?

No. 46, of 1859.

Syud Hilal's account of the mode of succession, as reported by you, is as follows:—"Might, coupled with election by the tribe, is the only right;" and again, "The one who had most influence with the tribe was elected." If such had been the rule hitherto, on what ground could Syud Saeed abolish it, and introduce a new mode of succession?

A.—By the term "election" I mean that he was proclaimed and accepted as their ruler by the Arabs of Oman to the exclusion of his elder brother. I do not think there was ever any regular form of voting in practice amongst the Arabs of Oman. The father of Syud Saeed succeeded in 1803 to the sovereignty to the exclusion of his two elder brothers; and the grandfather of Syud Saeed, by name Ahmed bin Saeed, divided his dominions during his own life, having appointed his son Kees to be chief of Sohar, and his seventh and youngest son Mahomed to be chief of Suik.

The late Imam evidently considered that he possessed the right to dispose of his dominions as he pleased, from having, during his own life, disinherited his eldest son Hilal. But if the successor thus nominated were not acceptable to the people, I think they would refuse to accept him.

Q. 8.—You state that Ahmed bin Saeed, grandfather of Syud Saeed, had, during his lifetime,

lifetime, given Sohar to Kees and Suik to Mahomed bin Ahmed. Are you certain that those chiefs were not still regarded as feudatories to the suzerain of Oman? Appendix, No. 8.

A. I think that Sohar must have been regarded as an independent state, as an engagement was entered into between the British Government and Seif bin Hamood, chief of Sohar, dated 22nd May 1849, for the prevention of the slave trade, and an Act of the British Parliament, 16 Vict. c. 16, dated 9th May 1853, was passed to give effect to this engagement (*vide* Hertslet's Treaties, vol. IX., page 715). I have no information regarding Suik, except what was told to me by Syud Hilal, who was chief of that territory up to the year 1828, and he stated to me as a proof that he was then an independent prince, that several of the Bedouin tribes paid him tribute. The exact relation of Sohar and Suik to Muscat could probably be ascertained from the records of the Bushire residency.

Q. 9.—You adduce the alleged intention of Syud Saeed to give Zanzibar to his second son Khaled, and Muscat to his third son Thoweynee, as proving that his late highness intended Zanzibar to be independent of Muscat. But does not that argument fail when, on the death of Khaled, Thoweynee became virtually the first son in consequence of Hilal having been disinherited by his father. No. 46, of 1859.

A.—Syud Hilal adduced as a proof of the late Imam's intention to render his African possessions altogether independent of Muscat after his own death, that, after he disinherited his eldest son, he appointed his second son to succeed to the government of his African possessions, and his third son to succeed him at Muscat; so that, supposing such not to have been his intention, the elder son would have been subordinate to the younger. On the death of the second son Khaled, the Imam appointed his fourth surviving son Majeed to occupy the same position which Kaled had held. Majeed was a favourite son, whilst Thoweynee had caused his father great trouble and anxiety by his quarrels with the chiefs and tribes in Oman.

Q. 10. In like manner, does not Syud Hilal's argument fail when he attempts to establish the prospective independency of Zanzibar from the fact that Syud Saeed had taken up his abode at the latter place and appointed his second son Khaled as governor there? I mean, does not the argument lose its force when, by the death of Khaled, Thoweynee became the senior son?

A.—I understood Syud Hilal to mean that, so long as the late Imam made Muscat his permanent residence and seat of government, Zanzibar and the African possessions were considered as dependencies of Muscat; but when the Imam transferred the seat of Government to Zanzibar, and made it his permanent residence, it could no longer be regarded, according to the ideas of Arabs, as a dependency of Muscat, and that consequently, during the life of the late Imam, Zanzibar had ceased to be a dependency, that Zanzibar and Muscat were regarded as two independent territories under one ruler, similar to the connection which existed between Great Britain and Hanover.

Q. 11.—You attempt to show that Thoweynee's claim to Muscat is as questionable as that of Majeed to Zanzibar. Unless the late Syud Saeed had the right of dividing his territories by will, it would undoubtedly be so; but if Thoweynee were to rest his claims on election and the recognition of the tribes, would not such suffrage, according to the custom hitherto prevailing in Oman with regard to the succession, give him a superior right? No. 46, of 1859.

A.—I think it would. I think, if a ruler of Oman were to appoint as his successor a person who was not acceptable to the Arab tribes and chiefs, that they would refuse to acknowledge him, and elect as their ruler a person who was more popular with them.

Q. 12.—To what place and ruler were you accredited on your appointment as British Agent and Her Majesty's Consul?

A.—I was appointed as "British Agent at Zanzibar" by the Bombay Government, and subsequently was appointed as "Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar."

Q. 13.—Are you aware to whom the other foreign Consuls at Zanzibar are accredited?

A.—The French Consul and United States Consul are accredited to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and also to the Sultan of Muscat. The Consul of the Hanseatic Republics of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, is accredited to his Highness Syud Majeed, Sultan of Zanzibar. He is not accredited to the Sultan of Muscat, as the republics have no treaty with that prince.

Q. 14.—What do you believe would be the result if the suffrages of the principal chiefs at Zanzibar were taken; would the majority be in favour of Thoweynee or Majeed?

A.—In favour of Syud Majeed. The only persons at Zanzibar who have shown themselves to be inimical to Syud Majeed are some of the chiefs of the El-Harth tribe. Their rebellion last year was not intended to favour either Syud Thoweynee or Syud Barghash, but with the hope of getting rid of the whole family of the late Imam, and thus obtaining possession of the government.

Q. 15.—You remark that, with the exception of a few of the great slave proprietors of the El-Harth tribe, there is no party at Zanzibar favourable to Thoweynee; and again, that the faction opposed to Majeed is "utterly contemptible." How do you reconcile these statements with the position which the El-Harth maintained on the occasion of the émeute of October 1859, when Majeed was unable to coerce them without the assistance of a British force? No. 46, of 1859.
No. 45, of 1859.
No. 103, of 1859.

A.—On the occasion of the rebellion of Syud Barghash, the position which he occupied in the interior of the island was a very strong one. He had secretly prepared it for defence and armed it with cannon. No Arabs or Beloochees would storm such a position; and as it was well provisioned, it might have held out for a long time. Syud Barghash had plenty

Appendix, No. 8.

of money, his brother Syud Majeed having a few days previously given him 14,000 crowns for his expenses at Muscat. He had also received money from Syud Thoweynee for the purpose of fomenting insurrection here. The possession of so much money enabled him to hire a number of mercenaries, consisting of Soorees and other northern Arabs, and even natives of India. At first only about 200 men of the El-Harth tribe joined him, but the indecision and procrastination of Syud Majeed in taking measures to suppress the rebellion induced many others to join Syud Barghash from day to day, and thus the rebellion became dangerous. However, several of the more respectable of the El-Harth chiefs took no part in the rebellion and remained quiet in the town. Amongst these were Mahomed bin Bashire, Syud bin Salim El-Murghoobee, Hoossain bin Mahomed, and Syud bin Masaoood.

No. 46, of 1859.

Q. 16.—You also state that the Sowahili would never acknowledge Syud Thoweynee, associating as they do the foreign slave trade with the Muscat Arabs. Is it to be inferred from this that the Muscat Arabs are more addicted to the traffic than those of Zanzibar, and that the Sowahili are opposed to the slave trade?—The fact that slavery is still carried on to a great extent between Zanzibar and the coast seems to militate against any such conclusion.

A.—When the invasion of the Zanzibar dominions by Syud Thoweynee was expected, the inhabitants of the Sowahili rose *en masse* to support Syud Majeed. Many tribes under their own chiefs came over to Zanzibar; every accessible point on the coast north of Zanzibar was occupied; and when some of the dhows which had Syud Thoweynee's troops on board endeavoured to procure wood and water, they were driven from every point at which they attempted to land, and at length were obliged, in consequence, to surrender to Syud Majeed's ships of war. At Zanzibar, the Sowahili population and the natives of the Comoro Isles were all in arms to support Syud Majeed, and I heard many of them state, as a reason for doing so, that the Muscat Arabs came here to kidnap their children and carry them away as slaves. The northern Arabs are feared and hated at Zanzibar. No doubt a very extensive export of slaves does still take place from Zanzibar and the east coast to the Persian Gulf and the coast of Arabia. I had no idea of the great extent of this traffic until I saw how it was carried on during the last north-east monsoon, nor how impotent the Sultan is to check it. If he employs his troops for the purpose, they are as active as the pirate tribes in kidnapping children and slaves. I estimate that at least 4,000 slaves are still taken north every year, and of these, probably, more than half are stolen from the island of Zanzibar and the villages and plantations on the coast. This is the cause of the animosity the Sowahili bear to the Muscat and other northern Arabs.

No. 40, of 1859.

Q. 17.—On what ground did Syud Majeed pay Abdallah bin Salem, chief of the El-Harth, the yearly sum of 1,200 crowns, and allow all his goods to pass free through the custom house?

A.—Several of the principal chiefs receive annual sums from the Treasury, and enjoy immunity from the payment of customs duties on their goods landed at the custom house. They are as follows; viz. :—

	German Crowns.					
Syud Sooliman bin Ahmed	-	-	-	-	-	5,000
Abdoolah bin Salem	-	-	-	-	-	1,200
Hoosein bin Mahomed	-	-	-	-	-	300
Mahomed bin Abdullah Shukshee	-	-	-	-	-	1,000
Syud Hamood	-	-	-	-	-	2,000
Nassir bin Saeed	-	-	-	-	-	500

No. 40, of 1859.

Q. 18.—If the report was true that the El-Harth chiefs corresponded with Thoweynee, and promised him their aid in deposing Majeed, may it not fairly be inferred that they preferred the former to the latter?

A. The design of the El-Harth tribe was to foment dissensions between the sons of the late Imam, hoping to obtain power for themselves. They had always been disaffected, and when the late Imam visited Muscat, he made the wealthiest chief of the tribe, Abdallah bin Salem, accompany him as a hostage.

Q. 19.—What is the number of the El-Harth, and how do you estimate their influence at Zanzibar?

A.—As near as it is possible to form an opinion, the adult males of the tribe probably amount to 800. They have no influence beyond their own tribe. The other chief tribes which inhabit Zanzibar—namely, El-Shakshi, Masakara, and El-Shastri—are not friendly to the El-Harth.

Q. 20.—In a clause of his last will, Syud Saeed bequeathed two ships “to the Treasury of the Mussulmans.” What do you understand thereby? What treasury is indicated?

A.—I understand that the two ships referred to are the “Caroline,” and “Curlew,” which have been retained by Syud Thoweynee as his own property. I feel very doubtful as to the true meaning of the expression. Ahmed bin Naaman, the late Imam's confidential secretary, states that it means “Wakf,” or pious foundation.

Q. 21.—Has Majeed been officially recognised by any of the foreign governments? What was the substance of Syud Majeed's letters to the French Government, and what was the tenor of the reply which he received?

A.—Yes; he has been recognised by all the foreign Governments which have Consuls at Zanzibar, namely, Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Hanseatic Republics, as Sultan of Zanzibar. I am not aware of the tenor of Syud Majeed's letters to the French Government. A copy of the letter addressed by the Emperor of the French to Syud Majeed

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is herewith annexed (marked E.), and also of that of the President of the United States (marked F). Appendix, No. 8.

Q. 22.—Can you state precisely what part of the African coast, and what islands besides Zanzibar, were inherited by the late Syud Saeed when he succeeded to the sovereignty?

A.—Previous to the accession of the late Imam, in 1806, to the government of Oman, the connection of that state with the territories now forming the Zanzibar dominions was little more than nominal. Mombasa, Lamoo, Patta, Kilwa, &c., were separate republics governed by their own elders and chiefs. When a ship of war from Muscat visited their ports, they usually acknowledged the suzeraineté of the Imam. Mombasa and the Island of Pemba were placed under the British flag in 1823, by a convention concluded with the Sultan of Mombasa.

Q. 23.—You are aware of the feudal service owed by the tribes of Oman to the reigning sovereign. Was it not principally by their aid that Syud Saeed was enabled to extend his conquests and to consolidate his empire in Africa? If so, and if, in addition thereto, Syud Saeed owed his sovereignty to election, may not the said tribes claim some right in the disposal of those territories? No. 46, of 1859.

A.—The late Imam succeeded in establishing his power over the coast of East Africa chiefly through the mutual jealousies and dissensions of the petty chiefs, who frequently sent envoys to Muscat to solicit his interference. I do not think that it would ever occur to any Arabs in Oman that they had any voice in the succession to the government of the African possessions on the ground supposed. I think they were regarded as being at the absolute disposal of the Imam, and that the fact that all the property of the State, such as ships of war, arms, &c., were considered as the private estate of the Imam, strengthens this opinion.

Q. 24.—Have you discovered any additional proof of the statement made by Syud Majeed regarding the conditions on which he promised to pay annually to Syud Thoweynee the sum of 40,000 crowns? You are doubtless aware that Syud Thoweynee maintains that the amount was promised as tribute; and he avers that Mahomed bin Salem, who conducted the negotiation on his behalf received the first instalment as such from Syud Majeed. As no documentary evidence is forthcoming with regard to this transaction, do you not conceive it probable that Mahomed bin Salem, for his own private ends, may have represented the matter in that light to Thoweynee, while, in accepting the sum from Majeed, he was willing to regard it as a fraternal gift?

A.—None. I have never been able to obtain a single document relative to the subject, excepting a letter from the Muscat envoy, Mahomed bin Salem, to Luddah Damjee, the Customs master, who was appointed Syud Majeed's agent for the payment of the money, in which he terms it "*Masaadeh*," *i. e.*, aid or assistance. Also a memorandum in the handwriting of Syud Majeed, addressed to Luddah Damjee, appointing him the agent, in which the same word is used. As I have never seen Mahomed bin Salem, and know nothing of his character, I cannot form an opinion as to whether he may have deceived Syud Thoweynee as to the terms on which Syud Majeed had agreed to pay him the 40,000 crowns annually. Annexed, marked G.

Q. 25.—But if, as is stated, 10,000 crowns of the promised subsidy were to be paid to Syud Toorkee, why did not Majeed remit that amount direct to him? It seems strange that he should not have done so, especially since it appears to be maintained at Zanzibar (*vide* Syud Hilal's testimony) that Toorkee was as independent at Sohar as Thoweynee was at Muscat. Annexed, marked H.

A.—I consider it very unlikely that any stipulation was made relative to one-fourth of the promised subsidy being paid to Syud Toorkee. I have always had great doubts on this point, because Thoweynee and Toorkee were on bad terms with each other at the time the agreement with Mahomed bin Salem was made; and also because I was informed that the allowance made from the Muscat treasury to Sohar during the life of the late Imam was only 1,200 crowns per annum. If the whole of the tribute paid to the Wahabee chief is, and always has been, paid from the Muscat treasury, it is, I consider, a strong confirmation of the doubts I entertain; for Syud Toorkee could have no possible claims to such a payment from the Zanzibar treasury. No. 46, of 1859.

Q. 26.—You state that 5,000 crowns of the instalment of 20,000, paid to Mahomed bin Salem for Thoweynee, was to be given to Toorkee to enable him to pay the tribute to the Wahabees. Are you aware that the whole of the tribute to the Wahabee Ameer is, and always has been, paid by the Muscat treasury? No. 116, of 1859.

A.—I am not. I had always been led to believe that the Sohar state paid tribute to the Wahabee Ameer.

Q. 27.—Thoweynee states that the French and American Consuls, as well as the late Colonel Hamerton, were cognizant of the arrangement whereby Majeed agreed to pay him the 40,000 crowns as tribute. Was any record of the transaction left by Colonel Hamerton in the Consulate?

A.—I have repeatedly been informed that no Consul was present when the arrangement was made with Mahomed bin Salem. No record of the transaction was left by Colonel Hamerton in the Consulate. The persons stated to have been present when the agreement respecting the payment of the 40,000 crowns was made are—1st. Mahomed bin Salem, the Muscat envoy; 2nd, Syud Sooliman bin Hamed; 3rd, Mahomed bin Saeed, the second surviving son of the late Imam; and 4th, the Secretary to Syud Majeed, Ahmed bin Naaman.

Q. 28.—It is repeatedly noted in your correspondence that the Zanzibar treasury was in
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- Appendix, No. 8. the habit of assisting the treasury of Muscat. Are you aware to what extent, and on what grounds, the subsidy was paid?
- A. The Customs master, who always acted as treasurer to the late Imam, informs me that 10,000 crowns were annually sent from Zanzibar to Muscat on account of the tribute to the Wahabee Ameer; that this was as fixed payment. Other sums were sent as required; some years 10,000 crowns, and some years, if hostilities were going on in Oman, considerably more than this. The late Imam was possessed of large estates in Zanzibar. I think the treasuries of Zanzibar and Muscat were considered as one, and at the absolute disposal of the Imam.
- Q. 28. (B.)—Will you be good enough to procure for me a statement of the present income and expenditure of the Zanzibar state, and the amount, if any, of its outstanding liabilities?
- A.—My letter to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 52, of 1860, Secret Department,* fully answers this and the following question 29. (That query was as follows:—Government have several times suggested some compromise between the two brothers on the basis of the payment of this 40,000 crowns annually to Syud Thoweynee. Have you ever attempted such a compromise, and with what result?)
- No. 19, of 1859. Q. 30. You report that “any attempt on the part of Syud Thoweynee to usurp the Government of Zanzibar would give the French an excuse for the occupation of that island.” What are your grounds for that opinion? Elsewhere you regard the French as being favourable to Thoweynee’s pretensions.
- No. 46, of 1859. A. It has been thought for several years past that the French meditated forming establishments on the east coast of Africa. The letters of Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton for some years refer to this intention, and show that the late Imam was in constant fear of French usurpation. From conversations with the late French Consul at Zanzibar, I had ascertained that he was fully aware of the intended invasion from Muscat long before it was suspected here; and as he told me he should support Syud Thoweynee immediately on his arrival, I formed the opinion that the French had interested motives, and would take advantage of any opportunity to place the island under the French flag. I considered the French were favourable to Syud Thoweynee’s pretensions in consequence of some negotiations which had taken place at Muscat when the French frigate “La Sybille” visited that port; also, because Syud Majeed had firmly rejected every proposal made to him by the French to permit the export of slaves from his dominions.
- No. 46, of 1859. Q. 31.—You say that the French Government have had some secret negotiations with Syud Thoweynee, and will strongly endeavour to have Zanzibar declared a dependency of Muscat, and then obtain the cession of a port on the African coast from Thoweynee. What proof have you of this?
- A.—His Highness Syud Majeed one day spoke to me on the subject of his having addressed two letters to the Emperor of the French, announcing his father’s death and his own accession, and of his having received no answer. I alluded to the subject one day in conversation with the French Consul, when he informed me that he believed the reason was, that certain negotiations had taken place at Muscat between Syud Thoweynee and the commander of the “La Sybille,” and that the French Government did not expect Syud Majeed to retain the government of Zanzibar, and therefore hesitated to acknowledge him. Afterwards, during a discussion I had with the French Commodore Le Vicomte De Langle on board the corvette “La Cordeliere,” the French Consul stated that he had already received instructions how he was to act in case of Syud Thoweynee visiting Zanzibar. This proved to me that the French Government was acquainted with Syud Thoweynee’s designs. When Syud Thoweynee’s ship “Caroline” arrived here shortly after, the two principal demands made by his agent Ahmed bin Salim were the payment of the 40,000 crowns annually, and the cession to him of the port of Mombasa. I therefore had a strong opinion that the cession of this port was demanded in order to make it over to the French as a reward for their support. The aggressive intentions of the French were a frequent topic of conversation amongst all the mercantile classes here at that time, as it is at present.
- No. 53, of 1859. Q. 32.—In a letter to Captain Jones you state that you have reported to Government the strong grounds which you have for believing that Thoweynee is acting under French influence. What are they, apart from any observations which the French Consul may have made on the subject?
- A.—The French Consul was known to be carrying on a very active correspondence with Syud Thoweynee. The letters from Muscat to the disaffected Arabs here were sent under cover to the French Consul. Syud Barghash was instigated by the French Consul to rebel and promised French protection. These were my reasons, coupled with what I have already stated regarding the visit of the French frigate “La Sybille” to Muscat.
- No. 53, of 1859. Q. 33.—The French Consul informed you that his Government had not recognised Syud Majeed, owing to what had passed between Syud Thoweynee and the commander of the “La Sybille.” Do you implicitly believe that statement, and have you any good authority for knowing what passed on that occasion between the two parties?
- A.—From subsequent experience, I had very little faith in anything the French Consul said on any subject. He was a Russian-Pole, and before quitting Zanzibar boasted that his proceedings here had brought him into notice and led to his advancement. I have no knowledge whatever of what passed on the occasion referred to.
- No. 59, of 1859. Q. 34.—You believe that Syud Thoweynee asked Syud Majeed to cede to him the port of Mombasa

* For facility of reference, a copy of that letter is attached, marked K.

Mombasa in order that he might present it to the French. On what ground is this opinion formed? Syud Thoweynee disclaims it altogether.

A.—This question is answered by my reply to question 31.

Q. 35.—You are doubtless aware that, prior to the notification of the existing treaty between Muscat and France, his late Highness Syud Saeed requested to know the precise import of Article XVII. in the said treaty, which gives to France "liberty to hire or erect houses and warehouses at Zanzibar or elsewhere." It appears from a memorandum published in the "Persian Gulf" Government Selections, page 71, that his late Highness was satisfied with the explanation given by Commodore Monsieur Romain Desfosses. Nevertheless, as this point may eventually give rise to grave discussions, I shall feel obliged if you would provide me with a copy of any correspondence which may have passed on the subject, either through the Consulate or the Foreign Department of the Government of his late Highness Syud Saeed?

A.—Copies of all correspondence on this subject, which is on the records of the Consulate, is herewith annexed, marked I.*

Q. 36.—Will you point out in detail any advantages likely to result by the severance of the Zanzibar state from that of Muscat?

A.—I consider that the connection that existed between Oman and a country so remote as East Africa was always an unnatural one, and very prejudicial to the interests of both countries. This I mean with reference to the want of all system and regularity in the government of Arab states, in which everything depends on the personal influence and presence of the ruling chief. The selections from the records of the Bombay Government relating to the Persian Gulf abundantly prove the dangers and disorders which constantly threatened the late Imam's possessions in Oman in consequence of his absence at Zanzibar. On several occasions the threatened danger was only averted by the influence and intervention of the British Government. Had the late Imam continued to reside at Muscat, it is probable that, with his energetic, shrewd character, he would have greatly extended his power, and firmly established it. In 1846 Lieutenant Colonel Hamerton writes to the Secretary to Government as follows: "I brought to the notice of his Highness the injury which was occasioned to his interests in Arabia from his protracted stay at Zanzibar, and that the government at Muscat was but ill administered. His Highness replied that this had been a matter of much distress to him lately." And in another letter during the same year he writes to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, "I have, in obedience to instructions, most fully communicated to his Highness the Imam the state of his affairs in Arabia, as appears from the copies of the documents inclosed with the letter. His Highness was aware of everything, but did not appear to consider matters so serious as perhaps they are. The Imam has always appeared to me to care but little for his Arabian possessions further than the seaports. His Highness's influence in the interior of Oman is irretrievably lost, from the feeble nature of his government, and he knows and feels it. His Highness last year deputed Sheikh Ali bin Masood to proceed to Oman from Zanzibar to try to procure men from the different tribes in Oman to assist his Highness in the war he is now carrying on against the people of Sewee, but the Sheikh has returned without being able to procure a single sword from the tribes in Oman." As an Arab chief, the late Imam was a very superior man; it may be many years before his equal is found amongst his successors. From his personal bravery, his wealth, and his long reign, he had far more influence amongst those by whom he was surrounded than is likely to be possessed by either of his sons. Nevertheless, his absence from Oman destroyed his influence with the tribes, and nearly caused him the loss of all his Arabian possessions. With respect to the Zanzibar dominions, I think its complete severance from Muscat would soon lead to the stoppage of the northern slave-trade. The ruler of Zanzibar would feel independent of the northern Arabs, who every year swarm at Zanzibar during the north-east monsoon to prey upon him. The sums distributed by Syud Majeed amongst these people every year is a serious drain upon the Zanzibar treasury. I imagine the only reason why these Arabs are thus paid is with the idea that their aid may some day be required. If these payments were stopped, and vigorous measures were adopted for one or two seasons by an English gunboat to capture the boats of these piratical tribes when found carrying slaves, I think they would soon discontinue to visit this coast, and probably find some more honest occupation. I think that, if Zanzibar is governed with prudence, it may perform a very important part in the future commerce and civilisation of East Africa. From Port Natal to Cape Guardafui the only state from which any progress or stability can be hoped is Zanzibar. Its commerce has rapidly increased within the last few years, and it bids fair to become the chief emporium of trade on the east coast. Its population possesses valuable elements for commerce in the wealthy and numerous settlers from India, and the enterprising Arabs and Sowahilis who travel over Central Africa, distributing foreign goods in exchange for the products of the country. The Portuguese possessions on the east coast are in a hopeless state of decay, and there is not the slightest probability of the Portuguese ever advancing the civilisation or commerce of the interior. If Zanzibar should be an independent state, the dominions of its ruler would probably soon extend into the interior, and his power would be consolidated, and in time it might form a considerable African kingdom. But supposing that from the non-residence of the ruling chief; from its being continually held as a dependency of Muscat; from neglect or feeble rule, such as Oman has suffered from for

so

* As this point has no direct bearing on the subject of the present inquiry, the correspondence referred to is omitted from the attached Appendices.

Appendix, No. 8. so many years in consequence of the late Imam being a non-resident, the Zanzibar State were to gradually lose its power over the territories of the mainland, the petty sultans and chiefs would become independent; the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade would be disregarded; foreign settlements would be established; and all hope of progress would be destroyed.

Q. 37.—Will you further point out the disadvantages of the two states being conjoined as heretofore under one paramount sovereign?

A. This question is answered by the first part of my answer to the last.

Q. 38.—In the event of the Governor General's arbitration awarding absolute independence to the Zanzibar State under the sovereignty of Syud Majeed, how would you propose to provide for the future succession? By election of the people and tribes; by the claims of primogeniture in the Syud family; or by the will of the sovereign?

A.—I think it will be extremely advantageous to the future prosperity of the Zanzibar State, if some arrangements as to the future succession can be made in the event of Syud Majeed being declared its independent chief; for this prince has no male issue, and I think it not likely that he will have any. I think that it might be left to the choice of all the family of the late Imam, or Syud Majeed might nominate one of his brothers to succeed him, subject to the ratification of the principal chiefs at Zanzibar. If the members of the Syud's family could be induced to always, in future, admit the claims of primogeniture, I think it would be a very great advantage. At present the subject is always in doubt, and leads to quarrels and assassinations in the family.

Q. 39.—Should the arbitration decree the union of the two states under the suzerainty of Syud Thoweynee, as they were formerly conjoined under that of the late Syud Saeed, what arrangements would you deem most desirable for the governorship of Zanzibar and its dependencies?

A. That the Government should be administered as at present by Syud Majeed, and that he should not be subject to any interference on the part of his sovereign so long as he continued to pay the Muscat Treasury whatever sum might be agreed upon. At present the finances of the Zanzibar State are very much embarrassed, but with prudence and care the existing liabilities might soon be paid off. Twenty-five years ago the late Imam did not receive more than 50,000 crowns of annual revenue from his African possessions. In 1847 it had increased to 145,000 crowns, and at present the revenue amounts to 206,000 crowns.

Q. 40.—Should the balance of argument on the score of general expediency, involving the future prosperity of the Zanzibar State, be in favour of Syud Majeed, and that of right derived from pre-existing custom, be on the side of Syud Thoweynee, would it not be practicable and desirable to effect a compromise on the basis of the stipulated sum of 40,000 crowns being paid by Syud Majeed to Syud Thoweynee as tribute, the former being allowed to retain the governorship of Zanzibar and its dependencies for life, and the future succession being left to be decided as heretofore?

A.—In this case I think it would be highly desirable to effect a compromise, but the difficulty arises from the embarrassed state of the Zanzibar treasury. Syud Majeed is entirely dependent on the will of his Customs Master for supplies of money, and were he now to bind himself to the payment of an annual sum, and the Customs Master subsequently refused to advance the amount, Syud Majeed might be compelled to break his engagement without any fault of his own. But if his Highness could be prevailed on to establish a small force of disciplined troops with a few light guns, in place of the useless rabble now in his pay, and would also get rid of most of the large ships which he now has, and which are of no use whatever, and in place of them keep two or three small vessels efficiently manned, it would be a great direct saving to him; and knowing that he had troops he could rely on, he would feel more independent of the Arabs from the north and of the chiefs of tribes amongst whom he now squanders so much money. With regard to the succession being left to be decided as heretofore, I think that it would be a very great advantage, and probably avert much future evil, if some arrangement regarding it could be come to at the time the question of present sovereignty is settled.

SOHAR.

No. 19, of 1859. **Query 41.**—Colonel Hamerton, in his letter to Lord Clarendon, dated 7th November 1854, does not allude to any arrangement whereby the late Syud Saeed constituted his son Torkee ruler of Sohar, independent of Muscat. No such arrangement is to be found either in Colonel Hamerton's letter, 31st July 1844, to Lord Aberdeen, or in the letter of his late Highness Syud Saeed to his Lordship, dated 23rd July 1844. On the other hand, you state that "Syud Toorkee was put in possession of Sohar by his father," and from the contents it is to be inferred that Sohar was to be as independent of Muscat as Zanzibar. And in another place you adduce Syud Hilal's testimony to the same effect. Will you be good enough to furnish me with any other arguments in favour of the alleged independency of Sohar under Syud Torkee?

Answer.—No document whatever exists in the records of the Consulate on this subject. From what I had always been told by Arabs at Zanzibar, and also from what Syud Hilal said, I was under the impression that Syud Torkee had been placed in possession of Sohar by his father as an independent State, in the same manner as it had formerly been granted

•by

by the Imam Ahmed, during his own life, to his son Kees. My impressions having been formed from the statements of interested persons, were probably erroneous. Probably the exact position of Syud Toorkee at Sohar, during his father's life, can be ascertained from the records of the Bushire Residency.

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(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Lieutenant Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar.

APPENDIX (C.)

To his Highness the Prince *Majeed bin Saeed*, Zanzibar.

Appendix (C.)

OUR BELOVED AND ESTEEMED FRIEND,

THE letters which your Highness lately addressed to Viscount Palmerston and to me were in due time received through Colonel Hamerton, the British Consul at Zanzibar. By these letters we have learnt the painful intelligence of the death of your Highness' father, Sultan Syud bin Sultan, Imam of Muscat, which took place at sea, on board his Highness' frigate "Queen Victoria," on the morning of the 19th of October last. We have received this news with great sorrow, knowing the friendship which the late Imam always entertained for the British Government and nation, and his desire to maintain the most intimate relations between his dominions and those of the Queen, our Sovereign. While we assure you of our unfeigned condolence on the bereavement which we have sustained, we cannot but express our full conviction that your Highness will continue to show towards British subjects and commerce the same favour and protection which they always received at the hands of your late father, who thus acquired for himself the sincere friendship and good-will of the Queen and her Government. We request you to accept our earnest wishes for your uninterrupted health and happiness, and so we recommend you to the protection of the Almighty.

Written at London, the 31st day of March 1857.

(signed) *Clarendon*.

APPENDIX (D.)

Victoria, by the grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. &c., to his Highness the Prince *Majeed bin Saeed*, of Zanzibar, sendeth greeting:

Appendix (D.)

Our Good and Esteemed Friend,

OUR Consul, Colonel Hamerton, has communicated to us the letter by which your Highness announced to us the melancholy intelligence of the death of your father Sultan Saeed bin Sultan, Imam of Muscat, which took place at sea on board his Highness' frigate "Queen Victoria" on the morning of the 19th of October last. From the friendly feelings which we have ever entertained towards the late Imam, and the attachment which he always manifested for us, our Government, and people, the painful news of his decease has caused us sincere regret. We thank your Highness for your attention in acquainting us with the loss of our departed friend, and while we unfeignedly condole with you on the bereavement with which it has pleased the Most High thus to visit you, we request you to accept our best wishes for your welfare and happiness, and so we recommend you to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, in London, the 28th day of March 1857, in the twentieth year of our reign.

Your affectionate friend,

(signed)
(countersigned)

Victoria, R.
Clarendon.

APPENDIX (E.)

Napoleon, par la grace de Dieu et la volonté nationale, Empereur des Français, au glorieux Sultan Majeed, fils de Seid, Imam de Muscate, salut.

Appendix (E.)

Très illustre et magnifique Seigneur, nous avons appris avec un vif intérêt votre avènement au suprême pouvoir, après la mort de votre père bien-aimé, le Sultan Seid, de venerable mémoire, qui s'était toujours montré l'ami fidèle et dévoué de la France. Nous ne doutons pas que votre sagesse et votre prudence n'assure le bonheur des peuples que Dieu a confié à votre sollicitude. Nous nous plaignons, en cette circonstance à vous renouveler les félicitations que nous vous avons déjà fait exprimer par notre ministre des

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affaires étrangères. La dernière lettre que vous nous avez écrite est une preuve nouvelle des vos sentiments affectueux à notre égard, et du désir que vous animé de rendre de plus en plus intimes les rapports d'amitié établis entre nos deux pays. Nos dispositions sont parfaitement d'accord avec les vôtres, et nous aurons toujours à cœur de favoriser l'heureux développement des relations reciproques, et de vous donner des marques de notre estime et de notre bienveillance sur ce. Très illustre et magnifique Seigneur, nous prions Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

Ecrit au Quartier Général de Verceil, le 4me Juin de l'an de grace 1859.

(signed) *Napoleon.*
A. Walewski.

APPENDIX (F.)Appendix (F.) *James Buchanan, President of the United States of America, to our great and good friend the Sultan of Zanzibar.*

May your days be many, and your reign be prosperous and glorious!

I have received the letter which your Highness was pleased to address to me on the 5th of November last, conveying the sad intelligence of the death of your honoured father, and announcing your own elevation to the exalted position which in life he so worthily occupied.

In tendering to your Highness my sincere condolence on the former event, which has bereaved you of a beloved parent, and your subjects of a monarch whom they obeyed with reverence, I offer to you at the same time my sincere congratulations on your accession to the throne of the sultancy, and my fervent wishes that your reign may be prosperous and happy.

I pray God to have you always, great and good friend, in His safe and holy keeping.

Written at the City of Washington the 16th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1857, and in the 81st year of the independence of the United States of America.

(signed) *James Buchanan, President.*
L. Cass, Secretary of State.

APPENDIX (G.)Appendix (G.)*TRANSLATION of a Letter from Muhomed bin Salem to Luddah bin Damjee.*

From Mahomed bin Salem to our beloved friend Luddah bin Damjee, the Banian agent for our friend Ziram bin Sewjee, agent of the Customs of Zanzibar; may God preserve him!

A. C.—Our brother Nasir bin Ali bin Taleb is coming to you on certain business, and we wish you to deliver to him the balance of the money in your hands on account of the draft which our brother Majeed bin Saeed drew on you for the aid (subsidy) to his brother Thoweynee bin Saeed. He is his (Thoweynee's) man, and comes from him. Of the draft for the 40,000 crowns, 14,000 have been paid. Please to settle with him now for the remaining 26,000.

* * * * *

From your unworthy friend Mahomed bin Salem with his own hand.

14 Rejeb 1274.

(True Translation.)
(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (H.)Appendix (H.)*TRANSLATION of a Note from his Highness Syud Majeed to the Banian Ziram, authorising him to pay 40,000 crowns to Syud Thoweynee every year.*

To our beloved friend Ziram, may God preserve him!

• WE have granted to our brother Thoweynee bin Saeed a subsidy of 40,000 crowns every year from the beginning of the year 1274, half (to be paid) during the south west monsoon, and the other half during the north east monsoon. You can transmit the amount from Bombay, and our friend Luddah will deduct it from us at Zanzibar.

Written by the unworthy Majeed with his own hand.

(True Translation.)
(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX (K.)

To *H. L. Anderson, Esq.*, Secretary to Government, *Bombay*, dated *Zanzibar*,
18 September 1860.

Appendix (K.)

(Secret Department.)—(No. 52 of 1860.)

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters and enclosures, as per margin,* relative to the dispute between the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar, and desiring me to ascertain whether his Highness Syud Majeed is still willing to make an annual payment, as he formerly agreed to do, of 40,000 crowns annually as a free gift, not a tribute, to his brother Syud Thoweynee, ruler of Muscat; and stating that the agreement on the part of his Highness Syud Majeed, should constitute the basis of a permanent settlement of the existing dispute between him and his brother Syud Thoweynee.

6. After a long interview with his Highness on this subject yesterday, during which he repeatedly expressed his earnest desire to comply with the wishes of his Lordship the Viceroy, he sent me a letter (a translation of which is herewith enclosed), the contents of which he desired me to communicate to Government for consideration, before giving a positive answer relative to the proposed payment.

7. I was aware that his Highness was indebted to the customs master here to the amount of 327,000 crowns, and as the payment of interest on money is considered by Arabs unlawful, his Highness some months ago raised the import duty on slaves from one dollar per head to two dollars, and also increased the duty on ivory brought here from the mainland, in order to compensate the customs master for the loss of interest on the sum due to him.

The entire revenue of the Zanzibar state amounts to 206,000 crowns per annum, viz. :

	Crowns.
Annual farm of customs at Zanzibar - - - -	100,000
Ditto - ditto for Island of Pemba - - - -	6,000
Tax paid in lieu of carvie by the Mukhadim - - -	10,000
German Crowns - - - -	206,000

There is no tax upon land or houses, or any other payment to the state whatsoever.

8. The agent of the customs master acts as treasurer and banker, and scarcely a dollar reaches his Highness or any of his family except through him. Being indebted to him in so large a sum, his Highness is entirely dependent on his goodwill for any money he requires, and the agent here of the customs master has of late frequently told his Highness that he must in future confine his payments to sums absolutely required for the service of the State, and for the household expenses of his Highness and the members of his family.

9. I was also aware that the large sum of ready money left by the late Imam was expended during the disturbances; but Arabs have such a dislike to talk of their family affairs, that I did not know that his Highness owes so large a sum as seven lacs of crowns to his young brothers and sisters on account of their shares of their father's property.

10. On the death of the late Imam, all the property of the state was accounted as forming part of the private estate. The ships of war, guns, stores of every description, even the arms in possession of the troops, were set down at a valuation, and charged against the new ruler as a debt due to his father's estate, and thus it is that his Highness owes so large a sum to his brothers and sisters. The property left by the late Imam was divided amongst the 34 surviving children. The sum apportioned to each son was 57,917 crowns, and to each daughter 28,958 crowns, and a great portion of these sums was debited to his Highness as follows:—

	Rupees.	
Price of the Frigate "Shah Allum" - - - -	1,50,000	
" " "Victoria" - - - -	1,55,000	
" " "Piedmontese" - - - -	50,000	
" Corvette "Artemise" - - - -	30,000	
" " "Nazree" - - - -	18,000	
" Brig "Taj" - - - -	10,000	
" " "Gazelle" - - - -	8,500	
Rupees - - - -	4,21,000 =	Crowns.
		195,814
Price of the Trading Ship "Nadir Shah" - - -	23,256	
" " "Saleh" - - - -	1,000	
" Plantations and houses - - - -	173,933	
" Horses - - - -	6,360	
" Arms, jewels, and household property - - -	25,000	
Total Crowns - - - -	425,363	

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* The references, and several paragraphs of this letter, not being relevant to the subject of this inquiry, are omitted.

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In addition to the above the new corvette "Iskunder Shah," built for his Highness in Bombay, cost him four lacs and thirty thousand rupees; and the debt owing by his Highness to his customs master is mostly on account of advances made in Bombay to the builders of this vessel.

11. His Highness appears to consider that he has been very unfairly treated by his brother Syud Thoweynee, who took possession of all his deceased father's property in Oman of every description, and has not accounted to the estate for any portion of it; and when his Highness sent his ship "Nazree" to Muscat and sold it there for 11,000 crowns, Syud Thoweynee seized the money and appropriated it, although Syud Majeed had paid 18,000 rupees for this vessel to his father's estate.

12. During the disturbances here, money was squandered on the chiefs and their followers in a very lavish manner. I have urged on his Highness the absolute necessity of economy and retrenchment, and he has within the last month reduced the expenditure on his ships and troops from 9,000 to 7,000 crowns per mensem. He is paying the debt due to the customs master by instalments of 5,000 crowns per mensem, and he has 5,000 crowns per mensem left for the expenses of all the branches of his family, and the stipends paid to the chief Arabs, all of whom, though contributing nothing to the State, and many being possessed of private wealth, do not scruple to accept pensions from the Sultan. His Highness is very frugal and abstemious in his own habits, but he has little idea of the value of money, and he is surrounded by a greedy and unprincipled set of people. With the exception of the customs master, there is not a single honest or trustworthy person about him, or any one whose word on oath could be trusted.

I have, &c.
(signed) C. P. Rigby.

(ENCLOSURE.)

TRANSLATION of a Letter from His Highness *Syud Majeed*, Sultan of Zanzibar, to Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby*, Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, dated 2nd of Rabia-el-Awwal. A.H. 1277, corresponding to the 11th September A.D. 1860.

A. C.—We have heard and understood all that you have represented to us relative to the annual payment to our brother Syud Thoweynee of 40,000 crowns, and that the agreement on our part to do so would lead to a termination of the existing disputes between us. We will never depart from the wishes of the British Government; but you are acquainted with our state, and how little money we have at our disposal. All our resources were exhausted during the period of hostilities which our brother Thoweynee commenced against us, and to repel which we were obliged to raise troops and make expensive preparations. And even after the British Government had so kindly interfered and prevented an invasion of our dominions, he continued to aid and abet our brother Syud Barghash and the El-Harth tribes, and furnished them with money to rebel against us, and, in consequence, all the property we possessed was expended in defensive measures; and besides this we have become indebted to our friend Ziram bin Sewjee, the farmer in the customs, in the sum of 327,000 crowns; and, in addition to this, we owe to our orphan brothers and sisters the sum of seven lacs of crowns; and all this is owing to our brother Thoweynee. If we now pay our brother Thoweynee 40,000 crowns per annum, how can we satisfy the claims of Ziram and of our orphan brothers and sisters, and how can we keep up the necessary troops for the preservation of order in our dominions? for the countries of Zanzibar and Africa do not resemble Oman: without troops it is impossible to do so.

Moreover, we desire to complain to the British Government of the conduct of our brother Thoweynee; for he has deprived us of our rights, by keeping to himself all the ships, and horses, and date-trees, and household property, which our late father died possessed of in Oman; and he has appropriated to himself the price of our ship "Nazree," amounting to 11,000 crowns. Nevertheless, whatever the British Government deems advisable for us to do, please God we will agree to, and will not raise any objection.

And for whatever you may wish, the sign is with you.

Dated 2nd of Rabia-el-Awwal A.H. 1277.

[Postscriptum written by his Highness Syud Majeed, with his own hand.]

Please to inform Government that all the property to which I succeeded at Zanzibar on the death of my late father, viz., the ships of war and public stores, &c. &c., I did not take as the heritage of the State, but paid the price of everything in ready money to my father's estate, for the benefit of my brothers and sisters. Salaa'n.

Written by the humble servant of God,
(signed) *Majeed bin Saaed*.

(True translated purport.)
(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Lieutenant Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar.

(True copies.)
(signed) *W. M. Coghlan*, Brigadier,
In charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

APPENDIX (L.)

TRANSLATION of the Written Statement of his Claims and Grievances presented by his Highness *Syud Majeed* to Brigadier *Coghlan*, at Zanzibar, on the 14th October 1860.

Appendix (L.)

I PURPOSE submitting to his Lordship the Governor General of India a detailed statement of my case, and of the complaints which I have to make against my brother Thoweynee for his conduct towards me.

2. I beg then to inform your exalted Excellency that, after the death of my brother Khaled, my father appointed me governor in his stead over Zanzibar, the main land of Africa and its islands, and he wrote to that effect to all the chiefs of Africa and the islands, as also to the commandants of troops, directing them to submit to me and to obey my orders. He also notified the same to all the Consuls resident at Zanzibar, and the letter of your [late] respected agent, Colonel Hamerton, on the subject is still in my possession; for when my father had made all this known to him, Colonel Hamerton replied that he had reported it to the exalted [British] Government, and that the Government had approved thereof, namely, that I should be ruler over the mainland of Africa and its islands, in the same manner as my father had previously ordained with regard to my brother Khaled. From that time the Consuls visited me in uniform, and the principal persons of these dominions were aware that I was their ruler; moreover, by the aid of God, the country and people were obedient to me. I continued to occupy that position for two years, when my father the late Sultan Saeed, having left Oman on his return to Zanzibar, died at sea.

3. When I heard the report of his death, I called together my brothers and family, and all the people in these parts from Tink [Delgado] to Marbat, in order that they might recognise me. To this they all agreed, and they accordingly elected me to be ruler over them, and entrusted me with the direction of their affairs. When I was thus installed, I informed all the resident Consuls thereof, and they called on me in uniform, and congratulated me on my accession to the kingdom. I also wrote to the sovereigns of Europe, namely, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, also to the Emperor of the French and to the President of the United States, and they accredited their Consuls to me at Zanzibar. Surely, had there been, in their estimation, another ruler over Africa besides myself, they would first have sent them to him. Then, after this my recognition, I dispatched my frigate, the "Taj," to Muscat, and wrote a letter to my brother Thoweynee bin Saeed, apprising him of the death of our father, and how the rule had devolved on me. In the same letter I set him on his guard against our enemies in Oman, bade him to keep a good heart, and always to think well of me, for I would continue to assist him to pay the 10,000 crowns to the Wahabees as our father Saeed bin Sultan had done. I moreover told him that, in the event of anything serious befalling him, I should be ready to aid him with my power, my money, and my people. I directed the captain of the frigate to land the said letter at one of the ports of Oman called El-Hadd, and wrote to the Sheikh of that place to carry the letter to my brother Thoweynee. The frigate I ordered to proceed from El-Hadd to Bombay, and I wrote a letter to the Governor of Bombay, informing him of all that had happened. I made the above arrangement on Thoweynee's behalf, and lest the sudden announcement of our father's death might give rise to disturbances while he was off his guard, when his enemies might take advantage of the occasion to act against him and the kingdom of Oman. Hence I thought it most prudent that the letter should first reach him privately, that he might be put on his guard against his enemies, and that the knowledge of our father's death should not be generally known until proper precautions had been taken. This letter reached him, and in his reply he stated how much he was grieved at our father's death. He also congratulated me on my succession, and told me that he would shortly send to me Mahomed bin Salem and Mahomed bin Saeed. These accordingly took their departure, and reached Zanzibar in the "Caroline." Mahomed bin Salem was joint-executor with me; for by his first will, our father appointed as executors after his death his son Khaled bin Saeed, Mahomed bin Salem, and his wife Bint Seif. When Kaled died, he altered that will, and appointed me an executor after his death, together with Mahomed bin Salem, Bint Seif, and Suleiman bin Hamed. This will is still in the hands of Mahomed bin Salem, and I will write to him to deliver it over to the British Consul at Jeddah, that it may be forwarded through Aden to Bombay.

4. To return: Mahomed bin Salem arrived here bringing a letter from my brother Thoweynee, wherein he wrote that he had sent Mahomed bin Salem and Mahomed bin Saeed, who would declare everything to me by word of mouth. Moreover, that I was to consider as from him everything that Mahomed bin Salem might say, that he had fully empowered him to act on his behalf, and would abide by whatever he might decide. On reading this letter, I said to Mahomed bin Salem, "What is your idea?" He replied, "I think it will be best to divide everything left by our father amongst his children, except the countries and the kingdom, it being known and acknowledged that Oman and its dependencies belong to Thoweynee bin Saeed, and Zanzibar and its African dependencies to you." This division was accordingly agreed on, with the omission of the countries and kingdom. Everything was divided, both small and great; all the ships, houses, gardens, furniture, and money; each one receiving his share, and I also my share like one of the rest.

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5. But when Mahomed bin Salem was about to depart, he said to me, "Majeed, you know your brother's affairs; what little money he has in hand, and how great his expenditure is? You know, moreover, that the revenues of Oman do not cover its expenses, and I fear that, unless you assist your brother every year with a sum of money, the kingdom of Oman will pass out of your hands, and those who are evil disposed towards you will avail of the opportunity to do mischief. Will you not, therefore, appoint your brother a certain aid and subsidy to enable him to provide as well for himself as for Oman?" To this I replied, "I have already told my brother Thoweynee that I would assist him as our late father had done, namely, in the sum due to the Wahabees; and further, that in any case of emergency I would aid him with my power, my money, and my troops." He rejoined, "Well, but Oman is not now what it once was. Since the death of our father Saeed, the Arabs have become troublesome, and every enemy there is on the alert. This must be set at rest; and it is my opinion, considering the affection which I bear to you, O children of Saeed, that you should consider yourselves as one, and your rule as one, and give your brother an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns, to enable him to quell the disturbances in Oman." To this I replied, "O, Mahomed, you are on the place of our father, and I will not differ from you in opinion. What you say to be right is right; nevertheless, as you ask of me this subsidy of 40,000 crowns, in behalf of my brother Thoweynee, I must set forth the conditions whereon I will grant it." He rejoined, "State them, and I will guarantee their acceptance by Thoweynee; for has he not already told you by letter that whatever I do or say is as done and said by him?" I replied, "Yes. In the first place, then, I stipulate that I am to be my father's successor, and that Thoweynee must recognise me as such." He said, "Agreed to." Then I said, "He is not to stir up strife against Toorkee, neither is he to injure him in any way; and if Toorkee does wrong, he must apprise me of it, for I consider him under my care. Notwithstanding, I do not know what his real position is; whether he is independent or subject to the ruler of Muscat. What I only know is, that our late father made over Oman and its dependencies to my brother Thoweynee, in the same way that he made over Zanzibar and its dependencies to our brother Khaled, and on the death of Khaled he made them over to me." He replied, "I consent thereto." Then I said, "If my brother Thoweynee observe these two conditions, I will give him an aid and subsidy of 40,000 crowns every year; but if he violate them, he will have no claim on me for a single crown." He replied, "I agree to that also." There were present at this conversation Suleiman bin Hamed, and the Secretary Ahmed bin Nauman, and my brother Mahomed bin Saeed, and Luddah, the Customs Master. After this Mahomed bin Salem said, "On my arrival at Muscat, Thoweynee may not believe that I have asked you to grant him an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns unless you write him a letter to that effect." Thereupon I directed him to write as follows: "I, Mahomed bin Salem, asked of Majeed bin Saeed an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns on behalf of his brother Thoweynee bin Saeed." On this I wrote, "This is true. Written by the unworthy Majeed with his own hand."

6. Finally, Mahomed bin Salem left for Muscat, taking with him the portions of my brothers who were in Oman; and after his departure we sent by an American ship 14,000 crowns on account of the 40,000 above referred to. But when Mahomed bin Salem reached Muscat, he found my brother Thoweynee at war with Toorkee. Whereupon he said to him, "How is it that you act thus after what I have stipulated on your behalf? If Majeed should hear of this, he will refuse the subsidy which I asked him to grant you." When Thoweynee heard this he made peace with Toorkee and returned to Muscat, when he received his share of the inheritance which had been brought by Mahomed bin Salem, and also the money on account of the subsidy which had arrived by the American ship. He also sent me a letter by his man Nassir bin Ali bin Taleb, wherein he states, "The money which you were good enough to send has reached me: may your prosperity continue." This letter is still in my possession; and with the letter he sent his man Nassir bin Ali to receive the balance of the money. And Mahomed bin Salem also wrote to me by him, saying, "Thoweynee's man, Nassir bin Ali, comes to you to receive the balance of the money. Be careful to confirm the words which passed between us, and to fulfil the arrangement which I made between you." This letter also is still with me. Mahomed bin Salem also wrote a letter by the same Nassir bin Ali to Luddah, the Customs agent at Zanzibar, wherein he says, "Thoweynee's man, Nassir bin Ali, comes to you to receive the balance of the money which we asked of Majeed as a subsidy to his brother Thoweynee." (This letter also is in existence.) Finally, Nassir bin Ali received the balance of the money, and then went in among the people, secretly corrupting their minds, and promising them all sorts of things from Thoweynee. As reported to us moreover, he said, "Barghash will act for Thoweynee, for he is on his side, and do whatever he bids you." After this, Nassir bin Ali went to Muscat, and on his arrival there, Thoweynee rose up against Toorkee. On seeing this, how Thoweynee failed to keep his engagement, Mahomed bin Salem retired from Muscat and went to Mecca, for he was ashamed of such conduct on my account. Nevertheless, I knew nothing of what was transpiring there, but was already collecting the money for the following year, and had intended sending it by my frigate, the "Artemise." Just then, however, I heard of Thoweynee having made war on Toorkee, at which I was much surprised; and a few days after I learned that he was preparing to attack me also, in violation of the agreement which had been made through Mahomed bin Salem. I was then in doubt what to do; and, indeed, had he not made war on me, I should not have withheld the subsidy from him; neither was it ever my intention to deprive the subjects of Oman of the profit which they derive from me; for they come to me every year, and I distribute about 15,000 crowns in gratuities among them.

7. A few days later, certain intelligence arrived that Thoweynee was coming with his men and troops to attack me and to destroy the country. With the aid of God, I prepared to meet and to resist him with all the men and materials of war at my disposal, and I myself went on board one of my frigates for the same purpose, confident that God would cause me to triumph over one who had violated his treaty and sought to do me injury, knowing full well that the wicked cannot prosper; and God did, indeed, thwart his evil designs, and made the [British] Government the instrument of his salvation. On his return to Muscat, he informed the [British] Government that he intended sending Hamed bin Salem to recall his troops from Zanzibar, to which the Government assented. Hamed bin Salem accordingly came in the "Caroline," accompanied by Nassir bin Ali, bringing a letter from Thoweynee, wherein he informed me that he had sent Hamed bin Salem to me, and that whatever arrangement was made by him he would agree to, and that whatever he said would be as from himself. On his arrival, I said to Hamed bin Salem, in the presence of Suleiman bin Hamed, "Wherefore are you come?" He replied, "To effect a reconciliation between you and your brother Thoweynee." This surprised me more than the meditated attack; for it appeared to me most strange that Thoweynee should send Hamed bin Salem to effect a reconciliation, after he had accepted the mediation of the [British] Government; more especially since he had informed that Government that he had sent him to recall the troops, and not to effect a reconciliation. Therefore I said to him, "One who acts in this manner is not to be dealt with. Hence I will enter into no discussion with you on this matter; all I have to say is, that whatever the [British] Government may decide will be incumbent on all parties."

8. During his subsequent stay at Zanzibar, Hamed bin Salem left no means untried to ruin me, and to deprive me of the rule; but God did not prosper him. Much of what he did was reported to me; he bribed several officers to kill me, promising them rewards from Thoweynee. Of this I had many proofs; for when I punished one of them, Hamed bin Salem was importunate with me to release him, after begging me to do so verbally and by letter; but I refused. On perceiving this he next corrupted my brother Barghash, bidding him to compass my ruin, and promising him that Thoweynee would make him ruler of Zanzibar, without asking him to render any account of the government or of the finances. He also intrigued with the El-Harth, the greatest tribe in Zanzibar, and told them to side with Barghash against me; that Thoweynee would not fail to reward them; and that, if they prevailed, they should be lords of Zanzibar, and Barghash its ruler, when they might expel any whom they did not wish to reside at Zanzibar, and would acquire great renown. I heard also (but God knows the truth) that he gave them as much as 40,000 crowns, which Thoweynee had entrusted to him.

9. All this surprised me more and more; for it seemed to me an improbable thing that a tribe at Zanzibar should think of depriving me of the kingdom. But on hearing what Hamed bin Salem had said, they were deceived and led astray, and joined with him in his machinations, and Barghash also conspired with them. When all this came to my knowledge, I seized several of the chiefs of that tribe, one of them being Abdullah bin Salem, and placed them in confinement. Thereon many of the tribe, headed by Barghash, threatened to attack my house and release them. I then gave orders to the soldiers to fire on them if they made the attempt, which deterred them. As a proof that Hamed bin Salem was an accomplice in all this, I may mention that he unceasingly importuned me to liberate the prisoners, which however, I refused to do. To him I said, "These men have attempted to kindle rebellion in the town and to ruin me; they have consequently deserved the punishment inflicted. As to yourself, if, as was stated to the Government, you came here to recall Thoweynee's troops, there being none of them here now, you can return at once; but if, as you say, you have come to effect a reconciliation, know that I will neither confer with you nor with him that sent you on that matter, but with the [British] Government, which deterred him from coming to Zanzibar; hence there is nothing left for you to do but to depart." Thereupon Hamed bin Salem took his departure, and we were eased of his presence.

10. After his departure Barghash began to foment disturbances in the country, trying in every possible way to make mischief to compass my death, and to deprive me of the government; again and again this was proved to me, until at length I ordered him to quit Zanzibar, but he refused. I then directed one of my officers to confine him to his own house until he consented. He was thus confined for one day only, when he agreed to go, but said that he required money for the voyage. I accordingly gave him 10,000 crowns, and had one of my frigates prepared to take him wherever he pleased. On receiving the money, he said that he did not like to go in a ship, but preferred a buggalow. I then chartered for him the buggalow of Mahomed bin Moobarek, and some of his baggage was taken on board, when suddenly I heard that Barghash had fled from his house by night to the gardens where he was fortifying himself in a house which belonged to our late brother Khaled; also, that a number of the chiefs and people of the El-Harth, with their slaves had joined him. On learning this, I sent to inquire of him what he meant by such conduct, after he had promised to quit Zanzibar. He replied that it was still his intention to leave, but he was ashamed of leaving from the town, and preferred embarking from the garden.

I accordingly gave him three days delay; still he had not gone. I therefore sent again, bidding him to depart; but he replied that he would never leave Zanzibar. When I heard this, I prepared my troops to march against him, and all the people joined me, with

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the exception of some of the lower classes of the El-Harth. Again we sent a message bidding him to go, but with the same result. Then we sent to him Hamood bin Seif bin Msellim, and Seif bin Khalfan, and Hussein bin Mahomed, the Chief of the El-Harth, and Hashim bin Swelim-el-Harethy, and Seif bin Mahomed-el-Wali, and Mahomed bin Moorbarek, to advise him and those with him to desist, and to warn them of the consequences of their conduct. Nevertheless they would not listen, but declared that they would not abandon Barghash; and Barghash said that he would not quit Zanzibar, adding that if Majeed did not come out against him, he would proceed with his men against me, fight me in the town, and kill those who supported me. About this time we found a note from Barghash addressed to the French Consul Cochet, wherein he writes, "What is your opinion if, in coming to the town to attack Majeed, we meet with any English or other Christians on the road, shall we kill them or not? Give me your reply on this point." We also heard (but God knows the truth) that while Barghash was in the gardens, the French Consul used to supply him with munitions of war, powder, shot, &c. However, when we perceived that matters had reached such a pitch, we determined to act; but as the Government ship "Assaye" was in the harbour, deeming it proper that the [British] Government should be made aware of everything, and also of what I intended to do, I advised with Colonel Rigby (Captain Adams being present), and told them all about Barghash's affair, and that I proposed attacking him. As the house in which Barghash had fortified himself was a very strong one, it was necessary that I should take guns to destroy it; but having no gunners of my own, they were kind enough to supply me with nine Englishmen for the occasion, who accompanied us with our troops to Beiter-Ras, where we remained that night, the house which Barghash occupied being about three hours distant. In the morning our troops advanced, and we bivouacked at a place called Mevera, and in the evening moved towards the position occupied by Barghash and his people. Though it was raining hard I ordered my troops to attack, when such of Barghash's people as were on the outside retreated, leaving the rest, who still continued to maintain their ground. At this time we had no guns sufficiently large to batter the house, and as the rain was falling in torrents, I ordered my troops to retire, intending to send for some larger guns, as swords and muskets alone could do little against the fortified building. Accordingly after spending the night, and then intending to renew the attack on the following day with larger guns, we heard at about 10 o'clock at night that Barghash and his people had evacuated the house, which I then ordered to be occupied by an officer and a party of my soldiers. Next morning Captain Berkeley, with a party of brave British soldiers, joined me, and I informed him of all that had occurred, and how Barghash had fled to the garden of Husein bin Mahomed. His advice was that the fortified position should be destroyed, and he accordingly directed a British officer and some soldiers to level it; this is what took place so far.

11. Barghash, however, had escaped to the tower and entered his house during the night. On hearing this, I sent Saood to ascertain the truth, and to inform Colonel Rigby, whom I had requested to take charge of the town during my absence. Saood accordingly communicated with the Colonel, and it was decided that some of my own soldiers, with a party from the frigate, should surround Barghash's house till the morning, lest he should escape. Colonel Rigby, however, and Saood wished to force the door open and bring the inmates out; but Hamood bin Ahmed bin Seif undertook to effect this without breaking the door; so he called to Barghash to open the door, and not to be afraid. He did so at once, and was brought forthwith to my house; this is what took place in the town.

12. As to myself, on waking I ordered my troops to return, and on reaching the town was met by Colonel Rigby and Saood, who told me all that had happened. So I entered my house accompanied by Colonel Rigby, and met there Captain Adams, and Captain Berkeley, and Sultan bin Hamood, and my brothers, and Barghash. On asking the latter what had induced him to act as he had done, he replied, "It is useless to talk of the past; all I now ask for is my personal safety." I answered, "You shall have it, and all that I require of you is, that you should leave Zanzibar, and here is the Government ship 'Assaye' ready to take you." He then asked for three days' delay to prepare for the voyage, which was granted. He then wrote a paper in the presence of the above named, promising to quit Zanzibar, and never to return without my permission, and the paper was witnessed by the signatures of all present. Three days after he left in the "Assaye" bound for Muscat. It was on account of all this that I cut off the monthly salary which I used to allow Barghash.

13. As to the El-Harth, after God had permitted them to be deluded, they repented of their evil deeds, and came in a body to confess their faults, and to ask forgiveness. This was granted, and they then vowed to be obedient to me, and to take part with me against every opponent. At present they appear to be loyal, but God only knows what is in their hearts.

14. After the departure of the "Assaye," the French Commodore arrived, and requested me to inform him of all that had taken place. I directed Suleiman bin Hamed to do this, and he got Ahmed bin Naaman, the Secretary, to write the whole on a paper, and to take it to the Commodore; but I myself had no conversation with him on the subject.

15. I desire, however, to observe to his Lordship the Governor General, that my brother Thoweynee has been the cause of all these troubles; for he it was who violated the covenant; annulled.

annulled what Mahomed bin Salem had done; made war on Toorkee, then prepared to attack me; sent Hamed bin Salem to do all the mischief which has already been described; instigated Barghash to oppose me, and stirred up the El-Harth to do the same, and to create rebellion in the town. Owing to all this I have been obliged to spend large sums of money, and have contracted a debt of 327,000 crowns to the Customs Master, and another of 700,000 crowns to my orphan brothers and sisters. Had it not been for Thoweynee, I should not have been subject to such expenditure and loss; but when he prepared to to attack us, and instigated others to do the same, we were obliged to spend so much money.

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16. Further, I have also to complain of Thoweynee that he has not divided with me what was left by our father in Oman; whereas I divided with him all that was left at Zanzibar. He has divided neither the property, nor the money, nor the horses, the gardens, the furniture nor the ships, and as if that did not suffice, he actually seized the 11,000 crowns for which my ship the "Nazree" was sold [at Muscat].

17. Finally, I have to apprise your exalted Excellency that those commissioned by you have had some conversation with me about curtailing the limits within which it is still lawful to transport slaves, and also about abolishing the transport altogether, and whether any aid would be required thereto. I replied that I would never oppose the wishes of the high [British] Government; nevertheless your Lordship is not ignorant of the condition of these countries, and you are doubtless aware that the prosperity of the subjects of these territories is derived chiefly from ploughing and sowing, and that such prosperity cannot be maintained here without slaves; but your opinion is best.

Correct. Written by the unworthy Majeed with his own hand.

28th Rabia-el-Awwal 1277.

L. S.

(True Translation.)

(signed) *G. P. Badger.*
W. M. Coghlan, Brigadier,
in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

APPENDIX (M.)

TRANSLATION of an Arabic Letter addressed to Brigadier *Coghlan* by *Syud Toorkee* of Sohar.

Appendix (M.)

From *Syud Toorkee bin Saeed bin Sultan*, to Brigadier *W. M. Coghlan*.

A. C.—Your honoured letter has arrived, and has delighted and eased our mind, inasmuch as you have shown your friendly compassion towards us, and are not willing to scorn our rights. We entertain great joy in your counsel, which has removed our sadness. We rely upon you because you have come to this country to put it into order, peace, and concord. This is the system of the noble-minded and generous.

In sending you a reply, we find it advisable to entrust the matter to you, and whatever you decide upon we shall not disobey the judgment of the [British] Government, which has, by its equity and justice, exhibited marvellous wisdom.

Whatever you deem beneficial to us, we shall be guided by your opinion, and will follow your injunctions.

Regarding what you have heard about us, it is without foundation. Our desire is prosperity and the general good. We have more compassion for these parts than any other, and we are anxious for their welfare.

We beg you to have confidence in what we have said. We approve of your appointment, and whatever you order we will obey.

2nd Dhu Alhija, 1276 (22 June 1860).

(True Translation.)

(signed) *H. Russam.*

RESOLUTION by the Honourable Board, dated the 4th February 1861.

Resolved,

During the lifetime of *Syud Saeed*, Imam of Muscat and Sultan of Zanzibar, that sovereign appointed his son *Syud Thoweynee* to be Viceroy of Muscat, and his son *Syud Majeed* to be Viceroy of Zanzibar and the African Dependencies. On his death, in 1855, each son assumed in his own person the government which he had formerly administered as his father's lieutenant. *Syud Thoweynee* subsequently put forward a claim to the sovereignty of Zanzibar in addition to that of Muscat, and was prepared to assert it by

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force of arms, when, at the request of the Government of Bombay, he abandoned this intention, and agreed to submit his claim to the arbitration of the Governor General of India.

2. Syud Thoweynee, it would appear from Brigadier Coghlan's first report, rests his claim upon the fact that he is sovereign of Muscat, and that in that character he is *de jure* sovereign of Zanzibar also, as a dependency of Muscat. He does not base his title as ruler of Muscat on any right or custom of primogeniture, but on the fact of his recognition by the tribes of Oman. He denies that his father left any will, or made any clear indication of his wishes in connection with the succession to his dominions. The only will which the late Imam left related to his private personal property; but it contained one provision which Syud Thoweynee contends is opposed to the assumption that he intended to erect Zanzibar into a separate sovereignty. That provision was, that the Imam's two ships, the "Caroline" and the "Feidh Alim," were to be given after his death to the treasury of the Mussulmans as a legacy from him. It is contended by Syud Thoweynee that the treasury of the Mussulmans meant the treasury of Muscat, and that therefore the late Imam virtually recognised only one public exchequer.

3. It will be useful to consider and dispose at once of the argument involved in this assertion. The Honourable the Governor in Council has no doubt that, by the treasury of the Mussulmans, the treasury of Muscat was intended; but the deduction drawn from these premises he considers to be too large. He regards the facts in this light; the sovereignty of Muscat is in some degree a hierarchy; a sacred character attaches to the Imam; a bequest to the treasury of Muscat is therefore a pious offering. The late Syud Saeed had long been a resident at Zanzibar; it seems therefore to the Honourable the Governor in Council a natural act, and, for one in the Imam's position, a natural mode of expressing his wishes for him to bequeath a portion of his private property to the land of his birth and the local centre of his religion. He had chosen Zanzibar as his residence, but in the last act of his life he makes a bequest to Muscat, with mingled solemnity and affection, as the treasury of the Mussulmans. The Honourable the Governor in Council does not consider that the fact advanced by Syud Thoweynee, if strained to the utmost, could be regarded as affording a clear indication of the late Imam's wishes, or as outweighing the inferences to be drawn from Syud Saeed's letter to Lord Aberdeen. But as the general tenor of Syud Thoweynee's argument is, that the late Imam possessed no right of regulating the succession, the provision regarding the bequest to the treasury of the Mussulmans is not of material importance in connection with his claim, although it demanded notice from the Honourable the Governor in Council in the present place.

4. But the main argument of Syud Thoweynee, that he was recognised by the tribes of Oman as sovereign of Muscat, and that in that character he is *de jure* sovereign of Zanzibar also, must, in the opinion of the Honourable the Governor in Council, suffice to place the *de facto* ruler of Zanzibar in the position of one who must prove his title. Syud Majeed does not dispute his brother's right to the sovereignty of Muscat; the great question, then, to be decided is, as under the late rulers the sovereignty of their conquests, Zanzibar, &c., was united to that of Muscat, can Syud Majeed establish a valid title to the possession of Zanzibar as a distinct sovereignty? This question leads the Honourable the Governor in Council to the consideration of Brigadier Coghlan's report of the 4th December.

5. Brigadier Coghlan in this elaborate report, after stating the precautionary measure which he had adopted of obtaining from Syud Majeed a formal agreement to abide by the arbitration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, proceeds to discuss the grounds on which the present ruler of Zanzibar rests his claims to the sovereignty of that portion of his late father's dominions.

6. The grounds are thus stated :—

- I. The will or wishes of his late Highness Syud Saeed.
- II. The recognition of Syud Majeed by foreign Powers.
- III. His virtual recognition by his rival brother Syud Thoweynee of Muscat.
- IV. His election as their sovereign by the chiefs of Zanzibar and its African Dependencies.

7. Of the grounds thus stated, the 2nd and 3rd may be at once disposed of. With respect to the recognition by foreign powers, it will be observed that Her Majesty and the British Government did not allude to Syud Majeed's sovereignty in the replies returned to the letters announcing his father's death, and that there is no reason for supposing that the French and American Governments were ever aware that a claimant to the throne of Zanzibar existed in the person of the elder brother of Syud Majeed. They replied to the *de facto* sovereign; but no argument can be raised upon this circumstance in favour of the assertion that Syud Majeed was the *de jure* sovereign.

8. So with respect to the virtual recognition by Syud Thoweynee. It is clear that an agreement was negotiated, in virtue of which Syud Majeed was to be left in possession of his father's African dominions on payment to his brother, the ruler of Muscat, of an annual sum of 40,000 crowns; but this payment is contended by the one party to have been a tribute, and by the other party to have been a subsidy or gift, implying no inferiority on the part of the donor towards the recipient. There appears great reason to believe that the agent of Syud Thoweynee deceived both parties; and there certainly was

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no formal instrument declaratory of the precise nature of the grant. Under these circumstances no decision can be based on the alleged recognition by Syud Thoweynee of his brother's claim.

9. The 2nd and 3rd grounds being thus briefly disposed of, the 1st ground (the will or wishes of the late Syud Saeed) is presented for consideration. Two questions naturally arise: 1st. Did the late Imam clearly manifest his wishes? 2ndly. Would the wishes of the late Imam, if ascertained, constitute a valid title to the succession? To the first of these questions the Honourable the Governor in Council would reply that Syud Saeed did not clearly manifest his wishes, but that there was considerable ground for the inference that they were in accordance with the claims of Syud Majeed. It stands clear upon the evidence, that the late Imam did indicate in his will that on his death his dominions should be divided; that the Arabian portion should be assigned to Syud Thoweynee, and the African portion to Syud Khaled; that he entrusted during his own life the administration of the respective portions to the sons thus named; that on Syud Khaled's death he placed Syud Majeed in authority over the African dominions; that he led the British Agent, Colonel Hamerton, with whom he had long been on terms of friendly intercourse, to believe that he intended the arrangement to remain in force after his own death. The proof of the late Imam's wishes is inadequate, but there are very strong presumptions in favour of the conclusion that, if the claim of Syud Majeed were established on other grounds, the British Government would recognise the claim which had the sympathy and support of Syud Saeed.

10. Next, with respect to the question of whether the wishes of the late Imam, if ascertained, could confer a valid title to the succession. The Honourable the Governor in Council considers it to have been clearly shown by Brigadier Coghlan that succession in the Imam's family has in practice, as generally in Arab chiefships, been regulated by election. The wishes of the late Imam, though they might very naturally exercise a material influence on the opinions of the various chiefs and tribes, could not therefore, from any inherent authority of their own, determine the succession. They might influence the election, and they might still more lend an appearance of legitimacy to pretensions which really owed their success to other causes of a less respectable character, to force or intrigue; but it cannot be doubted that, if the will of the sovereign was in Muscat and Zanzibar decisive as to the succession, there must have been instruments producible which would have put the fact beyond all doubt. In the absence, then, of all satisfactory proof, the Honourable the Governor in Council fully concurs with Brigadier Coghlan in considering that the will or wishes of the late Imam cannot be regarded, even if ascertained, as authoritatively decisive of the dispute. They would in all probability have exercised a material influence on the election, and that is all.

11. The last ground, then, on which Syud Majeed bases his claim remains for consideration, that he was elected by the chiefs and tribes in the late Imam's African dominions to be their ruler. The Honourable the Governor in Council considers it to have been satisfactorily shown that in the Imam's family the succession is determined by election. The question then is, was Syud Majeed elected? On this point there can be no doubt. No opposition appears ever to have been manifested in Zanzibar or Africa until some years after Syud Majeed had commenced his rule, and then the opposition might more correctly be termed disaffection to the existing ruler, excited by the intrigues of a rival claimant. That Syud Thoweynee should have commenced these intrigues was but natural, but the Honourable the Governor in Council is of opinion that the conclusion cannot be resisted, that Syud Majeed was elected to the sovereignty without a murmur from those included within the limits of his government, and that he would have continued to rule without protest or resistance but for the acts of those who were not included within the limits of his rule.

12. But an important point is presented for consideration at this period of the discussion. Had the chiefs and tribes of the African dominions, which were conquered dependencies of Muscat, a right to elect their own sovereign without reference to the desires of the chiefs in Oman? On this point the Honourable the Governor in Council has no difficulty in concurring with Brigadier Coghlan in opinion that the enhanced importance of the African dominions, both in their political and commercial aspects, an importance far surpassing that of Muscat, invested the chiefs of those young and vigorous settlements with a right of exercising a potential voice in the selection of their ruler. The late Imam, by whose courage and administrative ability the dominions had been consolidated and raised to their present prosperity, virtually relieved Zanzibar of its dependent character by making it the seat of government; and he still further indicated his views on this point by his desire, after making the administrations distinct during his life, to continue the arrangement after his death, in favour at least of Syud Khaled, if not of Syud Majeed.

13. The Honourable the Governor in Council then holds that Zanzibar had the right of choosing its own ruler, and that it chose Syud Majeed. But another complication is at this point presented for solution. It may be fairly contended by Syud Thoweynee that the election of Syud Majeed was, stripped of all its accidents, a mere exhibition of force; that Syud Majeed was on the spot when the throne became vacant; that he had all the advantages derivable from his position as viceroy; and that no opposition could safely be organised against this array of circumstances by those who really favoured the pretensions

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of the elder brother; that, after a fruitless attempt to negotiate, Syud Thoweynee prepared to assert his claims by force of arms, and that at this period the British Government intervened. He would therefore contend that the election being merely an exhibition of force, and he being prepared to oppose force by force, it would not be just on the one hand to prevent the employment of force by Muscat, and on the other to recognise a title derived only from force in Zanzibar. The argument is not without its weight; but it may be replied that such or similar fortuitous circumstances as favoured Syud Majeed, influence all elections to sovereignties, and that the time which has elapsed since his accession has, in some degree, legitimated Syud Majeed's pretensions, has given him another title besides that derived from force; and would have impressed on the armed demonstration of Syud Thoweynee, had it been prosecuted, the character of an invasion by a foreign power. But the Honourable the Governor in Council does regard the facts that Syud Thoweynee was prepared to assert his claim by an appeal to arms, and that he relinquished his purpose only in deference to the British Government, as investing him with a claim to compromise when contesting a title which is principally derived from force. In seeking for a basis of compromise, attention is naturally directed to the terms on which it is admitted Syud Thoweynee was willing to resign his claims. Those terms were briefly an annual payment of 40,000 crowns by Zanzibar to Muscat; but whether as tribute or a subsidy is disputed. The Honourable the Governor in Council is very willing to admit that the dispute involves a question of considerable importance, but he is of opinion that the negotiation indicates the nature of the compromise which the British Government should arrange. He thinks then, as an indemnity for abandoning his claims on his father's African dominions, as an adjustment of the balance between the two inheritances, the ruler of Zanzibar should make an annual payment to the ruler of Muscat of 40,000 crowns, and that this payment should be regarded as a subsidy and not as a tribute. It would be unjust to the prosperous state of Zanzibar, exhibiting as it does so much evidence of vitality and such aptitude for self-development, to make it tributary to any foreign sovereign, and especially to one of so effete a state as Muscat. A subsidy, on the other hand, would secure to Syud Thoweynee as much material advantage as he could fairly have expected, under all the circumstances, had he succeeded in dethroning his brother; it being always remembered, as clearly shown by Brigadier Coghlan and Colonel Rigby, that the defeat of Syud Majeed would not, as a matter of course, have secured the recognition of Syud Thoweynee as sovereign of all the African dominions of the late Imam.

14. There are two points to be noticed before the Honourable the Governor in Council commits this important question to the final decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General: 1st. Is the subsidy to be permanent? 2nd. Is it to be paid with arrears? The Honourable the Governor in Council regards the first of these questions as one of peculiar difficulty. The British Government must naturally be reluctant to impose a perpetual burden on Zanzibar, for the purpose of buying off, as it were, a claimant to the sovereignty; but, on a balance of all the considerations which surround the question, this seems the only expedient which can be adopted. Syud Thoweynee can hardly with honour resign the claims of his country, not merely his own claims, for a payment which is to determine with his own life. A temporary assignment from the revenues of Zanzibar would only film over the wound which Muscat sustains by the loss of the African dependencies, and irritation would again break out on Syud Thoweynee's death. By the permanent subsidy, a motive is given to Muscat to abstain from all ambitious movements against its wealthier brother; if that motive was removed, designs on Zanzibar would, from generation to generation, be the great point of honour, the great centre of intrigue, to which would converge all the daring and adventurous spirits in Oman. The subsidy will be well-spent money, if it preserves Zanzibar from those attacks to which it must otherwise be liable from the needy ambition of Muscat.

15. Next as to the arrears. Brigadier Coghlan is of opinion that they should be demanded from Syud Majeed. The Honourable the Governor in Council will not dispute the conclusion that, in strict justice, Syud Majeed is liable to his brother for the arrears, though it is certainly open to question. But as the arrangement under discussion is essentially one of compromise, it should be considered whether the demand is expedient. The Honourable the Governor in Council cannot think that it is. It must be remembered that Zanzibar has its financial difficulties as well as Muscat, and it is of obvious policy not to impose any burthens on Syud Majeed from which he cannot be reasonably expected to free himself by careful and judicious administration. It is probable that, if not overwhelmed at the outset by extraordinary charges and embarrassments, Zanzibar, by the ordinary progress of a state possessing great materials and facilities for commerce, will, at no very distant period, be able to pay the subsidy without any severe strain on its resources to regard it as a mere premium of insurance; but it cannot be doubted that the payment must for some time be regarded as a heavy burthen, and great care must be taken that the vessel is not swamped at once by overloading. To impose a large liability for arrears on Syud Majeed would imperil the stability of the whole arrangement: it would put the heaviest weight on the weakest part; for, as before stated, it is only now and for the next few years that the subsidy will prove an embarrassing burthen to Zanzibar. No pretext should be afforded to either party for breaking the agreement, and under this view the Honourable the Governor in Council would not recommend that Syud Majeed be held liable for more than two years' arrears of subsidy, or 80,000 crowns. Such

a sum will be of material benefit to Syud Thoweynee, and its payment will not be an insuperable difficulty to Syud Majeed.

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16. The Honourable the Governor in Council, deeming it his duty to submit his opinion on this important discussion, would recommend to the favourable consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General the following propositions as offering the best solution of the many complications which surround the case:—

- I. That his Highness Syud Majeed be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of his late Highness Syud Saeed.
- II. That the ruler of Zanzibar pay annually to the ruler of Muscat a subsidy of 40,000 crowns.
- III. That his Highness Syud Majeed pay to his Highness Syud Thoweynee the arrears of the subsidy for two years, or 80,000 crowns.

17. The Honourable the Governor in Council believes that this arrangement is, under all the circumstances, the most just that can be effected; that it is the best calculated to preserve the future peace of the two states; and that it is the one most consistent with the views of the late Syud Saeed, to whom Muscat and Zanzibar owe so much.

18. Brigadier Coghlan proceeds, in the 50th paragraph of his report, to consider some collateral points connected with the main subject under discussion.

19. The first of these is the propriety, or otherwise, of providing for the succession to the sovereignty of Zanzibar on the death of his Highness Syud Majeed, who at present has no male issue. The Honourable the Governor in Council considers that this is not a question which calls for any expression of opinion by the British Government. It must be left for decision to the chiefs of Zanzibar, who will, without doubt, pay very great respect to any expression of the wishes of Syud Majeed. The more popular the rule of the present Sultan, the greater influence will his wishes exercise on the succession. It is clearly a question which must be left for the future; any present attempt to regulate the succession would be inconsistent with the principle asserted in the course of this discussion, that the sovereigns are elected from the members of the royal family.

20. The second point discussed by Brigadier Coghlan is connected with the claims of the younger children of the late Syud Saeed at Zanzibar. The Honourable the Governor in Council is of opinion that as these younger children are at Zanzibar, and as the property stated to have been left to them by the late Imam is at Zanzibar, the question of their claims must be left to the justice of the ruler of Zanzibar; the children are his subjects; he has acknowledged his obligation to make good to them their inheritance, and, as may be inferred from Brigadier Coghlan's statements in the 51st paragraph, there is at least as much chance of their obtaining justice from Syud Majeed as from Syud Thoweynee. It will be sufficient, in the opinion of the Honourable the Governor in Council, if the Agent at Zanzibar be instructed to intimate to Syud Majeed that the British Government does not deem it necessary to issue any orders on the complaint of Syud Thoweynee relative to the inheritance of the younger brothers, believing that full justice will be rendered to them by the Sultan of Zanzibar.

21. Brigadier Coghlan next offers some suggestions as to the course to be pursued with respect to Syud Barghash, who has now resided for several months in Bombay. The Honourable the Governor in Council regards the conduct of this young prince as open to the gravest reprehension. He considers it to be entirely without palliation, and he must also confess that he has very little confidence in the future amendment of the prince, except so far as he may be influenced by his fears. But amidst a choice of difficulties (and there seldom was a case in which, throughout all its turns, the advantages and disadvantages attached to a proposed course of action were so nearly equivalent) the Honourable the Governor in Council believes that the measure suggested by Brigadier Coghlan offers the fairest prospect of success. That officer, in effect, proposes that Syud Barghash, who has in writing made abject submission to his brother, should be permitted to return to Zanzibar and reside there under the surveillance of the British Agent, being at the same time recommended to the forgiveness and protection of Syud Majeed. The Honourable the Governor in Council sees no other course open. It would not be just to impose the maintenance of Syud Barghash upon Syud Thoweynee, but Syud Majeed may fairly be held liable to accept this turbulent prince as a charge on Zanzibar. But, as a part of the arrangement, Syud Barghash should be plainly informed that, in being permitted to return to Zanzibar, and in being recommended to the favourable consideration of the Sultan, it is to be clearly understood, if he again seeks to undermine his brother's authority, the British Government will not interfere to save him from the just reward of his misdeeds, but will leave him to his fate.

22. Brigadier Coghlan, in paragraphs 55 to 62, adverts to a question intimately connected with the main dispute between Muscat and Zanzibar; the claim of Syud Toorkee to the independent sovereignty of Sohar. The Honourable the Governor in Council fully concurs in the opinion expressed by Brigadier Coghlan, that the claim cannot be maintained. Sohar would seem to be in the position of an appanage to Muscat; a provision to a younger brother, and it would neither be just nor politic to dis sever it permanently from the superior power. His Excellency in Council would submit to the Right Honourable

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Honourable the Governor General the propriety of authorising Mr. Rassam to make the communication to Syud Thowenee and Syud Toorkee which Brigadier Coghlan suggests. The announcement of this decision will exercise a very salutary effect on the maritime tribes of Oman.

23. The Honourable the Governor in Council would draw the particular attention of the Right Honourable the Governor General and of the Government of India to the recommendation of Brigadier Coghlan, that a duly qualified British Agent be appointed to Muscat. His Excellency in Council very heartily concurs in all that Brigadier Coghlan has urged upon this subject, with the exception that he is not inclined to think that benefit will arise from the proposed arrangement of making the Agent at Muscat entirely independent of the Resident in the Persian Gulf. But he thinks that for the present the independence now existing should be maintained, and he will hereafter have the honour of submitting comprehensive proposals for the improved arrangement of our several agencies at Aden, Zanzibar, Muscat, and Bushire.

24. Brigadier Coghlan concludes his valuable report with a warm and well-merited expression of his gratitude to the Rev. Mr. Badger. The Honourable the Governor in Council would earnestly commend this accomplished scholar to the protection of the Right Honourable the Governor General. It would be very difficult to over-estimate the solid usefulness of Mr. Badger's services during his long residence in Aden. The requisition for his presence with the Persian Expeditionary Force, and for his association with the Zanzibar Commission, indicate the high opinion of his ability entertained by officers so well qualified to judge as Sir James Outram and Brigadier Coghlan. This Government has recently suggested to Her Majesty's Secretary of State the propriety of encouraging the study of the Arabic language and literature in England, by the establishment of a Professor's chair in one of our seats of learning. The Honourable the Governor in Council would solicit the support of the Right Honourable the Governor General to this recommendation, and his advocacy of the pre-eminent claims of the Rev. Mr. Badger to the distinction of being the first professor.

25. In committing this important case to the final decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the Honourable the Governor in Council feels it his duty to submit to his Lordship's favourable consideration the valuable services of Brigadier Coghlan. That officer is about to retire, on account of impaired health, temporarily, it may be permanently, from the important position which he has long held with such conspicuous ability at Aden. The capacity and resource which he has exhibited in many difficult conjunctures have elicited the cordial acknowledgments of the Government of India, and the Honourable the Governor in Council believes that the judgment with which he has dealt with the complications at Muscat and Zanzibar will be regarded as the appropriate close of a distinguished career. The late Lord Elphinstone recommended Brigadier Coghlan's services to the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and the recommendation was supported by the Right Honourable the Governor General. The numerous claims to reward which existed on the other side of India, it may be presumed, prevented the recognition at that time of Brigadier Coghlan's merits; but the Honourable the Governor in Council would now hope that the services of this valuable officer may be submitted to the special consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

(signed) G. Clerk.
W. R. Mansfield.
H. W. Reeves.
W. E. Frere.

4 February 1861.

(No. 1532.)

*Decision of the
Government of
India.*

From the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Foreign Department, Fort William,
2 April 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 6, dated 15th February, submitting a report by Brigadier Coghlan on the differences existing between his Highness Syud Thoweynee of Muscat and his Highness Syud Majeed of Zanzibar, together with a copy of the resolution recorded thereon by the Bombay Government.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that his Excellency the Governor General in Council agrees to the three conditions of settlement recommended in the resolution of the Bombay Government, paragraph 16.

3. The limitation to 80,000 crowns of the arrears of subsidy to be paid by Zanzibar to Muscat is expedient, because it names a distinct sum. In the opinion of his Excellency in Council, the demand should be made rather in the form of a compromise than as the assertion of a strict right. It is understood, also, that the aggregate amount of the arrears claimable would not much exceed this sum.

4. The three conditions will constitute the decision of the Governor General as arbitrator; .

trator; and it should be impressed upon both parties, at the time of delivering to them the Governor-General's letters, that, as they have solemnly accepted the arbitration, the Government of India looks to their abiding faithfully by his Excellency's award.

5. The annual payment of 40,000 crowns is not to be understood as a recognition of any dependence of Zanzibar upon Muscat, neither is it to be considered as merely personal between Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed, but as a permanent arrangement, compensating the ruler of Muscat for the abandonment of all claims upon Zanzibar, and adjusting the inequality between the two inheritances, which are to be henceforward separate.

6. The Governor General in Council offers no opinion about the rule of succession in Zanzibar; to do so would, he considers, be travelling beyond the bounds of the question submitted for arbitration.

7. His Excellency in Council agrees with the Bombay Government as to the guardianship of the younger brothers, and requests that the necessary instructions may be issued to Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar.

8. Syud Barghash must, of course, be free to return to Zanzibar if he pleases, and the Consul should be directed to recommend him to the clemency of Syud Majeed. But there is strong objection to putting him under the Consul's surveillance. The Consul may very properly give him good advice on occasion arising, and warn him that he will receive no countenance or protection from the Consulate in the event of his behaving disloyally or turbulently; but the English Consul could not, with any propriety, or without risk of grave embarrassment, undertake to watch the doings of a suspected member of the ruler's family.

9. The opinion of Brigadier Coghlan and of the Bombay Government, negating the claim of Syud Toorkee to the independent sovereignty of Sohar, appears to be perfectly just. The communication which it is proposed to make to that chief will be very proper.

10. The proposal to appoint a duly qualified agent to Muscat is entirely approved, and I am directed to request that the Government of Bombay will lose no time in nominating a duly qualified person, if their suggestions for a new arrangement of the agencies in Arabia, Persia, and Zanzibar, are likely to be delayed.

11. The Supreme Government heartily concurs in the commendation given by the Governor in Council to Brigadier Coghlan. It is rare to see an intricate and difficult subject so completely and clearly dealt with as the one now before his Excellency in Brigadier Coghlan's report, and his Lordship in Council trusts that Her Majesty's Government will not omit to mark their appreciation of this excellent officer's valuable services, past and present.

12. The best thanks of the Governor General in Council should also be conveyed to the Rev. Mr. Badger for the important aid which he has given to Brigadier Coghlan in this matter. His Excellency believes that there is no officer of the Indian service who possesses so familiar and cultivated a knowledge of Arabic as Mr. Badger, and the services which this knowledge and his general ability enabled him to render to the army in Persia under Sir James Outram are well known to and appreciated by the Government of India.

13. The Government of India would be glad to receive any suggestions from the Government of Bombay for encouraging the study of Arabic, more especially among the military servants of Government on that side of India. It is possible that the revival of the pecuniary rewards to be bestowed on those who attain a certificate of high proficiency in the language, with the chances of staff employ, would offer sufficient inducements for the purpose.

14. Letters in English to the address of his Highness Syud Thoweynee and his Highness Syud Majeed, signed by the Governor General, and conveying his Excellency's decision, are herewith forwarded to you for transmission. Copies are also enclosed. From these copies the Governor General in Council requests that Arabic translations may be made, expressing fully and accurately the terms of the letters, each of which is to be delivered with its Arabic translation.

15. If Mr. Badger is still at Bombay, it will be satisfactory that the translations should be made by him.

16. The Governor General in Council leaves it to the Governor of Bombay in Council to determine how the letters shall be sent, observing only that there is no necessity to send again an agent or a ship specially to Zanzibar.

I have, &c.

(signed) G. C. Barnes,

Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

Appendix, No. 8. To His Highness *Syud Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultan*, of Muscat.—His Highness *Syud Majeed bin Saeed*, of Zanzibar.

Beloved and esteemed Friend,

I ADDRESS your Highness on the subject of the unhappy differences which have arisen between yourself and your Highness's brother the ^{Isham of Muscat} Ruler of Zanzibar, and for the settlement of which your Highness has engaged to accept the arbitration of the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

Having regard to the friendly relations which have always subsisted between the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and the Governments of Oman and Zanzibar, and desiring to prevent war between kinsmen, I accepted the charge of arbitrator between you, and in order to obtain the fullest knowledge of all the points in dispute, I directed the Government of Bombay to send an officer to Muscat and Zanzibar to make the necessary inquiries.

Brigadier Coghlan was selected for this purpose,—an officer in whose judgment, intelligence, and impartiality the Government of India reposes the utmost confidence.

Brigadier Coghlan has submitted a full and clear report of all the questions at issue between your Highness and your brother.

I have given my most careful attention to each of these questions.

The terms of my decision are as follows:—

1st. That his Highness *Syud Majeed* be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of his late Highness *Syud Saeed*.

2nd. That the ruler of Zanzibar pay annually to the ruler of Muscat a subsidy of 40,000 crowns.

3rd. That his Highness *Syud Majeed* pay to his Highness *Syud Thoweynee* the arrears of subsidy for two years, or 80,000 crowns.

I am satisfied that these terms are just and honourable to both of you; and as you have deliberately and solemnly accepted my arbitration, I shall expect that you will cheerfully and faithfully abide by them, and that they will be carried out without unnecessary delay.

The annual payment of 40,000 crowns is not to be understood as a recognition of the dependence of Zanzibar upon Muscat, neither is it to be considered as merely personal between your Highness and your brother *Syud Thoweynee*: it is to extend to your respective successors, and is to be held to be a final and permanent arrangement, compensating the ruler of Muscat for the abandonment of all claims upon Zanzibar, and adjusting the inequality between the two inheritances derived from your father, his late Highness *Syud Saeed*, the venerated friend of the British Government, which two inheritances are to be henceforward distinct and separate.

I am, &c.
(signed) Canning.

(True copy.)

Fort William, 2 April 1861.

(signed) C. U. Aitchison,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

MEMORANDUM by the Acting Secretary to Government, dated the 15th April 1861, approved by the Honourable Board.

THE Acting Secretary in circulating the accompanying letter and its enclosure, communicating the terms of the Right Honourable the Governor General's arbitrement on the questions in dispute between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar, begs to propose for consideration the following instructions and arrangements.

2. In accordance with paragraph 15 of the letter from the Supreme Government, Mr. Badger should be requested to prepare correct Arabic translations of the Governor General's arbitration for their Highnesses *Syuds Majeed* and *Thoweynee* respectively.

3. A copy of the letter from the Supreme Government, and of its enclosure may be furnished to the Reverend Mr. Badger for this purpose.

4. It appears to the Acting Secretary that it would be a judicious arrangement if the Reverend Mr. Badger proceeded to Muscat with the arbitration for delivery to his Highness *Syud Thoweynee*, instructions being furnished to that gentleman for his guidance in making known the terms of the arbitrement to his Highness.

5. A letter.

5. A letter should also be prepared for the signature of his Excellency the Governor to Syud Toorkée's address, communicating to him the views of the Government of India in his case. A copy of this letter should be sent to his Highness Syud Thoweynee, and Mr. Badger might be instructed to use his discretion, on arriving at Muscat, as to the propriety of delivering the letter in person to Syud Toorkée.

6. With the view of giving effect to the above suggestions, the Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy should be requested to provide a steamer for the conveyance of the Reverend Mr. Badger to Muscat on the proposed duty, as early as practicable.

7. The Acting Secretary would further suggest that a copy of the letter from the Supreme Government, and of its enclosure be furnished to Lieutenant Colonel Rigby, with instructions for giving effect to the terms of the arbitration as regards the ruler of Zanzibar.

8. His Highness Syud Barghash should, at the same time, be officially informed of the views of the Supreme Government in his case, and of the conditions on which it has been decided to recommend him to the clemency of his Highness Syud Majeed, in the event of his return to Zanzibar. As a precaution, however, against his immediate return proving an impediment to the ready acceptance of the Governor General's arbitration by his Highness Syud Majeed, it is not desirable that Syud Barghash should proceed to Zanzibar for the present.

9. A copy of the letter addressed to Syud Barghash should be furnished for the information of Lieutenant Colonel Rigby.

10. As Mr. Rassam's services are urgently required at Aden, the Reverend Mr. Badger may be authorised to relieve him from his present acting appointment, making the best arrangement available on the spot for the conduct of the Muscat Agency, as a temporary measure, until Government shall be able to make a permanent provision for the agency at that place.

11. A copy of the letter from the Supreme Government, and of the Governor General's arbitration should be forwarded for the information of the Resident in the Persian Gulf. The Reverend Mr. Badger may be instructed to inform the Resident what arrangement he shall have effected for the conduct of the Muscat Agency on relieving Mr. Rassam from that duty.

12. In consequence of the Governor General's arbitration, their Highnesses Syuds Thoweynee and Majeed shall henceforth be officially designated Sultan of Muscat, and Sultan of Zanzibar respectively.

13. The question relative to the encouragement of the study of Arabic, on which suggestions are invited in paragraph 13 of the letter from the Government of India, will be hereafter submitted for the consideration of the Honourable Board.

14. Since writing the above, the Acting Secretary has learned that Mr. Pengelley, Naval Assistant to the Auditor General, who has some knowledge of Arabic, might be induced to take up the appointment of Agent at Muscat. The Government of India say that no time should be lost in nominating a duly qualified person to Muscat, and as the presence of such an officer at that place is of importance at the present moment, the Honourable Board may, perhaps, deem it expedient to offer the appointment to Mr. Pengelley.

(signed) A. Kinloch Forbes,
Acting Secretary.

Approved.

(signed) G. C. C. C.
W. R. Mansfield,
W. H. Reeves.

Appendix, No. 8.

(No. 112 A of 1861.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Reverend *G. P. Badger*, in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

Sir,

Secret Department, 27 April 1861.

WITH reference to Brigadier Coghlan's report, No 17, of the 4th December last, and to the Resolution of Government thereon, a copy of which has been furnished to you, I am directed to forward herewith copy of a letter from the Government of India, with enclosure, communicating the terms of the Right Honourable the Governor General's arbitrement on the questions in dispute between his Highness Syud Thoweynee, ruler of Muscat, and his Highness Syud Majeed, ruler of Zanzibar.

2. In forwarding these documents to you, I am desired to state that it appears to his Excellency the Governor in Council it would be a judicious arrangement if you were to proceed to Muscat with the arbitration for delivery to his Highness Syud Thoweynee.

3. With this view, I am instructed to enclose an English letter from his Excellency the Governor to his Highness Syud Thoweynee's address, giving cover to the original letter from the Governor General, containing his Lordship's decision with reference to his Highness's claims. Arabic versions of these letters, prepared by yourself, accompany.

4. The tenor of his Excellency the Governor's letter will guide you generally in the course of the proceedings to be adopted by you on your arrival at Muscat; but the Government trust to your own experience and judgment for giving due effect to the terms of the arbitration.

5. I am also desired to transmit to you an English letter, with Arabic version, from his Excellency the Governor to Syud Toorkee's address, communicating to him the views of the Government of India in his case. You will, on your arrival at Muscat, be in a position to determine the propriety, or otherwise, of delivering these documents in person to Syud Toorkee. A transcript of the Arabic version of his Excellency's letter is enclosed for the information of his Highness Syud Thoweynee.

6. In accordance with the intimation made in the 15th paragraph of the letter from the Supreme Government, arrangements have been made for the appointment of a qualified officer as British Agent at Muscat. Lieutenant Pengelley of the Indian Navy has been offered and has accepted the appointment.

7. The services of Her Majesty's steamer "Zenobia," which vessel is under orders to proceed to Aden, will be made available for conveying you to Muscat. Lieutenant Pengelley will proceed by the same opportunity.

8. In consequence of the Governor General's arbitration, their Highnesses Syuds Thoweynee and Majeed shall henceforth be designated Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar.

9. Orders will be issued to the sub-treasurer for the disbursement to you of such a sum of money as you may deem necessary for the contingent expenses connected with your mission.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Kinloch Forbes*,
Acting Secretary to Government.

From His Excellency Sir *George Clerk*, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to His Highness *Syud Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultan*, Sultan of Muscat.

Beloved and esteemed Friend,

A. C.—You will receive by this opportunity the decision of his Excellency the Governor General of India in the unhappy differences which have arisen between yourself and your Highness's brother Syud Majeed. The claims of each have been carefully weighed, and I trust that you will be convinced that the settlement awarded is fair and equitable, and equally honourable to both parties. I have no doubt that your Highness, agreeably with your solemn promise, will faithfully abide by the award, now communicated to you, and I earnestly hope that this adjustment of existing differences may lead to a perfect reconciliation between yourself and your brother Syud Majeed. The future welfare of Oman and Zanzibar will depend on your mutual accord, and if you are united in brotherly affection and wise counsels, the two states will continue to prosper to your own benefit; to the benefit of your respective subjects; and to the honour of your late father's renowned memory. This is my sincere wish on your behalf, and in your efforts to attain such beneficial results you may confidently rely on the good offices of the British Government.

His Excellency the Governor General concurs with me in recognising your Highness's right to the sovereignty of Sohar as forming part of the kingdom of Oman. This decision

I have

I have made known to your brother Syud Toorkee, and have further enjoined him to act accordingly. I sincerely trust that he will listen to these friendly counsels, and that your Highness will treat him in a manner which may tend to secure his loyalty and fraternal affection towards you. Above all things, I hope that your prudence will suffice to prevent any interruption of the peace now prevailing in Oman. I enclose a copy of my communication to Syud Toorkee for your Highness's information.

This letter will be delivered to you by the Reverend Mr. Badger, whom I have commissioned to confer with you personally on these matters. He will confirm to you the sincere wishes of the British Government for the increased prosperity of your kingdom, and what are my own feelings of good-will towards you. I anticipate from him a favourable report of your welfare, and conclude by expressing the hope that your Highness's rule over Oman and its Arabian dependencies may be long, happy, and glorious.

Bombay, 27 April 1861.

(signed) G. Clerk.

From His Excellency Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to His Highness Syud Majeed bin Saeed bin Sultan, Sultan of Zanzibar.

Beloved and esteemed Friend,

A. C.—You will receive by this opportunity the decision of his Excellency the Governor General of India in the unhappy differences which have arisen between yourself and your Highness's brother Syud Thoweynee of Muscat. The claims of each have been carefully weighed, and I trust you will be convinced that the settlement awarded is fair and equitable, and alike honourable to both parties. I have no doubt that your Highness, agreeably with your solemn promise, will abide faithfully by the award now communicated to you; and I earnestly hope that this adjustment of existing differences may lead to a perfect reconciliation between yourself and your brother Syud Thoweynee. The future welfare of Zanzibar and Oman will depend on your mutual accord, and if you are united in brotherly affection and wise counsels, the two states will continue to prosper to your own benefit; to the benefit of your respective subjects; and to the honour of your late father's renowned memory. This is my sincere wish on your behalf, and in your efforts to attain such beneficial results you may confidently rely on the good offices of the British Government.

Syud Barghash having expressed to your Highness and to this Government his deep sorrow for his past rebellious conduct, and solemnly promised to act loyally towards you in future, it has been resolved, with the concurrence of his Excellency the Governor General, that he should be recommended to your Highness's clemency on his return to Zanzibar. He has been distinctly warned, however, that should he hereafter conduct himself turbulently towards your Highness's authority, he will receive no countenance or support from the British Government or its representatives.

This letter will be delivered to you by Colonel Rigby, Her Majesty's consul, who has been commissioned to confer with you personally on these matters. He will confirm to you the sincere wishes of the British Government for the increased prosperity of your kingdom, and what are my own feelings of good-will towards you. I anticipate from him a favourable report of your welfare, and conclude by expressing the hope that your Highness's rule over Zanzibar and its African dependencies may be long, happy, and glorious.

(signed) G. Clerk.

Bombay, 27 April 1861.

From His Excellency Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to His Highness Syud Toorkee bin Saeed bin Sultan, at Sohar.

A. C.—THIS is to inform your Highness that his Excellency the Governor General of India, to whom their Highnesses Syud Thoweynee and Syud Majeed referred the adjustment of the unhappy differences which had arisen between them, has pronounced his final arbitration. By that award, his Highness Syud Thoweynee is confirmed as sovereign over Oman and its Arabian territories, and he will be accordingly recognised as such by the British Government. Your claims to the independent rule over Sohar have also been carefully considered, and his Excellency the Governor General concurs with me in the decision that Sohar, forming as it does an integral part of the sovereignty of Oman, is subordinate to the ruler of that principality. I enjoin you, therefore, in the spirit of friendship, to submit to the supreme authority of his Highness Syud Thoweynee, and to co-operate with him in securing the peace and prosperity of that portion of your late father's territories. Your acquiescence in this advice will dispose your brother Syud Thoweynee to act generously towards you, and I shall be glad to learn that a perfect reconciliation has been effected between you. On the other hand, you are hereby cautioned that any attempt on your part to foment disturbances in Oman, will be regarded with severe displeasure by the British Government. On your wisdom in following these friendly counsels will depend your Highness's future prosperity, and my sincere hope is that such prosperity may never fail you.

(signed) G. Clerk.

Bombay, 27 April 1861.

Appendix, No. 8. From His Excellency Sir *George Clerk*, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to His Highness *Syud Barghash bin Saeed bin Sultan*, at Bombay.

A. C.—I WRITE to inform your Highness that after a careful review of your case, and in consideration of your solemn promise never again to disturb the peace at Zanzibar, I have resolved, with the concurrence of the Government of India, to recommend you to the clemency and kind consideration of his Highness Syud Majeed, the recognised Sultan of Zanzibar. This intervention on your behalf is exercised in the sincere hope that you will hereafter behave yourself loyally towards his Highness Syud Majeed as your brother and sovereign. Should you at any future time disappoint this expectation by stirring up strife at Zanzibar, or by opposing your brother's lawful authority, you are hereby warned not to look for any protection from the British Government or its representatives.

In order that the efforts which are being made in your behalf may not fail with his Highness Syud Majeed, it will be prudent that you should not proceed to Zanzibar for the present. I entertain the sincere hope that your reconciliation with his Highness Syud Majeed may be speedily effected, and that, when once made, it will be lasting, conducive alike to the peace and welfare of the family of your lamented father Syud Saeed, and to the present and future prosperity of the Zanzibar sovereignty. This is my sincere desire, and the sincere desire of the British Government. Salaam.

(signed) *G. Clerk.*

27 April 1861.

(No. 116 A of 1861.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Captain *F. Jones*, Indian Navy, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Sir,

Secret Department, 30 April 1861.

No. 112A, dated the 27th April 1861, to the Rev. G. P. Badger.

No. 1532, of the 2nd idem, from the Supreme Government, with Enclosure.

Letters from His Excellency the Governor to their Highnesses Syuds Thoweynee and Majeed.

Letter from His Excellency the Governor to His Highness Syud Toorkve of Sohar.

WITH reference to paragraph 4 of the letter from this Department, No. 70, of the 1st March 1860, I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to transmit, for your information, the enclosed copy of a letter to the Rev. G. P. Badger's address, with transcript of its several accompaniments, noted in the margin, containing the decision of the Right Honourable the Governor-General on the questions at issue between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar on the one hand, and Muscat and Sohar on the other.

2. In accordance with the intimation made in paragraph 15 of the letter from the Supreme Government (forming Enclosure No. 1 to the letter to Mr. Badger's address), his Excellency the Governor in Council has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Pengelley, of the Indian Navy, to be British Agent at Muscat, and to vest him with independent authority as the representative of the British Government at that place and its dependencies.

3. In consequence of this result of the Right Honourable the Governor General's arbitration, their Highnesses Syuds Thoweynee and Majeed will henceforth be designated Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar respectively.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. K. Forbes*,
Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 117 of 1861.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby*, Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar.

Sir,

Secret Department, 30 April 1861.

WITH reference to the letter from this Department, No. 235, of the 25th August 1860, I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward to you the accompanying transcript of a Resolution, recorded by this Government on the report submitted by Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, relative to the matters in dispute between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar on the one hand, and Muscat and Sohar on the other.

2. I am, at the same time, desired to enclose a copy of a letter from the Supreme Government, communicating the decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India on the questions at issue between the respective rulers.

3. I am also desired to forward to you, for delivery to his Highness Syud Majeed, an English letter, with Arabic version, from the Right Honourable the Governor General, communicating the terms of his Lordship's arbitrement. A letter from his Excellency the Governor to his Highness Syud Majeed's address accompanies.

4. His

4. His Excellency in Council trusts to your discretion and judgment for giving due effect to the terms of the arbitrement as affecting his Highness Syud Majeed.

5. It has been deemed advisable, in the absence of Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, to depute the Rev. G. P. Badger to Muscat for the purpose of delivering the Governor General's arbitration to his Highness Syud Thoweynee and for other purposes. The services of Her Majesty's Indian Navy steamer "Zenobia," which vessel is under orders to proceed to Aden, will be made available for the conveyance of Mr. Badger to Muscat. After his arrival at that place, the Rev. Mr. Badger will use his own discretion as to the propriety of proceeding in person to Sohar, for the purpose of making known to Syud Toorkee the decision of the Government of India in his case. A letter addressed by his Excellency the Governor to the Chief of Sohar is enclosed for your information.

6. In accordance with the intimation made in the 15th paragraph of the letter from the Supreme Government, his Excellency the Governor in Council has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Pongelley, of the Indian Navy, to be British Agent at Muscat, and to vest him with authority, independent of the Resident in the Persian Gulf, as the representative of the British Government at Muscat and its dependencies.

7. In consequence of this result of the Governor General's arbitration, their Highnesses Syuds Thoweynee and Majeed will henceforth be designed Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar respectively.

I have, &c.
(signed) A. K. Forbes,
Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 1620 of 1861.)

From A. Kinloch Forbes, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to
Lieutenant W. M. Pongelley, Indian Navy.

Sir,

I AM directed to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council has been pleased to appoint you British Agent at Muscat on a salary of 600 rupees per mensem, with an allowance of 100 rupees for a writer and boat-hire.

2. Instructions will be furnished to you in a few days for your guidance in the conduct of your duties at Muscat.

3. You are requested to prepare yourself to proceed to your destination by Her Majesty's steamer "Zenobia," which vessel will call intermediately at Muscat on her way to Aden.

I have, &c.
(signed) A. Kinloch Forbes,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 24 April 1861.

(No. 1665 of 1861.)

From A. Kinloch Forbes, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to
Lieutenant W. M. Pongelley, Indian Navy, British Agent at Muscat.

Sir,

1 May 1861.

WITH reference to paragraph 2 of my letter No. 1620, dated the 24th ultimo, I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to communicate to you the following observations and instructions.

2. In consequence of the disunion of Muscat and Zanzibar after the death of the late Imam Syud Saeed, and the general inefficiency of the late Native Agent during the events which followed, this Government found it necessary, in the early part of 1859, to vest the Resident in the Persian Gulf with the control of our political relations with Muscat.

3. Subsequently, in March 1860, on the appointment of the Commission presided over by Brigadier Coghlan, for the investigation of the questions in dispute between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar on the one hand, and Muscat and Sohar on the other, Mr. H. Rassam was deputed to Muscat as Acting British Agent, principally with the view of facilitating the important duties entrusted to the Commission.

4. The rival parties having agreed to abide by the arbitrement of the Right Honourable the Governor General, after due inquiry regarding their respective claims had been made, and the Government of India having now communicated the terms of the Governor General's decision, his Excellency the Governor in Council has been pleased to entrust the Rev. Mr. Badger with the delivery to his Highness Syud Thoweynee of the arbitration as affecting his Highness's claims. On the completion of this duty Mr. Badger will determine the propriety of proceeding to Sohar for the purpose of making known to his

Appendix, No 3. Highness Syud Toorkee the decision of the Government of India with reference to the case of that chief.

5. The Supreme Government having at the same time accorded its sanction to the appointment of a duly qualified officer as the representative of the British Government at Muscat, and this appointment having been conferred on you, you will, as already directed, proceed to Muscat in the suite of the Rev. Mr. Badger, who has been furnished with a letter from his Excellency the Governor, accrediting you to his Highness Syud Thoweynee. On your installation at Muscat, Mr. Badger will communicate to you such instruction and advice as he may deem necessary for ensuring due efficacy to the proceedings which he may adopt in carrying out the objects of his mission.

6. His Excellency the Governor in Council desires that, on your arrival at Muscat, you will confer with Mr. H. Rassam on all points concerning our political relations with his Highness Syud Thoweynee, and with other chiefs of rank, whether dependent on or independent of Muscat. His Excellency in Council feels sure that you will always bear in mind the bond of friendship which has for so long a period existed between the Chiefs of Muscat and the British Government; that you will employ your utmost influence in cultivating between Muscat, Zanzibar, and Sohar these amicable feelings towards the establishment of which so much pains are being taken by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India; that you will keep the Resident at Bushire fully informed on every subject which it may in any way concern the British representative there to be cognizant of; that you will constantly contemplate the prospect of our requiring the cordial and active co-operation of the authorities at Muscat in establishing and protecting (entirely at our cost) a line of electric telegraph thence along the coast of Mekran, obtaining with this view exact information regarding the degree of subjection in which the inhabitants of that coast from the Persian Gulf to Sonmeanee are held by Muscat, or Khelat, or by any other authority; and that you will be courteous and circumspect in your intercourse with French, American, or other European officers of rank visiting the port of Muscat.

7. You will not fail to bear in mind that the suppression of the slave trade is an object which the British Government has very much at heart, and his Excellency the Governor in Council relies on your good temper and tact for enlisting his Highness the Imam of Muscat in aid of it.

8. In the discharge of your ordinary duties, you will be careful, as a general rule, to avoid all needless interference with the claims of traders and others against Arab chiefs and tribes within the limits of your control, and to extend the protection of the British flag to none save British subjects, when such protection is absolutely necessary.

9. Finally, I am desirous to request that you will keep a diary of all your proceedings and of such events as you may deem noteworthy; transmitting a copy of it with your reports, whenever opportunities offer, to the Political Department of this Government, to which you must consider yourself directly subordinate.

I have, &c.
(signed) A. Kinloch Forbes,
Acting Secretary to Government,

Bombay Castle, 1 May 1861.

From Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to His Highness Syud Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultan, Sultan of Muscat.

A. C.—THESE friendly lines are to inform your Highness that we have appointed Lieutenant Walter Murray Pongelley, of the Indian Navy, to be British Agent with your Highness at Muscat, in succession to Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. Confiding in his ability and discretion, we recommend him to your Highness's recognition and favour. He will be the ordinary channel of communication between the two Governments, and we doubt not that your Highness, as heretofore, will co-operate heartily with Lieutenant Pongelley in all matters connected with the interests of the British Government and its subjects within your territories. We regret much, on your account and our own, that it is necessary for Mr. Rassam to return to Aden; but we confidently hope that Lieutenant Pongelley will prove equally acceptable to you, and that he will continue to maintain the same friendly relations with your Highness which have characterised Mr. Rassam's agency at Muscat, and which have gained for him the high approbation of this Government; and so we bid you farewell.

(signed) G. Clerk.

Bombay, 29 April 1861.

(Secret Department.—No. 6 of 1861.)

Appendix, No. 8.

From Reverend *George Percy Badger*, in charge Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, to
A. K. Forbes, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, Aden,

1 June 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council, that I reached Muscat from Bombay on the 11th ultimo.

2. His Highness Syud Thoweynee being absent at one of his country seats at the time, his Vizier immediately proceeded thither to inform him of my arrival. On the return of his Highness to Muscat early the following morning, I paid him a complimentary visit, accompanied by Commander Cruttenden and several officers of Her Majesty's steamer "Zenobia," when I formally introduced Lieutenant Pengeley to his Highness as the newly-appointed British Agent at Muscat.

3. Mr. Rassam had previously delivered to Syud Thoweynee the official letters of which I was the bearer, and I was gratified to perceive from his general demeanour on the occasion that he appeared highly pleased with their contents. At the termination of our visit, his Highness intimated to me that he had ordered all his vessels in the harbour to dress ships in honour of the occasion; and a salute of 101 guns was fired to celebrate the auspicious termination of the long-pending dispute between himself and his brother Syud Majeed.

4. At several subsequent interviews, his Highness frequently reiterated how deeply he felt indebted to the generosity of the British Government for all the trouble and expense which the settlement of this question had involved, and how highly he appreciated the impartiality of the final arbitrement. In reply to his inquiry how and when the awarded arrears of 80,000 crowns, and the yearly subsidy of 40,000 crowns, would be paid, I advised his Highness to come to a friendly understanding with his Highness Syud Majeed on the subject, and to appoint an Agent at Zanzibar to receive the money; urging him at the same time, in consideration of the embarrassed state of his brother's finances, to exercise the greatest forbearance toward him in exacting payment. His Highness then asked whether the British Agent at Zanzibar was empowered to insist upon the terms of the arbitration being fulfilled by Syud Majeed. To this, I replied that the Supreme Government of India had directed the officers who should be charged with communicating the decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General to his Highness and to his Highness's brother, to impress upon them both that they were expected to abide faithfully by his Excellency's award; and that, although the Government was not bound to enforce the conditions of the arbitration by either party, I nevertheless entertained no doubt that the influence of the British Agent at Zanzibar would be used, in a friendly manner, to see that the award was duly carried out. Subject to this qualification, I saw no objection to his Highness' proposition, that the person whom he might authorise to receive the money from Syud Majeed should be recommended to Colonel Rigby's good offices, through the British Agent at Muscat, and I accordingly requested Lieutenant Pengeley to communicate with Colonel Rigby in that sense as soon as his Highness should inform him that he had appointed a deputy to treat with Syud Majeed on the subject at Zanzibar.

5. Syud Thoweynee further inquired of me whether any arrangement had been made by the Government of India for the future succession to the Zanzibar sovereignty. Being aware of the general impression prevailing in these parts that Syud Majeed will not live long, and that it is by no means improbable that the chiefs and people of Zanzibar (many of whom are becoming notoriously disaffected towards him) might, in case of his death, elect Syud Thoweynee as his successor; and suspecting, moreover, that Syud Thoweynee himself was not without some hope of the kind, I deemed it desirable to caution his Highness against fostering anticipations which might never be realised, and the entertainment of which might eventually expose him to the suspicion of attempting to infringe on the authority of the Zanzibar sovereignty. At the same time, however, I did not hesitate to inform his Highness that the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council had purposely abstained from offering any opinion on the rule of the succession in Zanzibar, his Excellency having judged that to do so he must have travelled beyond the bounds of the question submitted to his arbitration. His Highness then put the case directly, whether, in the event of Syud Majeed's death, and the people of Zanzibar electing him in his stead, the British Government would oppose his succession? Not feeling authorised to give a decisive answer to this query, I replied in general terms (premising that I expressed my personal opinion merely) that I did not believe the British Government would interfere in such a case against the unanimous wishes of the people; at the same time I did not fail to impress upon his Highness that he would best secure the favourable sympathy of the British Government, now and hereafter, by restricting his

Appendix, No. 8. aspirations to promoting the prosperity of his own subjects and kingdom, leaving the future in the hands of Providence. The caution was well received, and his Highness expressed himself pleased with my explanation.

6. I had several interviews with his Highness respecting Sohar, and the decision of the Government on the claims of Syud Toorkee was highly satisfactory to him. By all accounts that prince has entirely alienated the affections of the population from him, and a deputation of the principal inhabitants had lately come to Syud Thoweynee entreating him to relieve them from his intolerable oppression. It is notorious that he has become a confirmed drinker, and common report charges him with the most wanton conduct towards the wives and daughters of the townspeople. To arrest, if possible, the progress of his tyranny, Mr. Rassam had intended visiting Syud Toorkee in person, and his Highness did not then object, although he entertained very slender hope that his brother would reform and listen to reason. On the same ground, he recommended me not to proceed to Sohar, urging, as an additional motive against it, that Syud Toorkee would not hesitate to represent my visit as one of sympathy on the part of a special agent of the British Government, and might succeed thereby in confirming his few adherents in their contumacy. Judging that these arguments were not devoid of force, I relinquished the idea of proceeding to Sohar, and dispatched the letter of his Excellency the Governor to Syud Toorkee with an accompaniment from myself, a translation of which is attached to this report. I have further requested Lieutenant Pengelley, on the arrival of the replies, to forward them to Government by the first opportunity.

7. It is possible that on learning the decision of Government, as conveyed to him through Sir George Clerk's letter, Syud Toorkee may submit himself at once to Syud Thoweynee, in which case his Highness has promised to treat him kindly, and to provide for him elsewhere than at Sohar; but should he persist in defying his authority, his Highness will probably proceed to coerce him. He did not distinctly avow such to be his intention, but it will be his only resource; and as his suzerainty over Syud Toorkee has now been fully recognised by Government, I did not feel warranted either in demanding from him what his intentions were with regard to Sohar, or in dissuading him from what I presume is his meditated purpose. Fortunately, the inhabitants of that place are quite estranged from Syud Toorkee, and he has but few adherents either there or elsewhere. On the other hand, most of the Arab tribes in the neighbouring districts, the Wahabees included, are on the most friendly terms with Syud Thoweynee; so that, in the event of hostilities between the two brothers, the conflict will probably be of short duration, and will not be likely to spread beyond the fortress of Sohar.

8. His Highness was much gratified to find that a responsible British officer had been nominated to the agency at Muscat. The arrival of Lieutenant Pengelley, indeed, seemed to relieve him of the apprehension that in losing Mr. Rassam, whose services were highly appreciated by him, his dignity would again be lowered by the appointment of a native Agent to represent our Government at his capital. Another cause of satisfaction to his Highness was that, by this arrangement, he trusts to be relieved in future from what he considers the unwarrantable interference of the Resident at Bushire, and of his native Agents in the Persian Gulf, with his sovereign prerogatives. The post is becoming one of increased importance both in a commercial and political point of view, and I trust that Lieutenant Pengelley will conduct the duties of the agency to the satisfaction of Government. There is a resident Indian population, amounting to many thousand British subjects, within his Highness' territories, who are mostly engaged in trade, and last year upwards of 150 vessels, either under British colours or British protection, entered the port of Muscat alone. I find, moreover, that owing to the constant communication kept up between Muscat, Bunder Abbas, and the coast of Mekran, and to the intimate commercial and social relations existing between those places (there are several hundred Beloochees in the service of his Highness, among whom are some very respectable men), Muscat is most eligibly situated for collecting information respecting the progress of events eastward of the Persian frontier.

9. I transmit herewith the replies of his Highness Syud Thoweynee to the letters addressed to him by the Right Honourable the Governor General and his Excellency the Governor of Bombay. Having been authorised to open his Highness' replies for the purpose of translating them, I attach the English versions in the accompanying Appendices, marked severally 2, 3, and 4.

10. Syud Thoweynee was much gratified with the presents sent to him by the Government, and I feel assured that he will not be backward in reciprocating the courtesy.

11. My inquiries at Muscat and my conferences with his Highness detained me there until the 18th ultimo, on which day the "Zenobia" left for Aden; but owing to strong winds from the south-west she was unable to make a straight course, and did not reach Aden until the evening of the 29th. By next mail steamer to Bombay I shall hope to forward to Government the result of my inquiries at Muscat on the suggested line of electric telegraph along the coast of Mekran, and shall avail myself of the same opportunity to submit to the Honourable the Governor in Council several considerations of importance regarding our past and present policy in the Persian Gulf, and the progress of the Persians in Mekran and Beloochistan, considerations intimately connected with the

the independence and future welfare of the Muscat sovereignty, and indirectly involving consequences of serious concernment to our Indian empire, more especially to our frontier westward of the Indus. Appendix, No. 8.

I have, &c.
(signed) *George Percy Badger*,
In charge of Muscat-Zanzibar Commission.

APPENDIX, No. 1.

From Reverend *George Percy Badger*, Commissioner from the British Government, to His Highness *Syud Tourkee bin Saeed bin Sultan*, at Sohar.

A. C.,—WITH these lines your Highness will receive a letter addressed to you by his Excellency the Governor of Bombay, which I have been directed to forward to you. It conveys to your Highness the decision of the exalted British Government with regard to your claims, and I sincerely hope that you will act in accordance with the friendly advice which is tendered to you. His Highness *Syud Thoweynee* is now recognised by the British Government as your sovereign, and it is therefore your duty as well as your interest to obey him as such. Nothing but evil can arise from your persistence in claims which are unfounded; whereas by a timely submission you may secure the goodwill of his Highness *Syud Thoweynee*. The British Government will be pleased to hear that you have followed this counsel, and I sincerely hope that your reply to the letter addressed to you by his Excellency the Governor of Bombay will be satisfactory on the point. Salaam.

(signed) *George Percy Badger*,
Commissioner from the British Government.

From Muscat, 13 May 1861 (2 Dhil Kaada 1277).

(True translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger*.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

In the Name of the Great God!

To His exalted Excellency Lord *Canning*, Governor General of India, &c., &c., &c.

A. C.,—AT a most propitious and favourable time we were honoured with the receipt of your esteemed letter, and were highly gratified with its contents. What your Excellency has stated is most satisfactory to us, more especially as regards your award betwixt us and our brother *Majeed*. We heartily accept the same, and are at a loss how to express our regret for having occasioned you so much trouble, and our appreciation of the kindness which has been manifested towards us in this matter. We thank God for your efforts on our behalf; praying also that your goodwill may be rewarded, and that you may never cease to be our support. We further pray that our sincere affection may always be towards the great (British) Government, and that it may increase continually. Moreover, that your exalted affection and noble solicitude may always be exercised towards us, and that we may never be deprived thereof. As regards our brother *Majeed*, we pray God that during our lifetime he may never experience anything from us but kindness and hearty goodwill. Furthermore, we rely implicitly on your arbitration between us (being carried out).

What your exalted Excellency may require in any way from your attached friend, a hint alone will suffice for its accomplishment, and we shall feel honoured in executing it. We pray, finally, that you may be preserved to the highest honours, and in the most perfect health. We send you the salutation of peace as the best conclusion.

From your truly sincere friend the servant of God, who confides in Him as the Giver of all good.

(signed) *Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultan*.
4th of El-Kaada 1277 (15th May 1861). (L.S.)

(True translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger*.

Appendix, No. 8.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

In the Name of God, the Name above every name !

To His Excellency Sir *George Clerk*, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay.

A. C.,--WHILST your attached friend was anxiously waiting for welcome news from you, in the most propitious of moments, namely, on the last day of Shawal, your esteemed letter reached us with most gratifying tidings, brought by the steamer "Zenobia," and delivered to us by your Commissioner, the noble and accomplished Mr. George Badger. We were highly delighted at his arrival, and with the informations which he has communicated to us on matters in general, but more especially as regards the arbitration of the eminent Governor General of India betwixt us and our brother Majeed. We readily accept the same, and are quite satisfied therewith, seeing that the award is impartial. We only regret our inability to compensate you for all the trouble which we have lately occasioned you.

What your Excellency has stated with regard to Toorkee, and on the matter of Sohar is precisely what we had hoped from you. But because we judged that Mr. George Badger's going to Sohar in person might occasion us embarrassment in the affairs of Oman, we begged him to abstain from going, and to send (to Syud Toorkee) the letter of the Government which had been entrusted to him. Mr. Badger yielded to this our request, and dispatched the letter accordingly. When the reply arrives it shall be delivered to Mr. Pengelley, the Agent of the exalted (British) Government at this place. Mr. George Badger has also conferred with us regarding the electric telegraph. All the countries under our jurisdiction are at the disposal of the great (British) Government, and we shall be delighted if they should require any service from us in that behalf, and I shall feel honoured by carrying out their wishes. We pray God that the electric telegraph may be set up throughout our dominions in perfect security.

We have further informed Mr. George Badger of several matters touching our interests and the interests of the great (British) Government in the Persian Gulf, and he will communicate the same to your exalted Excellency, in whose auspices we have full confidence. On account of the importance of these subjects, we have confided them, as above stated, to Mr. George Badger.

Whatever service you may require from us, a hint thereof will suffice for its accomplishment. Finally, we wish you perfect peace and prosperity.

From your truly sincere friend the servant of God, who confides in Him as the Giver of all good.

(signed) *Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultan.*
4th of El-Kaada 1277 (15th May 1861). (L.S.)

(True translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

APPENDIX, No. 4.

He is the great God !

To His Excellency Sir *George Clerk*, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay.

A. C.,--THE object of these affectionate lines is to acknowledge the receipt of your most esteemed letter containing the expression of your favourable sentiments towards us. We have understood perfectly the contents of the same, especially what your Excellency has written respecting Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, and the necessity of his proceeding to Aden. We are grieved at the prospect of this separation more than we are able to describe; for since his residence with us, we have experienced from him nothing but the most kindly interest, and his solicitous endeavours have always been exerted on our behalf. Hence our heart is sad, and we are greatly depressed; nevertheless, your orders are supreme, and must be obeyed. With regard to Mr. Pengelley, whom you have accredited to us as the agent of the great (British) Government, he has been introduced to us, and we pray God that he may never experience anything from your loving friend but kindness and hearty co-operation in all matters. We beg that your Excellency will not cease to keep us informed of your welfare, in which we have a lively interest. And should you require anything at our hands, a hint alone will suffice, by the help of God, for its execution. Accept from

from us the assurance of our highest esteem, and the salutation of peace as the best conclusion. Appendix, No. 8.

From your truly attached friend, the servant of God, who confides in him as the Giver of all good.

(signed) *Thoweynee bin Saeed bin Sultay.*

4 El-Kaada 1277 (15 May 1861).

(L.S.)

(True translation.)

(signed) *George Percy Badger.*

(No. 580 of 1861.)

SUBSTANCE of a LETTER from His Highness *Syud Barghash bin Saeed* to His Excellency the Governor; dated the 26th Zilkad (Hijree), 1277 [6th June], and received and ordered to be Translated on the 6th June 1861.

Persian Department, 7 June 1861.

A. C.—I HAVE received your Excellency's kind letter of the 12th Zilkad [23rd May], and noted the contents thereof, which have been a source of much gratification to me. I have bound myself to your Excellency not to repeat the acts which have been committed. Your Excellency's order is binding on me, and if it pleases God, no acts contrary to it will ever again be committed by me in any respect. May your Excellency prosper!

(signed) *Venayek Wassooodeo,*
Oriental Translator to Government.

(No. 48 of 1861.)

(Office No. 170.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

Secret Department, 19 June 1861.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of the Officiating Secretary's letter, No. 1532, of 2nd April last, with accompaniments, and to report, for the information of the Government of India, the measures which have been adopted by this Government for carrying out the decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General, in regard to the questions at issue between their Highnesses *Syud Thoweynee*, of Muscat, and *Syud Majeed*, of Zanzibar.

2. The Rev. Mr. Badger, having been commissioned to deliver to his Highness *Syud Thoweynee* the Viceroy's letter, and a suitable present from this Government, sailed for that purpose for Muscat in Her Majesty's steamer "*Zenobia*," then under orders for Aden. Mr. Badger was accompanied by Lieutenant *Pengelley*, of the India Navy, who has been selected for the office of British Agent at Muscat, in accordance with the instructions conveyed in paragraph 10 of the letter under acknowledgment.

3. The proceedings adopted by Mr. Badger at Muscat are detailed in a report forwarded by him from Aden, and dated the 1st instant, a copy of which is attached to this letter. It will be observed that his Highness *Syud Thoweynee* accepted the Right Honourable the Governor General's decision with cordiality, and proclaimed his satisfaction by the public compliments with which he celebrated the occasion of his first interview with Mr. Badger.

4. I am directed to enclose a translation of a letter addressed to his Highness *Syud Thoweynee*, announcing the appointment of Lieutenant *Pengelley*. I am also desired to forward a copy of the instructions with which Lieutenant *Pengelley* has been furnished, and to inform you that the salary of the British Agent at Muscat has been fixed at 600 rupees per mensem, and that it has been determined to allow him 100 rupees per mensem for the pay of a writer, and for boat-hire.

5. In consequence of the receipt of private intelligence from Zanzibar to the effect that Lieutenant Colonel *Rigby* was suffering from indisposition, and would probably be compelled to quit his post, the Honourable the Governor in Council found it necessary to forward the Viceroy's letter to his Highness *Syud Majeed* without loss of time, in order to secure the delivery of it by Colonel *Rigby*. Her Majesty's steamer "*Sémiramis*" was accordingly dispatched to Zanzibar with the letter, and the requisite presents for his

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Highness

Appendix, No. 8. Highness Syud Majeed. Since her departure, a communication has been received from Colonel Rigby containing an application for leave on sick certificate, but expressing his intention of remaining at Zanzibar until relieved.

6. With reference to paragraph 8 of the letter under acknowledgment, I am desired to enclose a translation of a letter which has been addressed to his Highness Syud Barghash, and of his Highness' reply thereto. Syud Barghash is still residing at Bombay, where, for several reasons, his Excellency in Council considers it to be expedient that he should remain until September or October.

7. I am directed to mention that the reports which Mr. Badger promises at the close of his letter will be forwarded, for the information of the Government of India, as soon as they are received.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Kinloch Forbes,*
Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 171 of 1861.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Reverend *G. P. Badger*, Aden.

Sir,

Secret Department, 19 June 1861.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 6, dated the 1st instant, reporting the proceedings adopted by you in carrying out the decision of the Right Honourable the Governor General, as affecting his Highness Syud Thoweynee, on the occasion of your visit to Muscat.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council fully approves of your proceedings, and considers that you have treated the question which forms the subject of paragraph 8 of your letter, and which is one of much delicacy, with the utmost propriety and discretion.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Kinloch Forbes,*
Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 40 of 1861.)

From Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby*, Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar, to *A. K. Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Secret Department, British Consulate, Zanzibar,
29 June 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 117 of 1861, Secret Department, dated 30th April 1861, with accompaniments as per margin, relative to the decision of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India on the disputes between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar on the one hand, and Muscat and Sohar on the other.

1. Resolution by the Honourable Board, dated 4th February 1861.
2. From Officiating Secretary to Government of India to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay (No. 1532, Foreign Department), dated 2nd April 1861.
3. Copy of letters from his Excellency Sir G. Clerk, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to their Highnesses Syud Majeed bin Saeed, at Zanzibar, and Syud Toorkee, at Sohar.

2. The above letter arrived here on the 14th instant, per Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Semiramis," and at the same time I received two letters to the address of his Highness the Sultan Syud Majeed bin Saeed, of which one was from his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, and the other from his Excellency the Honourable Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., Governor of Bombay.

3. I presented these letters to his Highness, at a durbar, on the 16th instant. After he had perused them, I conferred with his Highness on the conditions of the arbitration, and I pointed out to him the promising future in prospect for his dominions by the removal of all apprehension of invasion or hostilities from Muscat. I also impressed on him to take this opportunity of regulating his expenditure with more regard to economy, and to no longer squander money he can so ill afford upon the northern Arabs, who are the cause of so much apprehension and insecurity every year to the inhabitants of this island. On taking leave of his Highness, I informed him that Her Majesty's steam-vessel would remain here a few days for the purpose of conveying any replies his Highness might wish to make to the letters which I had delivered to him.

4. His

4. His Highness expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the terms of the arbitration, but said that he feared he might have some difficulty in procuring the sum of 80,000 crowns for the payment of the two years' arrears to Muscat. I stated to him that if he paid the amount within a reasonable period, it would carry out the terms of the arbitration. I told him that if he would consent to liberate the three chiefs of the El-Harth tribe, by name Abdallah bin Salim, Mahomed bin Salim, and Mahomed bin Nassir, who are now in very rigorous confinement at Lamoo, they and their tribe are quite willing to pay the amount of 80,000 crowns as a fine for their rebellion, and that the release of these prisoners, who have been for two years confined in irons, would not only be a humane act, but also tend to reconcile the El-Harth tribe to his family.

5. His Highness begged that the steamer might remain here a few days as the Eed-i-Koorban, or Buckree Eed, was just commencing, and his time would therefore be so much occupied with public ceremonies that he would have no opportunity to write. On the 21st instant I again paid a visit to his Highness, when he informed me that he agreed to the terms of the arbitration, and that all the members of his family were highly gratified at the termination of the dispute with Syud Thoweynee; and he expressed himself under deep obligations for the assistance afforded him by the British Government, and for the mediation of his Excellency the Viceroy in arranging his disputes with Syud Thoweynee.

6. The following day his Highness was taken ill, and for three or four days his life was in danger. He has long been suffering from a complication of diseases brought on by indulgence in sexual desires, which have greatly impaired his constitution, and he frequently suffers from attacks of fever. In consequence of his state of health I have not been able to again have an interview with his Highness, and only received this day the answers to the letters of their Excellencies the Governor General of India and the Governor of Bombay.

7. His Highness has also addressed me a letter, a translation of which is herewith enclosed (Appendix No. 1), accepting the terms of the arbitration of his Excellency the Governor General of India. The desire which his Highness expresses, that the annual payment of 40,000 crowns should be held to be payable in two half-yearly instalments at "Monsim" (April) and "Damani" (September-October) is because the revenue from the Customs is paid here at these seasons, and the dhows and other vessels only leave at these times for Muscat and ports to the north; and when he before agreed to pay the sum of 40,000 crowns per annum to Muscat, it was to have been paid at the above seasons.

8. I spoke to his Highness on the subject of Syud Barghash's return to Zanzibar. He appears to have little faith in his promise of future good behaviour, but said he is at liberty to return here, and that if he again endeavours to foment disturbances, the British consul will be aware of it, and can give him advice. The private secretary of his Highness has to-day called on me on behalf of his Highness on this subject. He says that he desires to forget all the past, and to treat Syud Barghash as a brother; that if he lives here in a peaceable manner, he will not be interfered with in any way. I replied that I do not think Syud Barghash will again offend; even if he wished to create a rebellion he would find no party to support him; that the power of the El-Harth tribe—the only one which was hostile to Syud Majeed—is completely broken, and all classes of the people here are too anxious for peace; and that, as his Highness is aware from letters intercepted, the former rebellion of Syud Barghash was instigated by the French consul, who has since been removed.

9. I have also informed his Highness of the sentiments of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General relative to the guardianship of his younger brothers and sisters, the orphan children of his Highness the late Imam, and he promises that their heritage shall be faithfully secured to them.

10. All the Arabs with whom I have conversed since the terms of the arbitration became publicly known, have expressed great gratification at the peaceful termination of the disputes between the sons of the late Imam, and all classes of the inhabitants feel grateful to the British Government for having preserved these dominions from anarchy and ruin.

I have, &c.
(signed) C. P. Rigby, Lieut. Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar.

APPENDIX, No. 1.

[Translation of an Arabic Letter.]

From His Highness *Syud Majeed bin Saeed*, Sultan of Zanzibar, to Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby*, Her Majesty's Consul, Zanzibar; dated Zanzibar, 19th day of the Month of Zilhuz, in the Year 1277 of the Hegira, corresponding to the 29th June 1861.

After Compliments,

I DESIRE to inform you that I have been very much gratified by the receipt of the letters
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Appendix, No. 8. from his Lordship the Governor General of India and his Excellency the Governor of Bombay, conveying to me the intelligence of the settlement of the disputes which existed between myself and my brother Thoweynee bin Saeed, and regarding the decision that I shall pay to my brother Thoweynee the sum of 40,000 crowns annually, and also the sum of 80,000 crowns on account of arrears for two years. I agree to pay these sums, and I accept and am satisfied with the terms of the decision, and they are binding on me. And it is the desire of the British Government (Janab el Sirkar) that each of us, that is, myself and my brother Thoweynee, shall be independent of each other in his own dominions, and sultan over his own subjects; that is to say, that Zanzibar and the islands (Pemba and Monfeia) and the dominions on the continent of Africa dependent upon it shall be subject to me, and that Muscat and its dependencies, with the land of Oman, shall be subject to my brother Thoweynee bin Saeed; and that we shall dwell in peace and friendly alliance the one with the other, as is customary between brothers. I pray that it may be so, if it please God. I feel very much obliged to the British Government for all its kindness and favour, and for having averted from my dominions disorders and hostilities. During my lifetime I shall never forget the kindness which it has shown to me.

And now what I desire from you is this, that you will mention to his Lordship the Governor General of India that he should kindly determine that the payment of the 40,000 crowns per annum to my brother Thoweynee shall be settled as follows, viz., that 20,000 crowns shall be due and payable each year at the "Mousim" (about April, when the south-west monsoon sets in), and that the other 20,000 crowns shall be due and payable each year at the "Damani" (about September-October, when the annual accounts are made up, and the revenue from the customs is paid), in like manner as I before agreed to do when I made the arrangement through my cousin Mahomed bin Salim to pay 40,000 crowns annually to Muscat.

And respecting the 80,000 crowns arrears for two years, that it shall be paid as soon as I can possibly do so.

This I desire, in order that there may be no grounds of dispute hereafter.

This is what I wish for from the friendship of the Government.

And for whatsoever you may desire from me the sign is with you.

From the confiding slave in God's mercy—

(signed) *Majeed bin Saeed.*

Written on the 19th day of the month of Zilhuz, in the year 1277 of the Hegira, corresponding to the 29th June A.D. 1861.

(True translation.)

(signed) *C. P. Rigby, Lieutenant Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar.*

British Consulate, Zanzibar, 29 June 1861.

(No. 60 of 1861.)

(Office No. 196.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Fort William.*

Secret Department, Bombay Castle,
24 July 1861.

Sir,

IN continuation of the letter from this Department, dated the 19th ultimo, No. 48, I am directed to forward to you, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council the accompanying copy of a letter, with enclosure, dated the 29th idem, from Lieutenant Colonel C. P. Rigby, Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar, announcing that his Highness Syud Majeed had accepted the terms of his Excellency the Viceroy's arbitration relative to the matters in dispute with his Highness' brother Syud Thooweyee bin Saeed, the ruler of Muscat.

2. In transmitting this Despatch, I am desired to express the satisfaction of the Honourable the Governor in Council at the cordial spirit in which the Viceroy's arbitration of the long-pending differences between these powerful chiefs on the east coast of Africa and Arabia has been received.

3. As it appears desirable on the approaching departure of Captain Lewis Pelly for Zanzibar that he should be made the bearer of a communication to the Sultan, it is proposed to address his Highness, conveying a general approval of his very becoming letter to Lieutenant Colonel Rigby, and expressing the assurance of this Government that they will soon have the pleasure of transmitting the Viceroy's favourable notice of his Highness' frank acceptance of the arbitration, and of the reasonable accommodation which he has solicited.

4. It

4. It is also proposed to address Lieutenant Colonel Rigby by the same opportunity, communicating to him the approval of his Excellency in Council of the judicious advice offered by him to his Highness Syud Majeed, especially in respect to the liberation of the chiefs of the El-Harth tribe, which would, in the opinion of this Government, not only be productive of the very great advantage of enabling him to dispose, without further embarrassment, of the Muscat claim upon him for arrears, but would also, it is hoped, tend to perpetuate the tranquillity of the Zanzibar territory by burying former disputes in oblivion.

5. Permission for the return of his Highness Syud Barghash to Zanzibar having been conceded by the Sultan, it appears to Government that it would be well that this young chief should accompany Captain Lewis Pelly, who has been appointed to act for Lieutenant Colonel Rigby; arrangements will accordingly be made to enable Syud Barghash to accompany Captain Pelly to Zanzibar.

6. I am desired to add an expression of the regret with which this Government has received the unfavourable intelligence conveyed by Colonel Rigby in regard to his Highness Syud Majeed's state of health.

7. A khureeta from his Highness to the address of the Right Honourable the Governor General accompanies.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Kinloch Forbes,*
Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 197 of 1861.)

From *A. Kinloch Forbes, Esq.,* Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Lieutenant Colonel *C. P. Rigby,* Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar.

Secret Department, Bombay Castle,
24 July 1861.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, with enclosure, dated the 29th June last, No. 40, reporting the acceptance by his Highness Syud Majeed of the terms of the Right Honourable the Governor General's arbitration relative to the matters in dispute with his Highness's brother Syud Thoweynee bin Saeed of Muscat.

2. In reply, I am desired to observe that the Honourable the Governor in Council considers your communications to his Highness Syud Majeed to be very judicious, and he especially approves of the advice offered to the Sultan in respect to the liberation of the chiefs of the El-Harth tribe, which would not only be productive of the very great advantage of enabling him to dispose, without further embarrassment, of the Muscat claim upon him for arrears, but would also, it is hoped, tend to perpetuate the tranquillity of the Zanzibar territory by burying former disputes in oblivion.

3. I am at the same time desired to state that Government are gratified to find that the arbitration of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has been received in so satisfactory a spirit by the Arab community of Zanzibar as well as by his Highness Syud Majeed.

4. His Excellency in Council trusts that his Highness's proposal to pay the annual subsidy to Muscat in two instalments will be favourably received by the Government of India. The arrangement could not, Government think, be objected to by the Sultan of Muscat, as it is believed to have formed part of the original scheme.

5. Permission for the return of his Highness Syud Barghash to Zanzibar having been conceded by the Sultan, it appears to Government that it would be well that this young chief should accompany Captain Lewis Pelly, who has been appointed to act for you: arrangements will accordingly be made to enable Syud Barghash to accompany Captain Pelly to Zanzibar.

6. I am desired to add an expression of the regret with which this Government has received the unfavourable intelligence in regard to his Highness Syud Majeed's state of health.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Kinloch Forbes,*
Acting Secretary to Government.

I N D E X.

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2. *Question of relieving the Sultan of Zanzibar of the Subsidy paid to Muscat upon condition of his suppressing the Slave Trade.*
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4. *Action of the late and present Sultan respectively with reference to the Slave Traffic.*
5. *Extensive Character of the Slave Trade within the Zanzibar Territories.*
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DESPATCHES

FROM

COMMODORE WILMOT

RESPECTING HIS

VISIT TO THE KING OF DAHOMEY,

IN

DECEMBER 1862 AND JANUARY 1863.

*Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their
Address dated June 16, 1863.*

LONDON:
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“A Copy of Commodore Wilmot’s Report of his recent Visit to the King of Dahomey.”

No. 1.

Commodore Wilmot to Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker.

(Extract.)

“*Rattlesnake*,” off Lagos, January 29, 1863.

MY last communication was dated Lagos, 27th November, of last year, and I informed you that I should return to Sierra Leone from Whydah.

Since that period much has transpired that will naturally cause the liveliest interest in all quarters.

I visited the Yavogah of Whydah on the 20th November, and having met the Rev. P. W. Bernasko, Wesleyan Missionary in the English fort, he informed me that the King of Dahomey was most anxious to see somebody of consideration from England, “a real Englishman,” with whom he might converse on the affairs of his country.

The Yavogah had said, “If you will come back again in seven days, I will send to the King, and let you know if he will see you.”

I returned at the appointed time, much to his surprise, as he did not believe I should come back, and he told me the King was anxious to see me.

The Yavogah had sent up and said that I was a “good and proper person” to come out as a messenger from the Queen.

Before making up my mind to accept the King’s invitation to visit him, there were many points to be considered of the very highest importance.

It had been said, and I believe with some truth, that our late attack on Porto Novo had enraged the King’s mind to such an extent that he had expressed a strong desire to lay hands upon an English officer in order to avenge the destruction of that place.

Porto Novo belongs to his brother. The European residents at Whydah had spread the most alarming reports of the disposition of the King towards Englishmen, and his hatred of them.

It was and is, of course, their interest to do so, and keep us in ignorance of their evil deeds.

After mature consideration I resolved to go, and place implicit trust in the King’s good faith.

The position of affairs in this country seemed favourable for making an impression on the King, and opening the way to the establishment of friendly relations.

Having made my preparations for an absence of fourteen days, I landed at 10 A.M. of Tuesday the 22nd of December of last year, in company with Captain Luce and Dr. Haran, of “Brisk,” who had volunteered to accompany me.

The “Rattlesnake” and the “Brisk” were sent to cruize, and both vessels were ordered to return on the 14th of the same month.

We were conveyed in hammocks across the lagoon and through the wet marshy ground that is almost impassable in the rainy months, to a large tree at the entrance of Whydah, where certain ceremonies were gone through to welcome us to the place. We were received most cordially by the Yavogah and other officials, with drums beating, colours flying, muskets firing, caboccers as well as soldiers dancing, the latter singing warlike songs.

We were also treated to the manœuvres of a slave-hunt.

As I am writing to save the homeward packet, and have much to occupy

my attention, I must ask you to forgive the omission of many interesting details in my visit to this country, which shall be furnished to you whenever I can find time to embody them in a letter.

The Yavogah and Chiefs accompanied us to the English fort, where the King's stick was presented, and the health of the Queen of England and King of Dahomey drank.

Having secured our hammock-men, carriers for our luggage, &c., and guides, and being furnished with a body of soldiers to protect us on the road, we started the following afternoon, accompanied by the Rev. P. W. Bernasko and his servants, for our accommodation during our stay.

It was necessary to provide subsistence for all these people, a very large body of men, according to the custom of the country.

We arrived at Cannah, eight miles from Abomey, on the evening of Tuesday the 9th, where the King was holding his Court.

The King was scarcely prepared to receive us, and hence we were detained on the road longer than otherwise would have been the case.

It is supposed that, on this occasion, he was anxious to display all his grandeur and all his power, and my landing so quickly at Whydah had rather disconcerted him.

At all places on the road, the head men turned out with their soldiers, and received us with firing and dancing; also, the usual presents of water, fowls, goats, &c.

Speeches were made expressive of their desire to go to war, and cut off heads for their master. The war-dance was performed by women and children, and motions made with swords as if in the act of decapitating their enemies.

Some of their songs were very curious, which shall be described hereafter.

At all the villages where we slept, comfortable quarters had been provided, and water furnished.

Nothing could exceed the civility of every one.

The water is very bad, and there is great scarcity of it, particularly in the dry season. It must be very unwholesome.

The King had sent three of his sticks by special messengers to meet us on way, with inquiries about our health, &c.

At 10 A.M. on the morning of the 10th, the King sent to say that he would receive us.

We accordingly went in full dress, and remained under some large trees, in an open space of some extent.

After a short time, the Chiefs arrived in succession with their followers, according to their rank, and were introduced to us, the same drumming, firing, dancing, and singing, being carried on as at Whydah.

This occupied a considerable time; and when finished we got into our hammocks, and went to the palace, outside of which, in a large square, were assembled all the Chiefs with their people, as well as large bodies of the King's soldiers.

The sight was most interesting: the gaudy colours of the large umbrellas, the dresses of the headmen, the firing of the muskets, the songs of the people, the beating of the war-drums, the savage gesture of the soldiers, and their ferocious appearance, made us feel indeed that we were amidst an uncivilized nation.

All, however, treated us with marked respect, while, according to custom, we were carried three times round the square.

After the third time we got down, and entered the palace gates, passing through a row of Chiefs on each side.

The court-yard of the Palace is of great extent, and presented a spectacle not easily forgotten.

At the further end was a large building, of some pretensions to beauty in this country, being made of thatch, and supported by columns of wood, roughly cut.

In front of this, and close to it, leaving an open space for admission to the King, was placed a large array of variegated umbrellas, admitted only to be used by himself.

Under these were congregated his principal Chiefs. On either side of him, under the building, were his wives, to the number of about 100, gaily dressed, most of them young, and exceedingly pretty.

The King was reclining on a raised dais, about three feet high, covered with crimson cloth, smoking his pipe. One of his wives held a glass sugar-basin for him to spit in.

He was dressed very plainly, the upper part of his body being bare, with only a silver chain holding some fetish charm, round his neck, and an unpretending cloth around his waist.

The left side of the court-yard was filled with Amazons, from the walls up to the King's presence, all armed with various weapons, such as muskets, swords, gigantic razors for cutting off heads, bows and arrows, blunderbusses, &c.

They were seated when we entered. Their large war-drum was conspicuous, being surrounded with human skulls.

We advanced to where the King was sitting with due form and ceremony, and when close to him all the respect due to a King was paid by bowing, &c., which he gracefully acknowledged by bowing himself, and waving his hand.

We then sat down close to him, in chairs that had accompanied us from Whydah.

The conversation commenced with the usual compliments. He asked about my health, and how I had got on with my journey.

He then inquired about the Queen and all her family, asking many questions about the form of government in England.

I said the Queen sent her compliments to him, and hoped he was quite well, at which he seemed much pleased.

This being only a visit of introduction, not of delivering messages, therefore nothing political was entered into.

He then gave orders for his Amazons to perform a variety of movements, and to salute me, which they did most creditably. They loaded and fired quickly, singing songs all the time.

They are a very fine body of women, and are very active in their movements, being remarkably well limbed and strong.

No one is allowed to approach them except the King, who lives amongst them.

They are first in honour and importance. All messages are carried by them to and from the King and his Chiefs.

Every one kneels down while delivering a message, and the men touch the ground with their heads and lips before the King. The women do not kiss the ground; nor sprinkle themselves with dust as the men do.

When a man appears before the King he is obliged to perform the ceremony of covering his head and upper part of his body with dust before he rises, as much as to say, "I am nothing but dirt before thee!"

It is a most degrading spectacle, but, after all, only the custom of the country.

After the Amazons had finished the manœuvres, they came to us, and gave us their compliments, singing songs in praise of their master, and saying they were ready for war, suiting the action to the word by going through the motions of cutting off heads.

The King then introduced all his Princes, Chiefs, and head warriors, in succession, according to rank; then the Chiefs and Captains of the Amazons; then the Princesses, daughters of the late King: in fact, he brought before us, and named one by one, everybody of importance in his kingdom. Some appeared in companies, and others separately. The mother of the King and the mothers of his principal Chiefs were also named and presented.

After each company was introduced, and I had bowed to them, a bottle of rum was given, the usual present after such a ceremony, and a signal that they had permission to retire.

To the head Chiefs a glass each was presented, which was drank by themselves, or given to one of their followers.

When once in the King's presence, or in his capital, no one, European or native, can leave without this customary present.

We could not go away on any one occasion that we visited him without receiving his permission to do so in the shape of one or two bottles of rum for our hammock-men.

After all the presentations, the King called the Amazons again to salute us, and then offered us water and spirits, which he drank with us, which finished the visit.

No one is permitted to see the King drink : all turn their faces away, and a large cloth is held up by his wives while the Royal mouth takes in the liquid.

The King then got up, it being almost dark, and walked side by side with me across the court-yard, through the gates, and nearly half-a-mile on the road towards our house, which was considered a great compliment. The whole Court followed, with the exception of the Amazons and his wives, who never join in such processions.

The soldiers shouted, and sang their war songs, while the Chiefs went before the King to clear the road, and point out any dirt or inequalities of ground, before the Royal feet.

The sight was imposing, and gave us a proper idea of the power of the King amongst his people. He seemed much feared as well as much beloved.

The King is a very fine-looking man, upwards of six feet high, broad shouldered, and a pleasant countenance when he likes. His eyes are bloodshot, which may arise from want of rest or other causes. He is a great smoker, but does not indulge much in the bottle. His skin is much lighter than most of his people, resembling the copper colour of the American Indians.

He is very active, and fond of dancing and singing, which he practises in public during the customs. He is much addicted to the fair sex, of whom he possesses as many as he likes. He is about forty-three years old.

Before leaving the palace the King saluted the Queen with twenty-one guns, from pieces of all sizes, laying on the ground, and firmly fixed in the sand. The largest was, perhaps, a 3-pounder : the trunnions supported them in the ground.

These guns are carried on men's heads, and occasionally placed on the ground, and fired off.

This was done as I entered the palace.

He also saluted me with nine guns.

The number of guns fired was shown by a corresponding number of musket-balls being produced in an iron pot.

We were accompanied from Whydah by the Prince who was ordered to attend us on the road, and found him most civil and obliging.

On arriving at our quarters after this day's ceremony, the Prince asked me to make a present to the soldiers and Amazons, in consequence of the manner in which the King had received me. He said he hoped I would not make him ashamed before his people, as he had brought me up, and was ordered to attend upon me. I immediately acquiesced, and made a handsome present, which was thankfully acknowledged. Whenever strangers meet in this country, they either drink with each other on their first arrival, or when they are about to depart. We had always to submit to this, which caused a great drain upon our resources.

The King's jesters danced before us to-day. One of the Amazons, in firing, had injured her hand very much by the bursting of the musket, and a messenger arrived from the King with a request that the doctor might be allowed to attend her. This was granted, and Dr. Haran saw her twice a day until the wound was healed, and a perfect cure made.

The wound was a very nasty one, and I think it was fortunate for the Amazon that the skill of Dr. Haran was called in.

We remained at Cannah until Sunday morning the 14th, when we went to Abomey, eight miles distant, where the King was to arrive in state and take up his residence in his own capital.

The custom of this country is delay, delay. No one knows the value of time, nor do they much care about keeping their word.

I frequently spoke to the Prince about seeing the King, and giving him the presents I had with me, without which no message can be given, nor private intercourse allowed.

I was told that the King would receive me in his capital, whither he was going to hold certain customs in honour of his "Father's spirit," that he wished me to see everything, how he went through the "custom," and what he did to his people. The Prince said, also, that he wished to salute me, and pass his people before me in review.

I found all remonstrances in vain, and that it would be useless to get up and walk away without seeing everything that was interesting in the country. My object was to witness the manners and customs of the King and his people, and as the King appeared so friendly disposed, and had got up so many things solely for my sake, I was determined to bear with patience and see what the end would be.

My policy was to be friendly with every one, and endeavour to show the character and disposition of an Englishman towards the nations of this country—that we could treat them with forbearance, and have some sympathy with a black man!

If I had lost my temper, and shown a disposition to be angry at the King's delay, I might have been received at once; but I should most assuredly have been sent back to Whydah without the opportunity of making a good impression on the King, or of witnessing any of those scenes which were afterwards displayed before us, and have made such a deep impression on our minds.

I have reason to believe that my line of conduct was rewarded by the whole country being laid open before us, and the whole people, King, Chiefs, and all, being our friends. The greater part of what we saw I firmly believe was entirely got up for my sake, and certainly no white man ever saw what we did, or were treated with such marked consideration.

Whenever strangers visit the capital the same delay occurs, which causes general complaints. The more the King is pleased with his visitor, the longer the time he wishes to keep him.

While at Cannah the King invited us on the afternoon of two days to witness the firing of his Amazons and soldiers with ball at a mark.

I had asked him, upon my first interview, whether he ever practised his people in this way; he said "Yes," and I heard that he was then at Cannah for this purpose.

We found him about two miles outside the town in a very large open space, which had been cleared away, surrounded by his Chiefs and people, to the number of several thousand, preparing to practise at a number of goats, which were tied to stakes driven in the ground at intervals of about fifteen yards, under a mud wall of considerable length, and about ten feet high. They were placed on mats.

The King received us very cordially, and told the Prince to place us under his own umbrellas in a convenient place for seeing everything.

The firing commenced, and the King's body guard of Amazons distinguished themselves by their good shots. The King fired several times himself.

Every shot would have struck a man.

The soldiers fired also exceedingly well, and taking into consideration the quality of the flint musket and the iron ball, which is jagged and fits loosely in the barrel, it is really astonishing at the display they made.

They would prove formidable enemies with good weapons, and if they possessed discipline and real courage.

Several goats were killed, and on the second day four of those dispatched were sent to me as a present. These had been selected by the Amazons as a particular present to me, and until they were killed no other goat was fired at.

The firing was very rapid, and I certainly was astonished at the manner in which they handled their weapons.

On Sunday the 14th, in the afternoon, the King made his public entry into Abomey. First came the soldiers by companies, headed by their particular Chief under his umbrella, firing, dancing, and singing.

These went three times round the square in which we were, outside the palace. An excellent fire was kept up. Next came the Amazons in the same manner, dancing their dances, firing and singing, each company headed by a Captain of Amazons.

They marched better than the men, and looked far more warlike in every way: their activity is astonishing. Lastly, came the King in a carriage, surrounded by his body guard of women, and drawn by them. He passed where we were, and we mutually bowed. I said to the Prince it was a pity he had no horses, which was reported to the King, who afterwards asked me if I would mention his wish to the Queen for some to be sent him as a present, which I said I would do.

I laughingly said to the Prince, "He ought to go full gallop round the square," which being told the King, he made the Amazons run round two or three times as fast as they could, much to the delight of his people; he then got out of his carriage and was carried round in a very handsome hammock.

The whole afternoon was occupied in firing, dancing, and singing; when all was concluded the King came up and shook hands most cordially. We then went home.

The red sand here is a great nuisance, and finds its way into every part of one's body and clothes. Each day we found ourselves caked over with a crust,

which required a good washing to get off; in five minutes a pocket handkerchief assumed a yellow colour.

I believe that some heads were cut off, during the night, on this occasion of the King's entry, and that it is the custom to do so whenever he returns. We could not find out how many, but eight heads were in the doorway when we passed the palace on the following morning, and it is probable that more of these trophies were inside.

We remained in Abomey five weeks from this time, and daily witnessed scenes of a very extraordinary character, such as the dancing of the Amazons, their warlike songs, the dancing and songs of the soldiers, the distribution of presents to the Princes, chiefs, captains, and head men of the troops, the "passing" of the King's drummers, of the Captains of the Amazons, of the King's jesters, and a variety of other people which appear before the King during the "customs."

A number of soldiers from the neighbourhood of Aghwey, hearing that it was the intention of the King to attack their country, had come up to Abomey to give themselves up to him, rather than take the chances of being taken, sold, or beheaded. They swore fealty to him, and it was curious to observe the ceremony on this occasion; after kissing the dust and covering themselves with sand, the King made a speech to them, and then the Prime Minister, in which was pointed out the power of the King and the greatness of his name; each Chief was called by name and presented with cowries and cloth, the two principal ones with a wife each. The whole company were then "passed" to their own country, by strings of cowries being given to them.

It is certainly very extraordinary to see what influence the King of Dahomey possesses, not only in his own country but amongst the neighbouring tribes and nations.

He is feared by all, but still he is a true friend to those who seek his alliance, and is always ready to assist them.

We had an opportunity of observing this during the last five days of our stay in his capital.

Upon the last day but one of the "customs," late in the afternoon, a large body of soldiers, with their attendants carrying their camp equipage, made their appearance from a place about three days in the interior, belonging to the King. These men had been sent to the assistance of a small town belonging to a Chief on friendly terms with the King, who had been threatened by the Abbeokutans, and who had applied to Abomey for assistance.

The King had granted the assistance required, and despatched two of his head warriors with about 600 men for this purpose.

When these men arrived at the town they found that the Abbeokutans, hearing of their approach, had run away, and hence their return to Abomey.

It was a very pretty sight to see these men return and present themselves before the King, who made them a long speech, and gave them presents.

On the Saturday, six days after our arrival at Abomey, the King saw us privately in his own palace, and I made him the presents brought up for this occasion and which will be mentioned hereafter.

He was attended by six of his Privy Council, his most trusted friends, all well known to me; also by five of his principal wives.

He would only receive the presents from my own hands, which is unusual.

I gave him first the picture of the Queen, and said that Her Majesty had sent this out to him as a mark of her friendship, and her wish to be on good terms with him. He took it in his hands and admired it very much.

The Queen is represented in her coronation robes, with crown on her head and sceptre in her hand. The frame is very handsome, and the picture is a large one.

After looking at it attentively he asked many questions concerning the dress, and then said, "From henceforth the Queen of England and the King of Dahomey are one. The Queen is the greatest Sovereign in Europe and I am King of the blacks. I will hold the head of the Kingdom of Dahomey, and you shall hold the tail." I then gave him a few small presents from myself, with which he was very much delighted and grasped me warmly by the hand. His council participated in these feelings, and said, "At last good friends have met."

Now commenced the delivery of the message which I thought it my duty to lay before the King.

The first subject was the Slave Trade, and I said, "England has, for a long

period of years been doing her utmost to stop the Slave Trade in this country. Much money has been spent, and many lives have been sacrificed to attain this desirable end, but hitherto without success. I have come to ask you to put a stop to this Traffic, and to enter into some Treaty with me to this effect. I am ready to listen to any terms which you may reasonably propose, and to report to my Government what you have to say on the subject." I then reasoned with him on the iniquity of selling his fellow-creatures, and the benefits he would derive, even in a pecuniary way, by keeping these slaves in his country, and employing them in cultivating the soil. I tried to prove to him that the value of a slave thus employed would be far more valuable to him in the long run than if he sold him at once, and sent him out of the country.

I reasoned on the richness of the soil, and how easy it would be to introduce the silk-worm, cotton, coffee, and all the productions of a similar character. I tried to convince him that he was depopulating Africa, and making its inhabitants low and miserable.

I argued that if the Slave Trade were suddenly stopped, he would become a pauper, and that every man's hand would necessarily be turned against his neighbours for daily subsistence, because all his supplies came from the "white man" from across the sea, and that these could only be purchased by the money obtained from selling slaves.

Stop the selling of slaves, and how could he possibly get the means of living, as the produce of the soil was comparatively nothing?

The people were entirely dependent on him, and his annual customs, for being fed and clothed; arms, powder, rum, tobacco, cloths and cowries, were all distributed on these occasions. And how were they produced? they were bought from the "white man" and paid for out of the money he received for selling his slaves.

I implored him to think over these things, and turn his attention to the cultivation of his soil, and the profits of legitimate trade.

I asked him how many slaves he shipped during the year, and how much he would take to enter into a Treaty with us to stop it.

The next subject was the "human sacrifices." I said that not only England, but all Europe, deplored the sad spectacle of human beings; his own countrymen, being offered up on the occasion of his annual customs, in company with fowls, bulls, and goats. Could he not put a stop to this, and let it pass away from the customs of the country? I said that I knew all sudden measures were not only dangerous, but impossible, but that I hoped he would turn over in his mind the cruelty of these proceedings, and their utter uselessness to propitiate his gods, and that in time they would cease altogether.

The third subject was Abbeokuta. I said that the Queen and the English Government hoped he would not send his army to Abbeokuta; that peace was better than war, and that his people might be far better employed in cultivating the soil, than in destroying one another.

If he had made up his mind to go there, I hoped he would be merciful to his prisoners, and particularly that he would spare all Christians.

I next asked him if he was disposed to send a Chief of rank, and one that was in his confidence, to England, that he might see with his own eyes the wonders that civilisation wrought in that country.

I said that he would be well received, and that his visit would no doubt have its influence on the King.

The opening of legitimate trade at Whydah was the next subject of conversation, and the reception of the English at that place.

Lastly I spoke about the Missionary schools, and asked him to allow those who wished to do so, to send their children to be educated.

The King listened attentively to all my questions, and made several remarks during their delivery.

After they were finished, the usual ceremony of drinking was gone through, and he accompanied me through the gates of the palace far on the road to our quarters, amidst the cheers of the soldiers and people.

We remained a month in Abomey after the delivery of this message; in consequence of the "customs" going on, but nothing could persuade the King to let us go until this was over, as he was most anxious that we should see everything and report it.

Daily we witnessed his Amazons and soldiers, dancing and singing.

We saw his treasures pass round in the interior of the palace, preceded by all the principal Ministers, Princes, and Chiefs, in their Court costume.

The Captains of the Amazons passed round in the same way, and it was a very pretty sight.

The costume worn, the different colours displayed according to etiquette, the ornaments of silver round the necks, with an occasional skull at the waist belt of the Amazons, and the half savage appearance of all, notwithstanding their good manners and modest behaviour, was peculiarly interesting.

It was during the procession of the King's treasures, which will be more fully described in another letter, that the "human sacrifices" came round, after the cowries, cloths, tobacco, rum, &c., had passed, which were to be thrown to the people. A long string of live fowls on poles appeared, followed by goats in baskets, then by a bull, and lastly half-a-dozen men with hands and feet tied, and a cloth fastened in a peculiar way round the head, and carried in a basket by one man on the top of his head, furnished this part of the procession.

The men were carried three times round the square, the first time stopping opposite to where the King was sitting, where the bearers received a glass of rum each, from an Amazon in attendance. They then passed through the gates to the platform half a mile off.

The procession lasted two days, and "human sacrifices" passed round both days; on the first day eight went round, and on the second day six: half of these were killed, and half spared, so we were told. Probably they are only spared until the next "customs." The unfortunate men looked at us as they passed; but it was not in our power to help them in any way.

The King said they were criminals, who had broken the laws of their country, such as murderers, thieves, &c.; but I have every reason to know they were captives, mostly taken at Ishagga, from the peculiar marks on their face.

A day or two after these processions, the King appeared on the first platform: there were four of these, two large and two small.

His father never had more than two, but he is determined to excel him in everything, and to do as much again as he did. If his father gave one sheep as a present, he gives two; which he did when he sent me a present of cows, sheep, &c., according to custom.

The sides of all these platforms are covered with crimson and other coloured cloths, with curious devices, such as alligators, elephants, snakes, &c., from twelve to fifteen feet high; and the large ones are in the form of a square, with a neat building of considerable size, also covered over, running along the whole extent of one side.

You ascend by a rough ladder covered over, and enter the platform, which is neatly floored with dried grass, and perfectly level.

Dispersed all over this were Chiefs under the King's umbrellas, sitting down, and at the further end from the entrance the King stands surrounded by a chosen few of his Amazons.

In the centre of this side of the platform is a round tower, about thirty feet high, covered with cloths, bearing similar devices as the other parts. This is a new idea of the King's, and from the top of this tower the victims are thrown to the people below.

When the King is ready, he commences by throwing cowries to the people in bundles, as well as separately. The scramble begins, and the noise occasioned by the men fighting to catch these is tremendous.

Thousands are assembled with nothing on but a waist clout, and a small bag for the cowries. Sometimes they fight by companies, one company against the other, according to the King's fancy; and the leaders are mounted on the shoulders of their people. After the cowries, cloths are thrown, which occasions the greatest excitement.

While this lasts the King gives them to understand that if any man is killed, nothing will be done to the man who is the cause of it, as all is supposed to be fair fighting with hands; no arms are allowed.

After this the Chiefs are called, and cowries, cloths, &c., given to them. The King begins by throwing away everything himself; then his Amazons take it up for a short time, when the King renews the game, and finishes the sport. He changes his position from one place to another along the front part of the platform.

When all that the King intends throwing away for the day is expended, a short pause ensues, and, by-and-bye, is seen inside the platform, the poles men

tioned before, with live fowls (all cocks) at the end of them, in procession towards the round tower.

Three men mount to the top, and receive, one by one, all these poles, which are precipitated on the people beneath. A large hole has been prepared, and a rough block of wood ready, upon which the necks of the victims are laid, and their heads chopped off, the blood from the body being allowed to fall into the hole.

After the fowls, came the goats, then the bull, and lastly the men, who were tumbled down in the same way.

All the blood is mixed together in the hole, and remains exposed with the block till night.

The bodies of the men are dragged along by the feet, and maltreated on the way, by being beaten with sticks, hands in some cases cut off, and large pieces cut out of their bodies, which are held up. They are then taken to a deep pit and thrown in. The heads are alone preserved by being boiled, so that the skull may be seen in a state of great perfection. The heads of the human victims killed are first placed in baskets and exposed for a short time.

This was carried on for two days. I would not witness the slaying of these men on the first day, as we were very close to them, and I did not think it right to sanction by my presence such inhuman sacrifices. I therefore got up and went into a tent, and when all was over returned to my seat.

It was upon this occasion that a circumstance took place which redounds highly to the credit of the King, and should be made known everywhere. While sitting in the tent a messenger arrived, saying "The King calls you." I went and stood under the platform where he was. Tens of thousands of people were assembled; not a word, not a whisper was heard. I saw one of the victims ready for slaughter on the platform, held by a narrow strip of white cloth under his arms. His face was expressive of the deepest alarm, and much of its blackness had disappeared; there was a whiteness about it most extraordinary.

The King said, "You have come here as my friend, have witnessed all my customs, and shared good naturedly in the distribution of my cowries and cloths; I love you as my friend, and you have shown that an Englishman, like you, can bear patience, and have sympathy with the black man. I now give you your share of the victims, and present you with this man, who from henceforth belongs to you, to do as you like with him, to educate him, take him to England, or anything else you choose." The poor fellow was then lowered down, and the white band placed in my hands.

The expression of joy in his countenance cannot be described: it said, "The bitterness of death, and such a death, is passed, and I cannot comprehend my position." Not a sound escaped from his lips, but the eye told what the heart felt, and even the King himself participated in his joy. The Chiefs and people cheered me as I passed through them with the late intended victim behind me.

I will not enter into my own feelings on this occasion; they can be easily understood: but the saving of even this one man's life was a sufficient recompense for all the delays and for all our detention. I felt that another victim would have been added to the sanguinary list of Dahomian sacrifices if I had not carried out that line of forbearance which I had determined to adopt.

The Chiefs all congratulated me and shook me by the hand. Another victim was given to a Chief, a particular friend of mine, and he said it was on my account.

The "customs" were concluded by a day of firing, when all the soldiers, under their different leaders, marched past the King and in review order before us. The King danced with his Amazons, and invited us to join. The firing was excellent and did them great credit. The King must have expended an immense quantity of powder during our visit.

While the "customs" last the King does not transact any public business, and he told us that he had hurried them over on purpose that we might get away.

On the afternoon of Friday, the 16th January, the King asked me to review his Life Guardsmen and women, which I did, and he then made me Colonel or King over the whole of them, about 1,000 strong each; an honour for which I had to pay dearly, according to the custom of the country.

Speeches were made by the Captains of each, who were introduced separately, the whole tenor of which was what they would do at Abbeokuta, and the number of heads that would fall to my share; as I was now their Chief, and consequently had a right to a part of everything they took.

The following day, Saturday the 17th, the King saw us in private, as before, and said he was ready to give me his answer to the message I had brought.

He commenced by paying me many compliments, and said how glad he was that such a messenger had been sent, who by his patience and forbearance had shown himself a friend to the black man.

He then entered into a long history of his country in the time of his ancestors, and how anxious his father was to be friends with the English; that for many years past (he did not know the reason why), the English seemed to be hostile to him and endeavoured to make all nations in Africa fight against him.

He said that the Slave Trade had been carried on in his country for centuries, and that it was his great means of living and paying his people. He did not send slaves away in his own ships, but "white men" came to him for them, and was there any harm in his selling? We ought to prevent the "white men" from coming to him; if they did not come he would not sell.

We had seen what a great deal he had to give away every year to his people, who were dependent on him; that this could not be done by selling palm oil alone. If people came for palm oil he would sell it to them; he could not carry on his Government upon trade alone. If he gave up the Slave Trade, where was he to get money from? It was not his fault that he sold slaves, but those who made his fathers do it, and hence it became an institution of his country.

He said, "I cannot stop it all at once: what will my people do? And besides this, I should be in danger of losing my life." I asked him how much money he would take to give it up. He replied, "No money will induce me to do so; I am not like the Kings of Lagos, Porto Novo, Benin, &c. There are only two Kings in Africa, Ashantee and Dahomey; I am the King of all the blacks. Nothing will recompense me for the Slave Trade." I argued that it must be stopped in time; that even now very few ships came for them: and what would he do when it was all done? I found it useless to go on any further on this subject. He said there were plenty of blacks to sell, and plenty to remain; that the price of a slave was 80 dollars, with 4 dollars custom on each. On most occasions he is paid before the slaves are taken away, but sometimes he risks them on trust, and then he feels the capture of the slave-ship.

He said, "I must go to Abbeokuta: we are enemies; they insulted my brother, and I must punish them. Let us alone; why interfere in black man's wars? We do not want 'white men' to fight against us; let every one go out of Abbeokuta, and see who will win. Let the 'white man' stand by and see which are the brave men!"

He spoke strongly of Porto Novo, and said, "If my friends the English had sent to me, I would have broke Porto Novo for them." He does not want the "white man" to interfere in any way with the black man's quarrels. He promised faithfully, for my sake, to spare all the Christians, and send them to Whydah, and that his General should have strict orders to this effect. I asked him about the Christians at Ishagga. He said, "Who knew they were Christians? The black man says he is a white man, calls himself a Christian, and dresses himself in clothes: it is an insult to the white man. I respect the white man, but these people are impostors, and no better than my own people. Why do they remain in a place when they know that I am coming? If they do so, I suppose they are taking up arms against me, and I am bound to treat them as enemies. If a musket-ball touches the white man at Abbeokuta, am I to blame, if they will not go away when they know I am coming?" I reasoned with him no longer on this subject, because I thought his observations so thoroughly just and honest.

The next subject was the "human sacrifices." He said, "You have seen that only a few are sacrificed, and not the thousands that wicked men have told the world. If I were to give up this custom at once, my head would be taken off to-morrow. These institutions cannot be stopped in the way you propose. By-and-bye, little by little, much may be done; softly, softly, not by threats. You see how I am placed, and the difficulties in the way: by-and-bye, by-and-bye."

We then came to a Prince being sent to England, which he said he would do if I came again to renew the friendship and give him the Queen's answer to what he had said.

With regard to the schools at Whydah, the King said, "Any of the mulattoes may send their children;" and I have no doubt, if he sees we are in earnest, that in a very short time he will allow his own people to do the same thing if they choose.

After the interview, which lasted some time, was over, the King made several

presents, namely, for the Queen, a large umbrella made of different coloured velvets, with the devices emblematic of their customs; a large carved stool, which no one but Kings are allowed to possess; a pipe-stick and bag; a bag made from the leather of the country, with a lion worked upon it; a very handsome country cloth, and a long stick ornamented with silver, which can only be carried by the King. Also two girls, one about twelve, the other sixteen, very pretty and intelligent. I have left these last at Whydah, in charge of the coloured missionary's wife there, until I can learn the wishes of Her Majesty on the subject. The girls were taken at Ishagga, and I should think would be very interesting to the Queen.

In my next letter I hope to give an account of the resources of Dahomey, its form of government, the number of soldiers and Amazons, as well as a description of the country, and everything else that will be both valuable and interesting to know; also many sayings of the King, which I have not time to mention now.

We left Abomey the same evening, and were conducted with great honours to Whydah, where we arrived on Thursday afternoon, the 22nd instant, after an absence of fifty-one days.

I went on board the following morning.

Such a lengthened stay in the country of the King, and at his capital, could not have been effected without some expense; many presents of different kinds had to be given away, as well as money. The reception given me by the King demanded this, and I hope I maintained with becoming dignity the honour of the country. Trusting my proceedings will meet with approval, as I have only acted for the good of the public service, I have, &c.

No. 2.

Commodore Wilmot to Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker.

"Rattlesnake," at Sea, Lat. 3° 33' N., Long. 6° 7' E.,

February 10, 1863.

(Extract.)

IN continuation of my former letter of proceedings dated Lagos, 29th January, 1863, I have to add the following additional observations on various subjects connected with my late visit to Abomey.

I have already remarked on the friendly disposition evinced by the King towards the English, as manifested in his manner to me on all occasions. "From henceforth," he said, "the King of Dahomey and the Queen of England are one; you shall hold the tail of the kingdom, and I will take the head:" meaning that we should have possession of Whydah for trading purposes, and supply him with everything.

He is most anxious for trade at Whydah, and if we can only prove to him that we are really sincere in our wishes to be friendly with him, I am quite certain that he will think very seriously of our proposals to him for giving up the Slave Trade, as well as the "human sacrifices."

Both of these are "institutions" of the country; the first, established and encouraged by the "white man" himself; the second, handed down from father to son as a principal part of their religious ceremonies, still enforced and fostered by the ignorance and superstition of the "fetish" priests.

Every house has its "fetish" hanging up, and every man has a "fetish" charm about his person. There is a devil fetish for driving away evil spirits, and another for bringing good luck. These consist of small mounds of earth with a calabash on the top, surrounded by cowries, or a repulsive-looking face carved out of wood. There are all kinds of images, such as lions, tigers, dogs, and other animals without a name, cut out in the rudest manner, and carried about in all great processions.

The roads, villages, and houses, are filled with "fetish" images, and sacrifices to the "fetish." The latter consist of goats, fowls, fruits, &c., being laid under a small mat shed, around the idol whom it is intended to propitiate,—dead, of course.

Men, women, and children, consult the "fetish" as to the food they ought to eat. Some are allowed to eat beef, others only mutton; many are prohibited to touch the flesh of goats. Poultry is permitted to some, eggs to others. This nonsense is carried on all over the kingdom, and strictly enforced; but I have never heard any one, man or woman, say that the "fetish" forbade them to drink wine or spirits.

We lived at Abomey, in the house of the King's chief diviner, a man of high rank and consequence, one of the Privy Council, and the king's adviser on all great occasions. The King never does anything without the diviner first consulting the "fetish," to find out whether it will be favourable or unfavourable. His house is full of "fetish" of every description.

I mention these things concerning the religion and superstition of the country, to show how impossible it will be for the King to give up at once the "human sacrifices." He himself says, "Softly, softly; it shall be done in time, but not yet; my head would be cut off to-morrow if I stopped it suddenly!"

A few have an idea of a Supreme Being, but still a very imperfect one. The King knows more of these important truths than any of his subjects, and we shall see the good effects of this knowledge by and bye.

I will now enter upon a description of the country and its resources; its capabilities for legitimate trade, its present means of subsisting an hostile force, as well as of resisting an attack, the number and description of its soldiers, the dangers that would attend the landing of a force for the occupation of Whydah, and the difficulties to be encountered in retaining it when once in our possession.

Description of the country and its resources, &c.—The distance from Whydah to Abomey is sixty-five miles. It is extraordinary what mistakes former writers have made in giving the distance from Whydah to Abomey. Mr. Norris, in 1774, states it to be 150 miles; other more or less, according to exaggerated reports, or their own imagination.

Whydah is three miles from the sea. From the beach to Whydah the country is flat, and three pieces of water have to be passed over; the first is a lagoon that extends eastward to Lagos, with the exception of a portion of the mainland, three miles broad, and westward to Aghwey and Little Popoe. This lagoon is navigable for canoes all the year round.

The second and third pieces of water are through marshy ground; roads being cut through them, about ten feet wide, for the purposes of traffic, &c. These are almost impassable in the rainy season, and in the dry season contain about two feet of water, black and muddy, with a very bad smell.

In 1851 I caught the fever badly from passing through this very swamp.

Whydah is a large straggling place, containing some decent houses. There are three forts or factories, English, French, and Portuguese. The French is in excellent repair, and does great credit to the French gentleman who carries on his business there. The Portuguese is at present inhabited by missionaries of that nation, and the English fort is the residence of the Wesleyan Missionary, the Rev. P. W. Bernasko, a native of Cape Coast.

No one has any territorial rights in this place. The King of Dahomey reigns supreme, and could turn any "white man" away if he pleases.

There are a great number of guns, all spiked, 9-pounders and 12-pounders, in and around the English fort, which have been there for ages. There is a curious history attached to these guns, which I will relate, as it shows that the English are actually the hereditary friends of the Dahomian Kings.

During the long period that England acknowledged the Slave Trade as legitimate, and the stowage of slave-ships was regulated by Act of Parliament, the fort of Whydah was in a high state of preservation, and Englishmen were appointed as Governors, under the authority of the Crown.

They were always on good terms with the Kings of Dahomey, and in those days great presents of carriages and horses, &c., were made; some of the carriages I saw the other day at Abomey in a very rickety state. They are kept as "heirlooms" in the capital, and pass round with the King's treasures.

These Governors had great power over every one, and communicated directly with the King, who obtained his supplies entirely from the fort. We had soldiers then to protect the place, and guns were mounted in all commanding positions.

A deep ditch surrounded the fort which remains to this day. Whydah was a flourishing kingdom early in the last century, when it was conquered by Dahomey, who committed the most horrible outrages, and the country was reduced to desolation.

It must have been about the year 1750 that the people of Whydah, tired of the Dahomian yoke, rose against the King, and, no doubt, they would have been successful had not the English Governor shut his gates and turned the guns of the fort upon the rebels.

The Dahomian army came in from Savi, a considerable town in those days,

four miles from Whydah, and the rebels were completely defeated, thanks to the English guns.

The King was very grateful to the Governor for his assistance on this occasion, and enlarged his privileges considerably; but at the same time he said, "This won't do; these English with their guns are formidable enemies, they may turn me out some day:" so he spiked all the guns in the fort before he went away, in which state they are to be seen to this day.

From henceforth, until a few years ago, the Kings of Dahomey had a strong friendship for the English, and the King mentioned one man in particular in the time of his grandfather, Mr. James, who was Governor of the fort, and his "best friend."

The population of Whydah is large in comparison to other towns in the kingdom, with the exception of Abomey; it contains, probably, about 12,000 inhabitants, including the soldiers belonging to the Yavogah and Prince Chedathon.

I observed a great falling off in this place; twelve years ago it was in a flourishing condition, with many capital houses and merchants residing there; now, most of these houses are in ruins, and the trade is small. It will be well to consider the cause of this decline hereafter.

The great families of "De Souza" are either dead or dispersed; those that remain are of small importance to what their fathers were.

Stock used to be plentiful and very good; at present it may be obtained, but not in such abundance; it is also dear to what it was formerly. Water is plentiful both from the lagoon and by wells, which are to be found in all large houses; it is very good. Fruit, such as oranges, pine apples, and bananas, is cheap and abundant.

From Whydah to Abomey the whole country is a flat level, and there are regular villages which are considered as established "halting places" for the traveller.

The want of water begins after you leave Whydah. There is a dark deep swamp about three miles distant, over which (that is, the road through it) large pieces of timber have been placed so as to form a bridge, the crossing of which is a dangerous operation. The water is black and muddy.

The country through which we passed varied much, from open plain to thick forest. There is no other road than the one by which we travelled. A great part of the country is well adapted for cultivation, and would produce cotton, silk, coffee, indigo, sugar, and everything else that grows in similar climates.

Around the villages the ground is cultivated, and produces Indian corn, cassada, beans, &c., just sufficient to maintain life. As we approached Abomey, more extensive tracts of ground were under the hands of the farmer, chiefly belonging to the King, who has to distribute largely to all his people.

People have no time for peaceful pursuits: war, war, war is alone thought of, and the King gives them no rest. Many of the Chiefs complain of this, and seem heartily tired of it. I am sure they would gladly turn to a better state of things if they dared. They have no time to themselves; there is always some "custom" going on, and hence the country is in a state of desolation, and the population is gradually decreasing.

There are some noble trees in the jungle through which we passed. One measured nearly 100 feet round its base, and the stem went up to 70 or 80 feet, without a knot or branch to rob it of its beauty. This was the "cotton silk tree," of no use whatever, either in its fruit or timber. The branches were magnificent, and I counted thirty some 50 or 60 feet in length, of enormous size, and covering a great extent of ground. As far as we could see and learn, the trees of this country produce no timber fit for any purposes of building.

I never saw such a scarcity of the necessaries of life. Cattle, sheep, and goats are few in number: these are only kept by the King and Chiefs, who do not seem to understand that their wealth would be increased by breeding largely and keeping up a good supply. The use of milk is unknown. Fowls are not plentiful; we paid 2s. each for them.

The Chiefs rarely eat meat, the people never. They live upon "cankey," which is made from Indian corn, and mixed with palm oil.

They are ardently fond of spirits, the common rum that is imported by nearly all traders; it is very strong, and they prefer it to wine or good brandy.

I was astonished at the scantiness of the population. As we passed through the villages, nearly everybody turned out to see us.

After we had left, every soldier in the place went on to Abomey to swell the numbers there. There was not a man to be seen on our return, none but women and children. There may be other villages out of the direct route to Abomey, and no doubt there are many; because the kingdom is a large one; but still the great question of the population of Dahomey has been unquestionably decided by my visit.

We everywhere expressed astonishment at meeting so few people, which accounts for the small portion of land under cultivation. There are far more women than men, I should say three to one, which may be the reason why the Kings of Dahomey, who are always at war, are obliged to raise and keep up the Amazons, or "women soldiers," to the extent that they do.

As war is made one of the necessities of the State, a constant drain upon the male population is required, and it naturally follows that the supply is never equal to the demand; hence the remarkable circumstance of nearly "5,000" women being found in the Dahomian army.

There is, probably, another reason for thus brutalizing the minds and feelings of the softer sex in this country, which is, that the King may think it a good stroke of policy to encourage and patronize these Amazons to the extent that he does, for the purpose of creating a rivalry amongst the men, which will incite them to prove their courage and their strength beyond that displayed by the other sex.

The Amazons are everything in this country. The King lives with them and amongst them; they are only to be found in the Royal palaces. When they go out to fetch water, which is every day and nearly all day, the one in the front (for they all follow in single line) has a bell round her neck much like a sheep-bell in England, which she strikes herself whenever any person is seen approaching. Immediately the men run away in all directions, and clear the road by which the Amazons are coming. They then wait till all have passed. The reason for this is, that if an accident were to happen to any one of these women, either by her falling down and breaking the water-jar on her head, or if the water-jar fell off her head, the unfortunate man who happened to be near at the time would be immediately seized, and either imprisoned for life, or have his head taken off, as it would be supposed that he was the cause of the accident.

No wonder, then, that they get out of the way as quickly as possible. We were always obliged to follow this custom; women are not expected to avoid them in this manner. It is one of the most absurd laws that even a savage nation can pass, because it stops business, and delays everybody on the road. All day long the sound of this bell is heard, and people are seen flying away. The Amazons seem to enjoy it, and laughed heartily when we stepped aside to avoid them.

Whatever may be the object in thus keeping up such a large body of "women soldiers," there is no doubt that they are the mainstay of the kingdom. I put down the number at 5,000; besides these there are numerous women to attend upon them as servants, cooks, &c. We certainly saw 4,000 under arms at Abomey, and there are more in other parts of the kingdom residing in the Royal palaces.

They are far superior to the men in everything—in appearance, in dress, in figure, in activity, in their performances as soldiers, and in bravery. Their numbers are kept up by young girls of 13 or 14 years of age being attached to each company, who learn their duties from them; they dance with them, sing with them, and live with them, but do not go to war with them until they have arrived at a certain age, and can handle a musket.

These women seem to be fully aware of the authority they possess, which is seen in their bold and free manner, as well as by a certain swagger in their walk. Most of them are young, well-looking, and have not that ferocity in their expression of countenance which might be expected from their peculiar vocation; but many have passed that time of life when all passions have ceased to animate, and make their mode of life at least worth retaining.

They are supposed to lead a life of chastity, and there is no doubt that they do so, because it is impossible for them to do anything wrong without being discovered, and such discovery would lead to certain death. The King alone has the privilege of selecting any of these women for his wives, which is rarely the case.

As soldiers in an African kingdom, and engaged solely in African warfare, they are very formidable enemies. They fully understand the use of the musket, and load and fire with remarkable rapidity. Their activity is surprising; they would run with some of our best performers in England. The "Captains" carry the skulls of their enemies in their girdles, and an occasional jaw is also seen.

During the mornings and evenings large parties of these women are sent to fetch water for the use of the King and his household, a distance of many miles. It is a very pretty sight to see long strings of women, with water-jars on their heads, wending their way silently and quietly across the country to where the wells are; the only sound to be heard is when the leader rings her bell for the road to be kept clear.

Water at Abomey is the great drawback of the place. There is none in the town; it all comes from the swamps, three or four miles in the country. Women are the principal water-carriers, although men are employed also. At this season of the year it is very scarce and very bad. The process of getting it is this. An embankment is formed round the large pools, which are filled from the draining of the marshy ground, very dirty of course. Around this large holes or wells are cut, into which the water filtrates from the pool. Smaller holes are again cut next to these, into which the water percolates, being this time tolerably clear. Into these small holes the women dip their calabashes, and in process of time the water-jar is filled; it is a long operation.

This clear water is only, however, for the higher classes, and for those that can afford to purchase it. The poor people drink from the muddy pool, and are thankful for what they get.

The ground is not favourable for boring, being a mixture of iron-stone, granite, and sand. It sounds hollow as you walk over it.

We visited all the wells, and it is certainly surprising how such a large population can live upon such a limited supply of water.

The "men soldiers" are more numerous than the "Amazons," and are armed in the same way. They are also very active and expert with their weapons. I should say that the King could not bring into the field more than 6,000 fighting men. This number, with the "Amazons," will amount to 10,000 altogether. I am quite certain that this is the full extent of his power.

All these are armed with a musket and short sword, and against their own countrymen would be formidable. Their fighting is not like ours, but a system of strategy, cunning, and surprise; their object being to arrive at the intended point without being heard or seen. Should they succeed, so much the better for themselves; if not, they fight for an hour or two in a desultory sort of manner, without order and without discipline; after which, if they cannot carry their point, the whole army runs away, and makes the best of its way back to the capital.

It is in the pursuit, as well as in the capture of a place, that the great sacrifice of life is made. Heads are chopped off without mercy, and brought in to show the prowess of the captors. It was in the pursuit of the Dahomian army by the Abbeokutans in 1851 that the Amazons were so dreadfully cut up. We were told at Abomey that they lost thousands. Many die also from hunger and exposure, and it is in consequence of these continual wars that the population of Dahomey is decreasing every year.

The population of Abomey varies very much according as the King is residing there or not. It is a very large and straggling place, nearly surrounded by a deep ditch, with gates in different parts. This ditch is now filled up with trees and bushes, and must have cost much time and labour to make. Abomey is probably seven miles round, but it must not be inferred from this that the inhabitants are in proportion. I should say 20,000 is the maximum. The want of population is seen everywhere. If a census were taken of all the Dahomian territory, 180,000 would, I am confident, take in every man, woman, and child. Even this number seems to me, on reconsideration, to be too much. Women and children form three-fourths of the whole.

Large tracts are passed through without a living creature being seen. If the forests were cleared, the brushwood cut down, and the inhabitants were allowed to make use of their time in peaceful pursuits, there is no doubt that the country would produce everything that is valuable. It would support a population of many millions, providing some means were found of obtaining water, which might be done by Artesian wells.

There are no regular roads, but merely a footpath all the way, which, for many miles in some places, passes through a dense forest, while at others it is across an open plain, with long grass, bushes, and weeds on either side.

The chiefs and head men ride upon small ponies, which originally came from Abbeokuta. These perform the journey from Whydah to Abomey, and there is no reason why larger animals should not do the same, as the road is good, with

the exception of the swamps and water which have to be crossed. There is a swamp with a very bad road through it, nine miles long, about eighteen miles from Abomey, which is impassable during the rainy season. Even the natives have great difficulty in finding their way. It was dry when we walked across, and therefore in its best condition, but we were very glad to get to the end of it. It is full of deep ruts and holes, and very narrow. The bottom is of a dark, clayish character, and very slippery when the least wet.

From Cannah to Abomey, a distance of eight miles, the road is broad enough for a dozen carriages to drive abreast, and in Abomey, and around it, horses might be galloped in all directions.

The country at this time of the year, namely, from the middle of November to the end of April, is remarkably healthy, at least we found it so; for a period of fifty-one days we never had an hour's sickness. It is much cooler on shore at this season than at sea, and the temperature may be high; still the atmosphere is not oppressive, and during the harmattan winds it is positively cold: we experienced this on two occasions, the water becoming in one night almost too cold to drink. It affects the natives very much, drying up their skin and lips, and preventing them from washing, as they cannot stand the change. We, of course, enjoyed it.

The natives are lightly clothed, and are very active on their legs. One of the principal Chiefs at Abomey told me that he suffered very much from being obliged to find his way through the bush when he last went to Abbeokuta.



